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ANTIMACHUS OF COLOPHON

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TEXT AND COMMENTARY

BY

VICTOR J. MATTHEWS

E.J. BRILL
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In Memoriam

John Marshall Bell

1944-1987

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PREFACE

The fragments of Antimachus of Colophon have not been edited *in toto* since Bernhard Wyss' admirable 1936 edition (reprinted without change in 1974). Although recently-discovered fragments have been edited by Hugh Lloyd-Jones and Peter Parsons in the *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin/New York 1983) and the elegiac fragments edited twice, first by Martin West (*Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, Vol. II [Oxford 1972, 2nd. ed. 1992]) and then by B. Gentili and C. Prato (*Poetae Elegiaci: Testimonia et Fragmenta* Pars II [Leipzig 1985]), a new edition and commentary for the complete Antimachean corpus is clearly needed.

The problems to be faced included a re-numbering of the fragments. Wyss' enumeration was dislocated by his unavoidably late inclusion of the fragments from the papyrus commentary on Antimachus (*PRIMI* I 17, [89 Pack^2]), as well as by the original omission of his final fragment 190. The new fragments published in the *SH* also had to be fitted into my enumeration. In arranging the fragments, I have listed them in the following order: *Thebaid*, *Lyde*, *Artemis*, *Delti*, and Studia Homerica, including under each title both those fragments expressly so ascribed and also those which with some probability might be thought to belong to that particular work. Then follow *fragmenta incertae sedis*, *dubia*, and *eicienda*.

Antimachus' pivotal role as a precursor of the Hellenistic poets has long been recognised, as is reflected by his inclusion in the *SH*. While Wyss' edition, with its succinct Latin commentary, is a model of economy, I think that *tumidus* Antimachus deserves a more discursive treatment to explore more fully both his debt to his predecessors, including the epic tradition and other genres, and his legacy as poet-scholar to the Hellenistic age. I regret that the recent study by Michela Lombardi, *Antimaco di Colofone: la poesia epica* (Roma 1993) appeared too late for me to make full use of it.

The present work has taken long to reach completion *cf.* '(Antimachi) omnia denuo editurus est V. J. Matthews' (M. Davies [ed.], *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* [Göttingen [1988], 79). My slow progress can be attributed to the difficulties involved in treating a

large body of fragments and to the teaching responsibilities typical of a small but busy department.

This book, like my previous study on Panyassis, owes much to the constant encouragement of George Huxley, whose lectures on Greek epic at Belfast over thirty years ago first awakened my interest in the remains of 'lost' Greek authors. My thanks must also be expressed to a number of scholars for their opinions and advice, especially my University of Guelph colleagues, Padraig O'Cleirigh, Kristin Lord, and the late John Bell. I am also greatly beholden to Christopher Brown of the University of Western Ontario and Robert Fowler of the University of Waterloo for their keen and critical interest in the work. For those errors of fact or peculiarities of opinion that remain, I alone am responsible. I would also like to thank other colleagues in the Department of Languages and Literatures at the University of Guelph, Adnan Gökçen for his advice on matters of translation, and Manfred Kremer, my department chair, for his steadfast support of my research.

I am extremely grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its granting of a Leave Fellowship in 1986-87 and to the Governors of the National Humanities Center at Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, for their award of a Fellowship which enabled me to carry out much of my research in a most congenial and collegial environment. My thanks are also owed to the editors of *Mnemosyne* for publishing this book in their series of Supplements and in particular to Mr. Julian Deahl and his staff at Brill's for the patience they have shown.

This book would still be unfinished but for the diligent and cheerful assistance of Ruth Skelton, Jackie Murray, Lisa A. Pretty and Wm. Christopher Myrick whose computer skills, wedded to their knowledge of both Classical languages, were invaluable in bringing a very difficult manuscript to completion.

University of Guelph 2 August 1995 V. J. M

TESTIMONIA

De aetate, vita, patria, aequalibus

1 (4 Wyss, 1 G-P) Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F74 ap. Diod. 13.108.1

μικρὸν δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύς, ἄρξας ἔτη ἐννεακαίδεκα, τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν διεδέξατο τῶν υἱῶν ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀρταξέρξης καὶ ἦρξεν ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ Ἀντίμαχον τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖός φησιν ἠνθηκέναι.

2 (2 Wyss, 4 G-P) Duris ap. Plut., Lys. 18.6s (3.2, 114 Ziegler)

πρώτῳ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις (*FGrHist* 76 F71), Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ βωμοὺς αἱ πόλεις ἀνέστησαν ὡς θεῷ καὶ θυσίας ἔθυσαν, εἰς πρῶτον δὲ παιᾶνες ᾔσθησαν ... Σάμιοι δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἡραῖα Λυσάνδρεια καλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν Χοιρίλον (T4 Colace = 325 *SH* = *FGrHist* 696 F33c) μὲν ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ὡς κοσμήσοντα τὰς πράξεις διὰ ποιητικῆς, Ἀντιλόχῳ δὲ ποιήσαντι μετρίους τινὰς εἰς αὐτὸν στίχους ἡσθεὶς ἔδωκε πλήσας ἀργυρίου τὸν πῖλον. Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἡρακλεώτου (565 *SH*) ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισαμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Νικήρατον ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἠφάνισε τὸ ποίημα. Πλάτων δὲ νέος ὢν τότε, καὶ θαυμάζων τὸν Ἀντίμαχον ἐπὶ τῇ ποιητικῇ, βαρέως φέροντα τὴν ἧτταν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κακὸν εἶναι φάμενος τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ὥσπερ τὴν τυφλότητα τοῖς μὴ βλέπουσιν (*FGH* II.484 F65 Müller).

3 quae narrat Plut. e Duride hausta esse recte opinati sunt Müller, Wyss, G-P, negat Jacoby (76 F71, cf. 696 F33c)

3 (9 Wyss, 2 G-P) *Suda* (I.237.29 Adler) Ἀντίμαχος

Κολοφώνιος, υἱὸς Ὑπάρχου, γραμματικὸς καὶ ποιητής. τινὲς δὲ καὶ οἰκέτην αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψαν Πανυάσιδος τοῦ ποιητοῦ (T3 Davies), πάνυ ψευσάμενοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀκουστὴς καὶ Στησιμβρότου (*FGrHist* 107 T5). γέγονε δὲ πρὸ Πλάτωνος.

Ἱππάρχου suprascr. M

4 (1 Wyss, 3 G-P) Heraclid. Pont. F6 Wehrli ap. Procl. in Plat. *Tim.* 21c (I 90, 20 D.)

εἴπερ γάρ τις ἄλλος καὶ ποιητῶν ἄριστος κριτὴς ὁ Πλάτων, ὡς καὶ Λογγῖνος συνίστησιν· Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Ποντικός φησιν, ὅτι τῶν Χοιρίλου (T12

Colace = 328 *SH* = *FGrHist* 696 F33e) τότε εὐδοκιμούντων Πλάτων τὰ Ἀντιμάχου προὐτίμησε καὶ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Κολοφῶνα ἐλθόντα τὰ ποιήματα συλλέξαι τοῦ ἀνδρός. μάτην οὖν φληναφῶσι Καλλίμαχος (F589 Pf.) καὶ Δοῦρις (*FGrHist* 76 F83) ὡς Πλάτωνος οὐκ ὄντος ἱκανοῦ κρίνειν ποιητάς.

5 (3 Wyss, 5 G-P) Cic. *Brutus* 191

nec ... posset idem Demosthenes dicere quod dixisse Antimachum clarum poetam ferunt. qui cum convocatis auditoribus legeret eis magnum illud quod novistis volumen suum et eum legentem omnes praeter Platonem reliquissent, 'legam' inquit 'nihilo minus; Plato enim mihi unus instar est centum milium.' et recte: poema enim reconditum paucorum approbationem, oratio popularis assensum vulgi debet movere.

centum milium Camerarius coll. *Ep. ad Att.* 2.5.1 Cato ille noster, qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus omnium ne illum codd.

6 (5 Wyss, 29 G-P) Ovid *Trist.* 1.6.1-4

nec tantum Clario est Lyde dilecta poetae,
  nec tantum Coo Bittis amata suo est,
pectoribus quantum tu nostris, uxor, inhaeres,
  digna minus misero, non meliore viro.

7 (10 Wyss, 37 G-P) Schol. Bob. in Cic. *Pro Arch.* 25 (164 Hildebrandt) = [Aristot. F676 Rose]

alternos igitur versus dicit elegiacos, metris scilicet dissentientibus varios. primus autem videtur elegiacum carmen scribsisse Callinos (T3 G-P). adicit Aristoteles (Aristocles coni. Rose) praeterea hoc genus poetas Antimachum Colofonium, Archilochum Parium, Mimnermum Colofonium (T19 Allen = 18 G-P), quorum numero additur etiam Solon Atheniensium legum scribtor nobilissimus (T718 Martina).

8 (11 Wyss, 32 G-P) Solin. *Coll. rer. memor.* 40.6 ('e fonte ignoto' 167 Mommsen)

ingenia Asiatica inclita per gentes fuere. poetae Anacreon, inde Mimnermus (T11 Allen = 8 G-P) et Antimachus, deinde Hipponax

(T7 Med. = 66 Degani), deinde Alcaeus, inter quos etiam Sappho mulier.

DE *THEBAIDE*

9 *Vita Chisiana Dionys. Per.* ed. R. Kassel, *Catalepton (Festschr. für Bernhard Wyss* 1985), 72 (= Kassel, *Kleine Schriften* [Berlin/ New York 1991], 406)

ἄξιον δὲ καὶ περὶ προοιμίου βραχέα διαλαβεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο τὸν ἄνδρα κρίναντες δῶμεν αὐτῷ συγγράφεσθαι τῷ ποιητικῷ συλλόγῳ διὰ τὴν τέχνην. ἴδιον τοίνυν προοιμίου τὸ ἐνδείκνυσθαι περὶ ποίων πραγμάτων ἐρεῖ καὶ περιέχειν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν ὅλην τε τῆς πραγματείας ἐπαγγελίαν. ἀρετὴ δὲ μὴ παντὶ ἁρμόζειν δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἰδίως ἐκείνῳ τῷ τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὄντι κυρίῳ. δεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σύντομον εἶναι καὶ τῇ ποιήσει προσφυὲς τῷ τε πράγματι, <καὶ> μὴ σφόδρα διηρμένον. ἀποτιθέναι γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ὄγκον ἢ λαμπρῶς ἀρξάμενον ἀπολεπτύνειν ὡς ὁ Ἀντίμαχος· ἤρξατο μὲν γὰρ ἐπηρμένως, οὐδὲν δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ἐπήνεγκεν. Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ προοίμιον ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων λαβὼν εὐθέως τὰ{τε} κεφάλαια τῆς ποιήσεως περιγράφει.

vid. etiam T5, T26

DE *LYDA* ELEGIA

10 (8 Wyss, 6 G-P) Clearchus F34 Wehrli ap. Athen. 13. 597a (3.315 Kaibel)

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Μυρτίλος μέλλων σιωπᾶν 'ἀλλὰ μικρου' ἔφη, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐξελαθόμην ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν τήν τε Ἀντιμάχου Λυδήν, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁμώνυμον ταύτης ἑταίραν Λυδὴν ἣν ἠγάπα Λαμύνθιος ὁ Μιλήσιος. ἑκάτερος γὰρ τούτων τῶν ποιητῶν, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς Ἐρωτικοῖς, τῆς βαρβάρου Λυδῆς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καταστὰς ἐποίησεν ὃ μὲν ἐν ἐλεγείοις, ὃ δ' ἐν μέλει (839 PMG) τὸ καλούμενον ποίημα Λύδην. Παρέλιπον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μιμνέρμου αὐλητρίδα Ναννὼ καὶ τὴν Ἑρμησιάνακτος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου Λεόντιον'.

6 Λυδὴν codd. de accentu cf. Gow-Page, *The Greek Anthology* II.138

11 (6 Wyss, 7 G-P) Hermesianax F7.41-46 Powell ap. Athen. 13. 598a (3.318 Kaibel)

Λυδῆς δ' Ἀντίμαχος Λυδηίδος ἐκ μὲν ἔρωτος
πληγεὶς Πακτωλοῦ ῥεῦμ' ἐπέβη ποταμοῦ·
†δαρδάνη† δὲ θανοῦσαν ὑπὸ ξηρὴν θέτο γαῖαν

†καλλίων αἴζαον διηλθεν† ἀποπρολιπὼν
ἄκρην ἐς Κολοφῶνα· γόων δ' ἐνεπλήσατο βίβλους
ἱράς, ἐκ παντὸς παυσάμενος καμάτου.

41 λυσηίδος A corr. Ruhnk. cf. T 13.1 Νυσηίδος West 43 Δαρδανίῃ Dalecampius ἀδρανίῃ Kaibel Σαρδιανὴν Hermann Σαρδιακὴν Meineke 44 κλαίων αἰάζων τ' (δ' Casaub.) ἦλθεν Ilgen Ἀζειῶν Harberton 45 ἄκρην Hermann ἄκρον A ἄκτιον Kaibel ἀβρὴν West 46 ἱερὰς A corr. Musurus

12 (**7 Wyss, 8 G-P**) [Plut.] *Cons. ad Ap.* 9.106bc (I.217 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz)

ἐχρήσατο δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀγωγῇ (scil. τῷ παραμυθίῳ) καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ ποιητής. ἀποθανούσης γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Λύδης, πρὸς ἣν φιλοστόργως εἶχε, παραμύθιον τῆς λύπης αὐτῷ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐλεγείαν τὴν καλουμένην Λύδην, ἐξαριθμησάμενος τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐλάττω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν λύπην.

5 ἡρωικὰς codd. ἐρωτικὰς Hecker

13 (**14 Wyss, 9 G-P**) Asclepiades *AP* 9.63 (= Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* 957sqq.)

Λύδη καὶ γένος εἰμὶ καὶ οὔνομα· τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Κόδρου
σεμνοτέρη πασῶν εἰμὶ δι' Ἀντίμαχον.
τίς γὰρ ἔμ' οὐκ ᾔεισε; τίς οὐκ ἀνελέξατο Λύδην,
τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου;

14 (**15 Wyss, 10 G-P**) Posidippus *AP* 12.168 (= Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* 3086sqq.) (= Mimnermus T5 Allen)

Ναννοῦς καὶ Λύδης ἐπίχει δύο καὶ †φερεκάστου
Μιμνέρμου καὶ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου·
συγκέρασον τὸν πέμπτον ἐμοῦ, τὸν δ' ἕκτον ἑκάστου,
Ἡλίοδωρ', εἴπας, ὅστις ἐρῶν ἔτυχεν·
ἕβδομον Ἡσιόδου, τὸν δ' ὄγδοον εἶπον Ὁμήρου,
τὸν δ' ἔνατον Μουσῶν, Μνημοσύνης δέκατον.

1 φερεκάστου P (cf. ἑκάστου v.3) φιλεράστου Jacobs φιλέρωτος Allen

15[A] **(19 Wyss, 11 G-P)** Callimachus F398 Pf. ap. *Vit. Dionys. Per.* cod. Par. 2772 I 317.21 Bernhardy (= *GGM* II 427.5sqq Müller) et *Vit. Chis.* (ed. Kassel, 73 = *Kleine Schr.*, 407)

ὅτι δὲ διαβέβληται τὸ παχύ, σαφῶς ὁ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιγράμμασι δηλοῖ· διασύρων γὰρ Ἀντιμάχου τὸ ποίημα τὴν Λύδην ἔφη· ‘Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν.’ κρημνοποιός τε καὶ στόμφαξ παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς. Αἰσχύλος εἴρηται, ἐπεὶ μὴ κέχρηται καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀνειμένῃ λέξει. τί δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν Ἀριστοφάνην τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ποιημάτων ἐν τοῖς βατράχοις οὐ μετρίως κωμῳδήσαντα;

15[B] Schol. Dionys. Per. 3 (cod. Par. 2772, *GGM* II 427 in adnot.)

τοῦ μὲν ἰσχνοῦ τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἐξέφυγε διὰ τὸν ὄγκον, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθηροῦ τὸ ἡδὺ παρῃτήσατο διὰ τὴν ἔκλυσιν. τὴν δὲ παχύτητα τῶν ποιημάτων ἱκανῶς μὲν διασύρει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Βατράχοις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καλλίμαχος· ‘Λύδη ... τορόν.’

16 (G-P 24) Philodemus *de piet.* (*P. Hercul.* N 1088II + N 433II, 38 + 29 Gomperz), ap. A. Henrichs *GRBS* 13 (1972) 72s.; Lloyd-Jones, Parsons, *Suppl. Hell.* F78. 966-975

... ἐν δὲ τοῖς| ὕμ[ν]ọịς Ὅ]μηρος [ἡ]|μέ[ρας ἀλγ]ῆσαι ḳ[αὶ]|νύḳ[τας ἐ]ṿνέα [τὴν] | Λη[τὼ πρὶν] τẹκεῖν| φη[σιν. Κ]ạλλίμα|χο[ς δὲ τὰ] παρ' Ἀντι|μά[χῳ με]ταλαβὼν| ἔγρ[αψε]ν [ὡ]ς οὐδὲ [... |π̣ρ̣[..]δ[....]γετο[

966-7 suppl. Gomperz 970-1 suppl. Philippson 973 με]ταλαβὼν suppl. Schober, κα]ταλαβὼν Gomperz 974 suppl. Gomperz, Henrichs 974-5 οὐδὲ [τῆς] |Ἥρ[ας] δ[ιέφυ]γε τὸ [μῖσος e.g. Henrichs οὐδὲ [τὸ] |πρ[ὶν] δ[ιέφυ]γε τὸ [μῖσος e.g. Matthews μεταλαμβάνειν = commutare (Giangrande) potius quam imitari (Henrichs): vid. comm. ad loc. (F94)

17 (21 Wyss, 28 G-P) Agatharchides Cnidius ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 171a 19sq (III.123 Henry)

εἰσὶν οἵ φασιν αὐτὸν (scil. Ἀγαθαρχίδην) καὶ ἑτέρας συγγεγραφέναι πραγματείας, ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐδένα οὐδέπω ἴσμεν. ἐπιτομὴν δὲ αὐτόν φασι τῶν περὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐν ἑνὶ συντάξαι βιβλίῳ καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ Τρωγλοδυτῶν βιβλία ε', ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτομὴν τῆς Ἀντιμάχου Λύδης, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλην ἐπιτομὴν τῶν συγγεγραφότων περὶ συναγωγῆς θαυμασίων ἀνέμων, ἐκλογάς τε ἱστοριῶν αὐτὸν συντάξαι· καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς φίλους ὁμιλίας.

DE ANTIMACHI EPICI FAMA

18 (**20 Wyss**) Crates *AP* 11.218 (= Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* 1371sqq.) (= Choer. T13 Colace = *FGrHist* 696 F33h)

Χοιρίλος Ἀντιμάχου πολὺ λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
  Χοιρίλον Εὐφορίων εἶχε διὰ στόματος,
καὶ κατάγλωσσ' ἐπόει τὰ ποήματα, καὶ τὰ Φιλητᾶ
  ἀτρεκέως ᾔδει· καὶ γὰρ Ὁμηρικὸς ἦν.

Φιλητᾶ Dobree φίλιτρα P

19 (**27 Wyss, 13 G-P**) Antipater Sid. *AP* 7.409 (= Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* 638sqq.)

ὄβριμον ἀκαμάτου στίχον αἴνεσον Ἀντιμάχοιο,
  ἄξιον ἀρχαίων ὀφρύος ἡμιθέων,
Πιερίδων χαλκευτὸν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν, εἰ τορὸν οὖας
  ἔλλαχες, εἰ ζαλοῖς τὰν ἀγέλαστον ὄπα,
εἰ τὰν ἄτριπτον καὶ ἀνέμβατον ἀτραπὸν ἄλλοις
  μαίεαι. εἰ δ' ὕμνων σκᾶπτρον Ὅμηρος ἔχει,
καὶ Ζεύς τοι κρέσσων Ἐνοσίχθονος, ἀλλ' Ἐνοσίχθων
  τοῦ μὲν ἔφυ μείων, ἀθανάτων δ' ὕπατος·
καὶ ναετὴρ Κολοφῶνος ὑπέζευκται μὲν Ὁμήρῳ,
  ἀγεῖται δ' ἄλλων πλάθεος ὑμνοπόλων.

20 (**23 Wyss, 14 G-P**) Catullus 95

Zmyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem
  quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem,
milia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno
* * * * *
Zmyrna cavas Satrachi penitus mittetur ad undas,
  Zmyrnam cana diu saecula pervoluent.
at Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam
  et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.
parva mei mihi sint cordi monumenta sodalis:
  at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.

21 (**26 Wyss, 15 G-P**) Propertius 2.34, 41-46

desine et Aeschyleo componere verba coturno,
  desine, et ad mollis membra resolve choros.
incipe iam angusto versus includere torno,

inque tuos ignis, dure poeta, veni.
tu non Antimacho, non tutior ibis Homero:
despicit et magnos recta puella deos.

22 (**24 Wyss, 16 G-P**) Dionys. Halic. *De comp. verb.* (2.98.6sqq. Usener-Radermacher)

ταύτης τῆς ἁρμονίας πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο ζηλωταὶ κατά τε ποίησιν καὶ ἱστορίαν καὶ λόγους πολιτικούς, διαφέροντες δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν μὲν ἐπικῇ ποιήσει ὅ τε Κολοφώνιος Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ φυσικός, ἐν δὲ μελοποιίᾳ Πίνδαρος, ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ δ' Αἰσχύλος, ἐν ἱστορίᾳ δὲ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν δὲ πολιτικοῖς λόγοις Ἀντιφῶν.

23 (**25 Wyss, 17 G-P**) Dionys. Halic. *De. imit.* (2.204.8sqq. Usener-Radermacher)

τῆς μὲν οὖν Ὁμηρικῆς ποιήσεως οὐ μίαν τινὰ τοῦ σώματος μοῖραν, ἀλλ' ἐκτύπωσαι τὸ σύμπαν, καὶ λάβε ζῆλον ἠθῶν τε τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παθῶν καὶ μεγέθους, καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἁπασῶν εἰς ἀληθῆ τὴν παρὰ σοὶ μίμησιν ἠλλαγμένων. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, ἐν οἷς <ἂν> ἀλλήλων πλέον ἔχωσι, χρὴ μιμεῖσθαι. Ἡσίοδος (T64 Jacoby) μὲν γὰρ ἐφρόντισεν ἡδονῆς δι' ὀνομάτων λειότητος καὶ συνθέσεως ἐμμελοῦς. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ εὐτονίας καὶ ἀγωνιστικῆς τραχύτητος καὶ τοῦ συνήθους τῆς ἐξαλλαγῆς. Πανύασις (T11 Davies *EGF*) δὲ τάς τε ἀμφοῖν ἀρετὰς εἰσηνέγκατο, καὶ αὐτὸς πραγματείᾳ καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομίᾳ διήνεγκεν.

24 (**28 Wyss, 18 G-P**) Quintilian 10.1.52 (2.578 Winterbottom)

raro adsurgit Hesiodus (T66 Jacoby) magnaque pars eius in nominibus est occupata, tamen utiles circa praecepta sententiae, levitasque verborum et compositionis probabilis, daturque ei palma in illo medio genere dicendi. contra in Antimacho vis et gravitas et minime vulgare eloquendi genus habet laudem. sed quamvis ei secundas fere grammaticorum consensus deferat, et adfectibus et iucunditate et dispositione et omnino arte deficitur, ut plane manifesto appareat quanto sit aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum. Panyasin (T12 Davies EGF), ex utroque mixtum, putant in eloquendo neutrius aequare virtutes, alterum tamen ab eo materia, alterum disponendi ratione superari.

25 (**29 Wyss, 19 G-P**) Plutarch, *Timoleon* 36.3 (2.1, 251 Ziegler)

καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ μὲν 'Αντιμάχου ποίησις καὶ τὰ Διονυσίου ζῳγραφήματα τῶν Κολοφωνίων, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα καὶ τόνον, ἐκβεβιασμένοις καὶ καταπόνοις ἔοικε, ταῖς δὲ Νικομάχου γραφαῖς καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου στίχοις μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως καὶ χάριτος πρόσεστι τὸ δοκεῖν εὐχερῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπειργάσθαι, οὕτως παρὰ τὴν 'Επαμεινώνδου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν 'Αγησιλάου, πολυπόνους γενομένας καὶ δυσάγωνας, ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἀντεξεταζομένη καὶ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ ῥᾴδιον ἔχουσα, φαίνεται τοῖς εὖ καὶ δικαίως λογιζομένοις οὐ τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς εὐτυχούσης.

26[A] (**12b Wyss, 21 G-P**) [Acro] in Hor. *AP* 146 (2.333 Keller)

<'nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri'> ... Antimachus poeta reditum Diomedis narrans coepit ab exordio primae originis, id est [coepit] ab interitu Meleagri.

26[B] (**12a Wyss, 21 G-P**) Porphyr. Schol. in Hor. *AP* 146 (169 Holder)

'nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri'. Antimachus fuit cyclicus poeta. hic adgressus est materiam quam sic extendit, ut viginti quattuor volumina implerit, antequam septem duces usque ad Thebas perduceret.

26[C] (**12 Wyss, 21 G-P**) Schol. recent. B φ Hor. *AP* 136 (2.600 Hauthal)

'Scriptor cyclicus'. Antimachum significat Graecum poetam, qui reditum Graecorum a Troia describens in XXIIII libros dilatavit ante VII duces ad Greciam adduceret. Unde et dictus est ciclicus, quasi circulator, eo quod superfluas ambages et circumitiones in carmine suo posuerit. Ammonet ergo poetam bonum, ut non sit eius immitator sed brevitati studens non fiat oneri lectoribus.

27 (**36 Wyss, 22 G-P**) Gregor. Naz. *Epist.* 54 (I.50 Gallay)

Τὸ λακωνίζειν οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅπερ οἴει, ὀλίγας συλλαβὰς γράφειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείστων ὀλίγας. οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ βραχυλογώτατον Ὅμηρον λέγω καὶ πολὺν τὸν 'Αντίμαχον. Πως; τοῖς πράγμασι κρίνων τὸ μῆκος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς γράμμασι.

28 (39 Wyss) *Suda* (IV.24sq. Adler) = Panyassis T1 Davies *EGF*: Πανύασις

... ἐν δὲ ποιηταῖς τάττεται μεθ' Ὅμηρον· κατὰ δέ τινας καὶ μετὰ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ἀντίμαχον.

29^A (38 Wyss, 25 G-P) Proclus *Vit. Hom.* 2sq. (67 Severyns) *cf.* idem ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 319a (5.156 Henry)

γεγόνασι δὲ τοῦ ἔπους ποιηταὶ κράτιστοι μὲν Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος (T9A Jacoby), Πείσανδρος (T5A Davies *EGF*), Πανύασις (T10A Davies *EGF*), Ἀντίμαχος. Sim.ap. O. Kroehnert, *Canonesne poetarum scriptorum artificum per antiquitatem fuerunt?* (Diss. Regim. Pruss. 1897), tab. M cap. I (p.5) = C cap. VII (p.12) ubi Πανύασσις om. C.

29^B Io. Tzetzes in Hesiodi *Op.* (Colonna, *Acad. Naz. dei Lincei Boll. di. Com. per la preparazione della Ed. Naz. d. Class. Gr. e Lat.*[2(1953)], 36; 1.2.84 Severyns)

γεγόνασι δὲ τούτων τῶν ποιητῶν ἄνδρες ὀνομαστοὶ πέντε· Ὅμηρος ὁ παλαιός (ita Heinsius: πολύς cod.), Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Πανύασις (T10B Davies *EGF*), Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμειρεύς, καὶ Ἀσκραῖος οὗτος Ἡσίοδος. Haec exscripsit [Andronic.] περὶ τάξεως ποιητῶν (*Anecd. Graec.* Bekker 3.1461 = Schol. Aristoph. I.1A 116 Koster)

29^C Io. Tzetzes, περὶ διαφορᾶς ποιητῶν 171 (Schol. Aristoph. I.1A 93 Koster)

πεντὰς δὲ τοῦτων ἐστὶν ἐξῃρημένη, Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος, Πανύασις (T10C Davies *EGF*) τρίτος, Πείσανδρος, Ἀντίμαχος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι νέοι.

29^D Is. Tzetzes ad Lycophron (2.1 Scheer)

γεγόνασι δὲ ὀνομαστοὶ ποιηταὶ πέντε· Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος, Πανύασις (T10D Davies *EGF*), Ἀντίμαχος, Πείσανδρος κ.τ.λ.

29^E Io. Tzetzes in Oppian. *Hal.* (*Schol. et Paraphr. in Nicand. et Oppian.* ed. U. Cats Bussemaker [Paris 1849], 260)

ποιηταὶ μὲν κυρίως κατ' ἐξοχὴν εἰσι πέντε· Ὅμηρος ὁ πολύς (ita cod.: παλαιός? cf. 29B), Ἡσίοδος, Ἀντίμαχος, Πείσανδρος καὶ Πανύασις.

30 (31 Wyss, 30 G-P) Dio Cass. 69.4.6 = *Suda* (I 55.14sqq. Adler): Ἀδριανός

καὶ οὕτω γε τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ἦν (Ἀδριανός), ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι φθονεῖν· τὸν γοῦν Ὅμηρον καταλύων Ἀντίμαχον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐσῆγεν, οὗ μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πολλοὶ πρότερον ἠπίσταντο.

31 (**32 Wyss, 31 G-P**) *Script. Hist. Aug. Vita Hadr.* (ed. E. Hohl) 16.1-2

Famae celebris Hadrianus tam cupidus fuit, ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit iubens, ut eos suis nominibus publicarent nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur. catacannas libros obscurissimos Antimachum imitando scripsit.

4 catacannas P^1 t.B, M catacaimos P corr. catacaymos S catachannas Bernh.

De Antimachi arte poetica

32^A (**16 Wyss, 12 G-P**) Philodem. (*P. Hercul.* 1425 + 1538) περὶ ποιημ. V xvii.24-xviii.7 ed. C. Mangoni (Napoli 1993); 145

ὁ δ' (Stoicus quidam, fortasse Aristo Chius) εἰπὼν οὐ| [μόνον] ταῦτα [λ]αμβά[ν]ειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτα[ν ἰδί]|ως πρὸς τὰ πράγμαθ' εὐ|ρ[η]ϲ̣ιλογῶνται, καθ' ὃν |λ̣[ό]γον, φηϲ̣ί, καὶ τῶν 'Αν[τι| μάχου ἐ]ροῦμέν τιν[α π]αι|[δευτικά . .]ΜΟΛ̣Ι̣Σ̣ καὶ ΠΕ|[. . . . . .] Ν καὶ μετὰ συν|γνώμης τὰ 'Ομήρου καὶ ['Αρ|χι]λ[όχ]ο[υ χ]ρηστὰ ποιήμα||τα [λεγ]όντων ἡμ̣ῶ̣ν, τὰ δὲ| σ[ο]φ[ὰ]ς ἔ̣[χοντα καὶ π]αιδευ|τ̣ι̣[κ]ὰς ἀναμφιλέκ[τω]ς καί| π[ο]υ μᾶλλον, ἴσω[ς δὲ] καὶ | κυ[ρί]ως, ἐκείνων κατα|[χρησ]τικῶς προσ[αγ]ορευ|ομ[έ]νων.

30-32 π]αι|[δευτικὰς δια]νο[ί]ας πε|[ριέχει]ν Jensen (cf. R. Janko, *CP* 89 [1994], 287)

32^B (**17 Wyss, 12 G-P**) idem xviii.29-35 Mangoni (Philodemus ipse Stoici sententiam impugnat)

καὶ τίς ἂν κα|[θ]ε̣στηκὼς π[ο]ιήματ' 'Αν|[τιμάχου φήσαιε]ν ΙΔΙΩ|[_ _ _] κα[ὶ] μετα| [_ _ _] ΜΕΝΑΤΟ | [_ _ _ περ]ιεχον| [. . . . . . .] ΑΣ[τί]ς δ' ἂ]ν τὴν ||[

31-35 ἰδίως | πεποιῆσθαι] κα[ὶ] μετα| [συγγνώμης εἰρη]μένα πο|[ήματα χρηστὰς π]ε[ριέχ[ει]ν|[διανοί]ας; [πῶ]ς δ' ἂν τὴν|| Jensen 35 _ _ _] ΣΔΑΝΤΗΝ P]ΑΣΤΟΙ ΔΑΝΤΗΝ O, unde τοῖς δ' ἂν τὴν || Janko

32^C (**18 Wyss, 12 G-P**) idem xx.10-23 Mangoni

τέχνῃ̣[ν μ]έντοι| τὰ παραπ[λή]σια τοῖς 'Α[ν]|τιμάχο[υ γιν]ώσκω τ[ι]νὰς λέγον̣[τα]ς. Ε[. . . .]Ε|ΡΟΙ . . .[. . . τ]αῦτα - πᾶσ[α]| γὰρ ἐξουσία [π]ᾶσιν [ἐ]δόθη - | λελέχθω. κατὰ τέχνην δὲ| τὴν ἐπαιν̣[ε]τὴν γέγρα|πται πόλεω̣[ν] αὐτ[οῖς] καὶ| τόπων οὕτως εὐαρμ̣όσ|τως ἐ[νόντων] σὺν τῶι |καὶ τὴν τάξι[ν] διαφυλάτ|τειν, ὃ κἂν ὠφέλιμόν τις| εἴ[πειεν.

13sq. P; Ε ΔΕΤΕ|ΡΟΣΚΑ[Ο; ε[ἰ] δ' ἑτέ|ρο[ι]ς,| [ἔστω καὶ τ]αῦτα Jensen ε[ἰ] δ' ἑτέ|ροις, κα̣[λὰ καὶ τ]αῦτα Janko 20 ἐ[νόντων] Jensen et Mangoni ἐ[χόντων] Matthews ἔ[κφρασις] Wilamowitz et Zucker

33 (**30 Wyss, 20 G-P**) Plutarch *de garrulitate* 21(513a-b) (III 306 Paton-Pohlenz-Sieveking)

ἔστι τοίνυν τρία γένη τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἀποκρίσεων, τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τὸ δὲ φιλάνθρωπον τὸ δὲ περισσόν. ὁ δὲ περιττὸς καὶ ἀδολέσχης, ἄν γε δὴ τύχῃ καὶ τὸν Κολοφώνιον ἀνεγνωκὼς Ἀντίμαχον 'οὐκ ἔνδον' φησὶν 'ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις, ξένους ἀναμένων Ἴωνας, ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτῷ γέγραφεν Ἀλκιβιάδης περὶ Μίλητον ὢν καὶ παρὰ Τισσαφέρνῃ διατρίβων, τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου σατράπῃ βασιλέως, ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἐβοήθει Λακεδαιμονίοις, νῦν δὲ προστίθεται δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναίοις· ὁ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπιθυμῶν κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τὸν Τισσαφέρνην μετατίθησι'.

Cf. T44 dub.

34 (**37 Wyss, 23 G-P**) Proclus in Plat. *Tim.* 19e (I 64.20 D.)

καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι τεχνικόν ἐστι παρά τινι τῶν ποιητῶν ὕψος, πολὺ τὸ μεμηχανημένον ἔχει καὶ στομφῶδες, μεταφοραῖς χρώμενον ὡς τὰ πολλά, καθάπερ τὸ Ἀντιμάχειον.

35 (**F124 Wyss, 26 G-P**) Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* 3 (36 Crugnola)

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ Νίκανδρος ζηλωτὴς Ἀντιμάχου, διόπερ πολλαῖς αὐτοῦ λέξεσι κέχρηται, διὸ καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δωρίζει, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ 'παῶν' (=F1159)· πηῶν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅ ἐστι συγγενῶν.

36 Phot. *quaest. Amphiloch.* 93.24 (*PG* 101.599)

'εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου κ.τ.λ.' (Paul. *ep. ad Cor.* II 8. 23) ... καὶ οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ ἄν σοι δόξῃ παράδοξον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς ἐλλείψεως εἶδος· πολλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ καὶ Ἀντιμάχῳ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνει Θουκυδίδῃ τε καὶ Πλάτωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει, καὶ σχεδόν τι τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς τε καὶ λογογράφοις·

37 (**22 Wyss, 27 G-P**) Dionysius Phaselites ap. Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* (33 Crugnola)

Νίκανδρον τὸν ποιητὴν Διονύσιος ὁ Φασηλίτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἀντιμάχου ποιήσεως Αἰτωλὸν εἶναί φησι τὸ γένος· ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν, ἱερέα φησὶν αὐτὸν τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐκ προγόνων δεξάμενον τὴν ἱερωσύνην.

38 (**33 Wyss, 33 G-P**) Cassius Longin. ap. *Suda* (III 279 Adler): Λογγῖνος

ὁ Κάσσιος, φιλόσοφος, διδάσκαλος Πορφυρίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, πολυμαθὴς καὶ κριτικὸς γενόμενος. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀνῃρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς σύμπνους Ζηνοβίᾳ τῇ Ὀδηνάθου γυναικί. ἔγραψε ... λέξεις Ἀντιμάχου καὶ Ἡρακλέωνος.

39 (34 Wyss, 34 G-P) Zoticus ap. Porphyr. *Vit. Plot.* 7 (1.11 Henry-Schwyzer)

συνῆν δὲ (scil. Πλωτίνῳ) καὶ Ζωτικὸς κριτικός τε καὶ ποιητικός, ὃς καὶ τὰ Ἀντιμάχου διορθωτικὰ πεποίηται καὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν εἰς ποίησιν μετέβαλε πάνυ ποιητικῶς, συγχυθεὶς δὲ τὰς ὄψεις πρὸ ὀλίγου τῆς Πλωτίνου τελευτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

40 (35 Wyss, 35 G-P) Rufus et Sopater Apam. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 103a 18ff (II.123-5 Henry)

ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι ἐν βίβλοις ιβ΄ Σωπάτρου σοφιστοῦ. ... ὁ δὲ ἕκτος αὐτῷ συνελέγη λόγος ἔκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς Ῥούφου μουσικῆς βίβλου πέμπτης καὶ τετάρτης. αὐλητῶν δὲ καὶ αὐλημάτων ἀφήγησιν ἔχει, ἄνδρες τε ὅσα ηὔλησαν καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ἀντίμαχος οἱ ποιηταὶ τῆς διηγήσεως μέρος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλεῖστοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν ποιητῶν ἀναγομένων.

41 (40 Wyss, 36 G-P) Stobaeus ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 114b 28ss (II 156-158 Henry)

Antimachus apud Photium in numero habetur eorum poetarum quos laudat Stobaeus (ὧν χρήσεις τοῖς κεφαλαίοις παρέθηκεν).

De Antimachi studiis Homericis

42 (= F165, F129 Wyss) Tatian. *ad Graecos* 31 (31, 16 Schwartz) = Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 10.11.3 491d (I.596.10 Mras)

περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν προηρεύνησαν πρεσβύτατοι μὲν Θεαγένης τε ὁ Ῥηγῖνος (8A1 D-K) κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγονὼς καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος (*FGrHist* 107 F21) καὶ Ἀντίμαχος (ita Tatian.: Καλλίμαχος Euseb.) ὁ Κολοφώνιος Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς (2.53 116f.) καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος, μετὰ δὲ ἐκείνους Ἔφορος (*FGrHist* 70 F98).

43 (= F34, F37 Wyss) Eustath. 932.62 (III.437 van der Valk)

ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀντίμαχος ἵππους Ἄρεος τὸν Δεῖμον καὶ τὸν Φόβον νοεῖ.

Cf. γραμματικός (T3)

DUBIA

44 Lucian. *Hist. Conscr.* 57 (II.317 Macleod)

... οἷον ὁρᾷς τι καὶ Ὅμηρος ὡς μεγαλόφρων ποιεῖ· καίτοι ποιητὴς ὢν παραθεῖ τὸν Τάνταλον καὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα καὶ τὸν Τιτυὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. εἰς δὲ Παρθένιος (T6 Mart. = 605(f) *SH*) ἢ Εὐφορίων (T9 v. Gron.) ἢ Καλλίμαχος (T78 Pf.) (Ἀντίμαχος coni. Pierson [ed.] *Moeris Atticist. Lex. Attic.*, 440) ἔλεγε, πόσοις ἂν Ἰξίονα ἐκύλισεν.

Hoc testimonium aptius Antimacho quam Callimacho videtur

45 Posidippus, ap. *P. Tebt.* i saec. a.c. ?Ποσειδί]ππου (= Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* 3196sqq.)

ὡς ὑμῶν ξυνόν,] Μοῦσαι φίλαι, ἐστὶ τὸ γράμμα
Ἀντιμάχου δεινὸν τ]ῶν ἐπέων σοφίην,
οὕτω τόνδε τὸ]ν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐστί [μ]οι ὥσπερ ἀδε[λ]φός
τιμᾶτε σφοδρῶς τῶ]ν καλ' ἐπισταμέν[ω]ν

Initia versuum suppl. Barigazzi, *Hermes* 96 (1968), 215. cf. T13 et 14

46 Hedylus, ap. Athen. 11.473a (= Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* 1857sqq.)

ἐξ ἠοῦς εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς πάλι Σωκλῆς
εἰς ἠοῦν πίνει τετραχόοισι κάδοις,
εἶτ' ἐξαίφνης που τυχὸν οἴχεται· ἀλλὰ παρ' οἶνον
Σικελίδεω παίζει πουλὺ μελιχρότερον,
ἐστὶ δὲ †δὴ πολὺ στιβαρώτερος· ὡς δ' ἐπιλάμπει
ἡ χάρις, ὥστε, φίλος, καὶ γράφε καὶ μέθυε.

5 δὴ πολὺ Athen. τῆς Λύδης coni. Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology* (Oxford 1993), Append. V 370.7 πουλὺ nescio quis πολὺ <δή> Kaibel πολύ <τι> Meineke καὶ πολὺ δὴ Wilam.

Spuria

[47] ([13] **Wyss**) Io. Tzetzes Theogon. v. 27 Bekker (*Abh. Berl. Ak.* 1840, 148; cf. Matranga, *Anecd. Gr.* 2 (1850) 578, 28 et Ziegler in Roscheri *Lexico* V 1511)

... ἑκατὸν Ὅμηροι καὶ Μουσαῖοι
Ὀρφέες καὶ Ἡσίοδοι, Ἀντίμαχοι καὶ Λῖνοι,
καὶ πάντες ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ καὶ θεογονογράφοι.

[48] ([41] **Wyss**) *Titulus Nemeensis* (*I.G.* IV 483)

ἀνέθη]κε
Σι]κυὼν η-
Ἀντιμ]άχου κο[
Ἀν]τιμάχου κ-
ὅποι γωνοῖς (?)
παναιφιλ
-νιαν απ-
σφιν
θ, ζ(?)ωάν

ANTIMACHUS' LIFE AND WORK

The Date of Antimachus

Apollodorus (T1) places Antimachus' *floruit* (ἠνθηκέναι) contemporary with the death of Darius II, shortly after the end of the Peloponnesian War, i.e. around 404 B.C., implying a birth date for the poet of 444.[1]

This dating, like most ancient *floruits*, probably reflects a known event in the poet's career. In this instance, the date is most likely derived from the story that Antimachus took part in a poetic competition at the Lysandria festival in Samos (T2). This occasion was probably in the fall of 404, when the restored Samian oligarchs flattered Lysander by renaming their Heraea in his honour.[2] There is evidence that the Lysandria continued to be celebrated at least four times,[3] but the fact that the Spartan commander himself was present to crown the winner (T2) indicates that the inaugural occasion in 404 is meant.[4] There is thus no need to take Lysander's death in 395 as a *terminus ante quem*, as Wyss does (II).[5]

Other sources provide a dating relative to other known figures,

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[1] *Cf.* Jacoby, *Apollod. Chronik* 299, and Gentili-Prato, *PE* II, 108. Apollodorus is the only ancient source to provide a specific date. G. Serrao in *Storia e Civiltà dei Greci* (1979), 299 oddly says that Apollodorus puts Antimachus' *floruit* during the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-358).

[2] *Cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* Λυσάνδρεια; Plut. *Lys.* 18. See P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia* (London 1979), 268; G. Shipley, *A History of Samos 800-188 B.C.* (Oxford 1987), 133-4.

[3] A statue-base found in the Heraeum bears an inscription referring to a man who won the pancration four times at the Lysandria; *cf.* Shipley, 133-4, with note 27; J. Herington writes: "a rhapsodic or rhapsodic-like, contest at the Samian festival between 404 and Lysander's death (395 B.C.) seems certain" (*Poetry into Drama: Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition* [Berkeley 1985], 165.

[4] C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (*Zetemata* 14^2 München 1970), 3-6, argues that the cult was set up before Lysander returned to Sparta in the fall of 404.

[5] He is followed by A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* (Eng. transl. London 1966), 637 and Serrao, *SCG* (1979), 300.

the most specific being the *Suda* statement (T3) that Antimachus was born before Plato. This is surely a mere deduction from the various stories which show Plato to have been an admirer of Antimachus' work (T2,4,5), but it is also in keeping with the Apollodoran date.

The *Suda* also claims that Antimachus was a pupil and thus a younger contemporary of both Panyassis and Stesimbrotus. Wilamowitz has suggested that it was in the capacity of an epic poet that Antimachus was seen as a pupil of Panyassis and in the role of Homeric scholar as a pupil of Stesimbrotus.[6] Such master-pupil relationships are regular *topoi* in ancient biography in instances where there are obvious similarities or borrowings between the works of certain writers.[7] The discipleship of Antimachus to Panyassis is chronologically impossible if the Apollodoran date for Antimachus is even approximately correct, because Panyassis was probably dead by 450.[8] But the rejection of this relationship is no reason for also repudiating a relationship between Antimachus and Stesimbrotus, as Wyss does (IV). Both Jacoby and Pfeiffer accept the *Suda*'s testimony about these two ancient scholars.[9]

There is certainly no chronological difficulty in Antimachus being a pupil of Stesimbrotus, since the latter is also attested, on the good authority of Xenophon, as among the teachers of Niceratus, son of Nicias.[10] Niceratus was a trierarch at Samos in 409 and was killed by the Thirty in 404.[11] Since his father Nicias was (probably) born not long before 470,[12] Niceratus' own birth can likely be placed between 450 and 440, thus making him a close contemporary of Antimachus. It seems certain too that Stesimbrotus was still active in the 420's,

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[6] *Hermes* 12 (1877), 357n.42 (= *Kl.Schr.*III, 30 n.2).

[7] *Cf.* Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981), 114, 128-9, 131-2; J. Fairweather, *Ancient Society* 5 (1974), 257, 262-3; V.J. Matthews, *Panyassis of Halikarnassos: Text and Commentary* (Leiden 1974), 14.

[8] See Matthews, 12-19; Lesky, 637.

[9] R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I (Oxford 1968), 35-6; F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIB, Kommentar 343.22. *Cf.* H. B. Gottschalk, *Heraclides of Pontus* (Oxford 1980), 137. Lesky (637-8) and Serrao (*SCG* 1979, 299) follow Wyss in rejecting the story of discipleship.

[10] *Symp.* 3.6 = *FGrHist* 107T4. One might wonder how much of Niceratus' Homeric knowledge was imparted by Stesimbrotus. Niceratus knew the whole *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by heart (Xen. *Symp.* 3.5) and claimed Homer to be a source of practical knowledge (*Symp.* 4.6).

[11] See Meiggs-Lewis 84 l.36; Lys. xviii.6; xix. 47; Plut. *Mor.* 998b; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.39; J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971), 405.

[12] Nicias was older than Socrates (Plato, *Laches* 186c); see Davies, 404.

since a political pamphlet of his about Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles was probably written during the Archidamian War.[13]

The anecdotes illustrating Plato's admiration for the work of Antimachus may also provide some evidence for the poet's date. The most credible of these stories is surely the one recorded by Proclus that Heraclides Ponticus himself attested that Plato persuaded him to go to Colophon to collect the works of Antimachus (T4). Heraclides said that Plato preferred the poems of Antimachus to those of Choerilus, although the latter were well thought of at the time. Many scholars have accepted this story as true, since Heraclides was Plato's own pupil and is surely a reliable witness for something he claims to have done himself.[14] Lefkowitz, however, rejects the story, but the arguments by which she supports her sceptical view are based on false premises. She suggests that Heraclides' story about Plato and Antimachus shows that 'the philosopher already as a young man had an interest in the narrative poetry that he later both employs and condemns in his writings'.[15] But Plato of course, would not have been a young man at the time to which the story refers. The episode must be dated no earlier than the 360's, when Heraclides became a member of the Academy.[16] By that time, Plato would have been over sixty. Lefkowitz' phrase 'as a young man' seems to have crept in from the other Plato-Antimachus anecdote about the Samian Lysandria, *cf.* νέος ὢν τότε (T2). She makes a similar confused conflation of these same two anecdotes at the beginning of her discussion, where she implies, after telling of Heraclides' claim that he was sent by Plato to collect Antimachus' work, that Antimachus recited a poem: 'The poem Antimachus recited does not appear to have been the *Lyde*, because according to another anecdote, perhaps from the same original source, he oblit-

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[13] *Cf.* Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* I. 36; Jacoby, *FGrHist* II B, 343, *Apollod. Chronik*, 299.

[14] E.g. Wyss, II and XL; A. Rostagni, *Scritti Minora* I (Turin 1955) 313 ff. = *RFIC* IV (1926), 167ff.; M. Gigante, *RdF* n.s. 32 (1954),67-8; C. Garaffoni, *Vichiana* III (1966), 8ff.; D. Del Corno, *Acme* XV (1962), 69-70; West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, 18 n.28; Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* 94; Vessey, *Hermes* 99 (1971), 1; Alice S. Riginos, *Platonica: The Anecdotes concerning the Life and Writings of Plato* (*Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* III, Leiden 1976), 167; Serrao, *SCG* (1979), 300; Matthews, *Eranos* 77 (1979),44; Gottschalk, *Heraclides*, 3; A. W. Bulloch, "Hellenistic Poetry" in *CHCL* I.542.

[15] Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981), 172-3 (= *ZPE* XL [1980], 18-19, with correction of the name Antiphon [19 = 173] to Antimachus).

[16] *Cf.* Gottschalk, 2-5; Wyss, II.

erated the text after the recital, and was comforted by Plato'.[17]

Far from being present to recite a poem, Antimachus was probably dead by the time of Heraclides' visit to Colophon. This is surely implied in Plato's request to Heraclides. There is no evidence as to how long Antimachus may have lived after 404,[18] but an absolute *terminus ante quem* is provided by Plato's own death in 348. If a birth date of *ca.* 444 is approximately correct, it may be reasonable to suggest that Antimachus died somewhere between about 380 and 365.

The other anecdotes provide no evidence as to Antimachus' date, other than that he was an older contemporary of Plato. But the detail of Plato being present at the Lysandria (T2) is probably unhistorical.[19] It is extremely unlikely that Plato, an Athenian, would have been in attendance at a festival held by Samian oligarchs in honour of the Spartan conqueror Lysander just after the end of the Peloponnesian War.[20] The story could easily have arisen from Plato's known admiration for Antimachus.

HIS FAMILY AND *PATRIA*

Virtually nothing is known about other aspects of the life of Antimachus. The *Suda* tells that his father's name was Hyparchus, but this cannot be confirmed from any other source. The uniqueness of the name may indicate its genuineness, but the suprascript reading Hipparchus could be the correct one. That the poet came from Colophon is apparent from the consensus of our sources (e.g. T2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 19, 22, 25, 33, 42; *cf.* Wyss, IV). He was also patriotic enough to claim Homer as a fellow citizen, a claim later upheld by another Colophonian, Nicander.[21] Quite apart from this claim to Homer, Colophon possessed a rich poetic tradition, with such poets as Mimnermus and Xenophanes before Antimachus, followed by

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17 Lefkowitz, *Lives*, 172 (= *ZPE* XL, 18).

18 *Cf.* Wyss, II. P.M. Fraser (*Ptol. Alex.* I.554) says that Antimachus "apparently lived about 450-380 B.C."

19 *Cf.* Wyss, V; Riginos, 168; Serrao, 300-1; Matthews, 44-5.

20 Even E.F.M. Benecke, *Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Women in Greek Poetry* (London 1892, repr. Groningen 1970), 111 n.2, who believes the anecdote, states: "there is no need to suppose that Plato was actually present at Samos."

21 F166; *cf.* Wyss, XXX. It is notable that Homer is represented on Colophonian coins from the late first century B.C. *cf.* J. G. Milne, *Kolophon and its Coinage: A Study* (New York 1941), 19; Head, *HN*, 570.

Hermesianax, Phoenix, and Nicander after him.[22] The latter author even wrote a work *On the Poets of Colophon.*[23]

Ovid, however, refers to Antimachus as *Clarius poeta*, 'poet of Claros' (T6). Wyss suggests that Ovid's phrase is mere poetic licence rather than a more accurate and precise indication of Antimachus' hometown. Nicander, on the other hand, despite being generally called a Colophonian, is known from his own testimony to have grown up at Claros (*Ther.* 957-8; *Alex.* 9-11).[24]

The sanctuary at Claros had fallen under Colophonian control by the middle of the fourth century,[25] so it would be natural for people from Claros, like Nicander, to be called Colophonian. The reverse procedure, however, is less likely, without some good reason. In the case of Ovid, a possible explanation is that he is simply adding lustre to Antimachus (and thus to his comparison) by associating him with the famous god of Claros, a god with an interest in poetry and music.

Parke, however, has suggested that Ovid's references to Claros and Clarian Apollo reflect the restoration of the temple in the Augustan period, which led to an heightened awareness of the oracle on the part of the Romans.[26] This restoration was perhaps the work of Sex. Appuleius, a nephew of Augustus and governor of the province of Asia. As a patron and benefactor of the shrine, he was called a 'second founder' on an inscription at Colophon.[27]

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[22] *Cf.* A.S.F. Gow and A.F. Scholfield (eds.), *Nicander: The Poems and Poetical Fragments* (Cambridge 1953, repr. New York 1979),5; H.W. Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (London 1985), 131; P. M. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* I.554. There were probably two poets named Nicander, the more famous one being the younger, to be dated to the second century (*cf.* Gow-Scholfield, 5-8; Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIa *Kommentar* 229-235; Parke, 130).

[23] Schol. *Ther.* 3; F12 and 14 Schn.; *FGrHist* 271-272 F10; Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II 791 n.2; Parke, 131.

[24] *Cf.* Gow-Scholfield, 5.

[25] *Cf.* Parke, 123.

[26] Parke, 133f; F.R.D. Goodyear (ed.), *The Annals of Tacitus* Vol. II (Cambridge 1981), 358 on 2.54.2.

[27] *Cf.* Parke, 133-6. Appuleius was *cos.* 29 and his proconsulship in Asia came after Cicero's son M. Tullius Cicero (29-8?), but before Paullus Fabius Maximus (10-9 B.C.), *cf.* D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950), 1580. He was also governor of Spain in 28 and celebrated a triumph in January 26, "not long after" which Sir Ronald Syme would place his proconsulship in Asia (*The Roman Aristocracy*, Oxford 1986, 316-7). Parke, however, would put it "considerably later" (247n.17). For Appuleius' inscription at Colophon, see U. Weidemann, *Arch. Anz.*(1965), 463f: L. Robert, *Les Fouilles de Claros* (Bruxelles 1954), 16.

It is significant that it is only in the later poetry of Ovid that for the first time Claros is mentioned with some frequency in Latin literature.[28] The earliest Ovidian reference comes in the *Ars Amatoria* (2.80), completed in 1 B.C. Then there are two instances in the *Metamorphoses* (1.516;11.410ff), a work not quite finished at the time of the poet's exile in A.D. 8. The reference to Antimachus comes in the *Tristia,* composed during Ovid's exile, and his final mention of the god of Claros occurs in the revised dedication of the *Fasti.* This dedication (to Germanicus), written between A.D. 14-17, presents a flattering comparison of the young Roman with Apollo of Claros.[29] In the very next year, A.D. 18, Germanicus actually visited Colophon and consulted the oracle.[30] Perhaps his curiosity was aroused by Ovid's comparison, but more likely his visit reflects (and probably served to increase) the same growing Roman interest in the cult that lies behind Ovid's several references. In calling Antimachus *Clarius poeta,* Ovid is showing his awareness that Colophon and Claros shared a political and cultural identity and also associating the poet with his city's most famous asset, Apollo.[31]

Discussion of Antimachus' beloved, Lyde, and of the nature of his relationship to her is best left to the section on the poem *Lyde.*

THE *THEBAID*

Antimachus was known in antiquity as both an epic and an elegiac poet. But undoubtedly his most famous work was his *Thebaid,* to which about seventy fragments can be securely attributed. The primacy of the *Thebaid* is also attested by the fact that Antimachus was admitted to the Alexandrian canon of epic poets (T28; 29) and is often mentioned with other epic poets (T18; 19; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 27; 30).[32]

The internal evidence of the fragments does not indicate that Antimachus' *Thebaid* went beyond the story of the Seven against Thebes, i.e. it probably did not extend to include the campaign of

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28 There is only a single earlier reference, namely Virgil, *Aen.* 3.360.

29 *Cf.* Parke, 135.

30 Parke, 136. *Cf.* Goodyear (ed.), *The Annals of Tacitus* II, 358 on 2.54.

31 Coin types from Colophon throughout its history were predominantly Apolline; *cf.* Milne, *Kolophon and its Coinage,* 14ff; Robert, *Les Fouilles de Claros,* 6.

32 *Cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis* T10 a-c and pp. 31-2.

the Epigoni. The fragment, mentioning Diomedes (F90) which some have thought might belong to the story of the Epigoni and come from the *Thebaid* is more likely in fact to be a fragment of the *Lyde* and part of the story of Diomedes' return from Troy.[33]

This latter story recalls the comment of the scholiast [Acro] on Horace's *Ars Poetica* 146 (T26^{A}) that Antimachus began his account of the return of Diomedes from the death of Meleager. The commentator's remarks address Horace's line *nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri*, which may of course be a purely imaginary illustration of the sort of thing a *scriptor cyclicus* might do rather than be a reference to any particular poet.[34] The remarks of the other scholiasts on the same passage are equally valueless.[35] Porphyrion (T26^{B}) claimed that Antimachus so extended his material that he filled twenty-four books before he brought the Seven leaders as far as Thebes. Another scholiast (T26^{C}), in an absurd conflation of the comments of [Acro] and Porphyrion, depicts Antimachus as describing in twenty-four books the return of the Greeks from Troy before he brought the seven leaders to Greece. Wyss' discussion of the *Ars Poetica* scholia is generally sound, but he is surely mistaken in accepting that Antimachus' *Thebaid* was divided into twenty-four books.[36]

The actual worthlessness of the scholiasts' comments regarding the length of the *Thebaid* is exposed by the very number twenty-four. As Van Sickle has well shown, the division of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* each into twenty-four books designated by the letters of the Ionic alphabet was the work of editors of Homer between the third and first centuries B.C. and resulted in a new fashion for the length of a poetic book, namely on average of 500-650 lines.[37] There is no evi-

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[33] See commentary on F90 and Wyss, VIII. It is surprising that as recent a writer as G. Serrao can take the mere presence of Diomedes in an Antimachean poem as an indication that the poem in question is the *Thebaid* and that it extended to the expedition of the Epigoni (*Storia e Civiltà dei Greci* III 5 [Milan 1979], 308).

[34] But F88 and 89 (see commentary) may belong to the Meleager story and, like F90, have been part of the *Lyde*. It is therefore possible that in this poem Antimachus told the story of Meleager and then moved on to that of Diomedes, thus providing some slight basis for the scholiast's comment.

[35] *Cf.* Vessey, *Hermes* 99(1971),9. Serrao (above note 33) continues to treat these scholia seriously (306-8).

[36] Wyss, VII-IX. E.A. Barber, in his review of Wyss' edition (*Gnomon* 1938, 546) also questions Wyss' inference about the twenty-four books; so too C. Gallavotti, *RFIC* (1937), 326. Serrao (see above n.2) persists in believing in twenty-four books, as do e.g. Lesky, *Hist. Gk. Lit.* 638; P. Carrara, *Prometheus* XII (1986),213.

[37] J. Van Sickle, "The Book-Roll and Some Conventions of the Poetic Book", *Arethusa* 13 (1980), 9ff.

dence that any of the other early epics were so divided. The basis for Wyss' remark that after Zenodotus the number twenty-four was *quasi sanctus* for the division of epic poems is not stated.[38] Earlier book divisions appear to have fallen into the range of 1000-2000 lines and it is interesting that the only evidence (and it is very tenuous) regarding Antimachus' *Thebaid* is a trace which Lobel suggests might be $\bar{\lambda}$ (= 1100) as a line-number in the right-hand margin opposite v.9 of F41a.[39]

The highest-numbered book of the *Thebaid* attested by an ancient source is Bk.5, in which Adrastus seems to have entertained the heroes before the expedition set out for Thebes (F19-24; 28). How many more books Antimachus required to complete his poem can only be guessed. One might suppose that a sixth book could have included the march of the Argives up to the death of Opheltes/ Archemorus (F29; 30), a seventh the funeral games for the dead child (F31-35), with perhaps three books to deal with the actual attack on Thebes, giving a total of ten books comprising some 10-15,000 verses.[40] The upper limit is suggested by Gregory's comments on τὸ λακωνίζειν (T27). Gregory's argument that length is judged not by the words but by the action would make little sense if Antimachus' work was not shorter than the *Iliad* in terms of lines[41]. If the length of the *Odyssey* is taken into account, then Antimachus' poem could even be shorter, towards the lower end of the range indicated.

The scholiasts and grammarians who mined the *Thebaid* for examples of lexical or grammatical rarities in all probability cited the first instances they encountered of the particular feature to be illustrated. Hence the references only to early books, namely 1, 3, and 5.

Bk.1 began with an invocation to the Muses (F1) and contained the famous description of Teumessus (F2), which was part of the story of Zeus and Europa (F3 and 4).[42] Presumably the poet then dealt with the foundation of Thebes and the reasons for the anger of the deities. The author of the *Vita Chisiana* of Dionysius Periegetes

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[38] Wyss, VII.

[39] See commentary on F41a.

[40] Barber (*Gnomon* 1938, 546) says that twelve books seem a more likely number than twenty-four.

[41] *Cf.* J. van Ijzeren, *Mnem.* Ser.II, 56 (1928), 294.

[42] For further details concerning the ensuing discussion, the reader is referred to the commentary on the individual fragments cited.

(T9) criticises Antimachus' introduction for not bringing in any material about the Argives. But within this same introductory book he did include the meeting of Tydeus and Polynices and their reception by Adrastus (F6-10). Clearly this book must have been quite long to have accommodated so much material, especially when treated in the manner for which Antimachus became notorious.

Wyss (X) is perhaps right in suggesting that Bk.2 included speeches by Tydeus and Polynices explaining how they had each been driven into exile, with Tydeus probably including the story of his upbringing among the swineherds (F13).

The three fragments ascribed to Bk.3 (F14; 15; 16) tell us little or nothing about the content of that book, but again Wyss may be correct in supposing that it dealt with Tydeus' embassy to Thebes on Polynices' behalf. In F14 Antimachus may be comparing Tydeus to Aegaeon/Briareus, while F15 seems to refer to Iocasta as mother of Polynices and Eteocles. But one can hardly even guess at why Antimachus mentioned the river Styx at Arcadian Nonacris in this book (F16).

No fragments are specifically ascribed to Bk.4, but Wyss (X) plausibly suggests that it contained a catalogue of the Argive forces. Certainly F17, which gives the lineage of Parthenopaeus, could belong to such a catalogue, but the mention of Amphigenia (F182) could equally well come from Antimachus' edition of the *Iliad*.

Most of the fragments attributed to Bk.5 are part of a description of a banquet at the court of Adrastus, presumably prior to the departure of the expedition for Thebes. Somewhere in the course of this banquet, certain guests mention the sack of Dyme. Two Epeans apparently threaten to act at Thebes as they did when they sacked Dyme (F27), while someone else tells that he too took part in that same conflict, probably on the other side (F28).

The probable main events of the subsequent books, none of which is cited by number, have already been outlined, but some additional details may be noted. Perhaps upon the arrival of the Argive force at Thebes, Antimachus described the city as 'flourishing with fruit' (F37). Probably in the description of the attack on the city, he mentioned the Oncaean Gates (F38). In F39, the preparations of the two sides for battle are recounted and F40 appears to belong to a description of Argive flight. Several other fragments probably come from the account of the attack on Thebes (F41-54). A description of Tartarus, with the souls of the dead fleeing in panic, precedes a ref-

erence to Polynices going to attack Eteocles. In F51, Antimachus may be describing the shield of one of the principal combatants. The ferocity of a warrior's attack is compared to the fire of Hephaestus (F52). A warrior threatens to inflict graphic violence on an opponent's body (F53). The context of F54 is one of the grief caused by the death of heroes (*cf.* Wyss, XI).

The practice of using Statius' *Thebaid* to help reconstruct that of Antimachus, risky and uncertain at best, can now be largely abandoned since the so-called 'Barth scholium' (F[204]), with its reference to the contest between Melampus and Amphiaraus, should be completely rejected as a fragment of Antimachus.[43] Moreover, Vessey is surely right when he declares: 'As a point of principle one should not attempt to deduce from Statius what occurred in Antimachus'.[44]

But it is quite reasonable to suppose that Statius knew of Antimachus' *Thebaid* and perhaps had read it, although only the slightest traces of such knowledge can be detected in the Latin poem.[45] One such passage in *Theb.*1.46ff., where Oedipus curses his sons and calls up the Fury Tisiphone from the Underworld. If Maas' supplement <Οἰδιπόδαο> in Antimachus F112.1 is correct (which it may not be), then Antimachus too described the summoning by Oedipus of an Erinys from the Underworld.[46] But there is a strong possibility that this Antimachus fragment should be attributed to his *Artemis* rather than to his *Thebaid*.[47] Such seeming verbal echoes as Ἀράων (F112.3) /Dirae (Statius 1.52), Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (F114)/ *umbrifero Styx livida fundo* (1.57) depict common features which might be thought inevitable in any description of the Underworld. Moreover, Statius also had Homeric (e.g. *Il.* 9.565ff.) and especially Virgilian models to follow for such descriptions.[48] Tisiphone in particular is mentioned in numerous Virgilian passages.[49]

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[43] For the 'scholium' and Vessey's discussion of it (*Philol.* 114, 119-20; 136-7), see the commentary on F[204].

[44] Vessey, *Philol.* 114, 123.

[45] *Cf.* Barber, who considers Wyss too dogmatic in denying Antimachean influence on Statius (*Gnomon* 1938,546-7); F.M. Ahl, "Statius' '*Thebaid*': A Reconsideration", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.32.5, 2815 n.21.

[46] *Cf.* Barber, 547; A. Körte, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 13 (1938), 82.

[47] See the discussion of the *Artemis*.

[48] E.g. *Aen.*4.469-73; 609-10; 6.280; 374-5; 7.324ff.

[49] E.g. *Aen.* 6.554-6;570-2; 10.761; *Georg.* 3.551 (both Tisiphone and Styx). Vessey argues for Virgilian rather than Antimachean influence, but curiously chooses to

Also noteworthy is the description of the chariot race in the funeral games of Opheltes/Archemorus, where the name Caerus is apparently given to a horse of Amphiaraus (6.524), whereas in Antimachus (F31.3), the horse Caerus belongs to Adrastus.[50] Earlier in Statius' account (501), a reference to the team of Mars (*Martisque iugum*) may be a recollection that Antimachus had thought Deimos and Phobos to be Ares' horses (F34). But on the nationality of Parthenopaeus, Statius followed the common tradition making him an Arcadian (e.g. 4.246ff.; 6.561; 9.858), whereas Antimachus said he was an Argive (F17).[51] On other details, a seeming point of contact between Antimachus and Statius can be shown to be more apparent than real, e.g. Statius' reference to Amphigenia (4.178) is beholden to Homer (*Il.* 2.593), not to Antimachus (F182), and his description of Heracles weighing down the *Argo* (5.401-2) is derived from Virgil's account of Aeneas on Charon's boat (*Aen.* 6.413) rather than from Antimachus' *Lyde* (F69). The comparison of Tydeus to Briareus/Aegaeon (2.596) is also dependent on Virgil (*Aen.* 10.565ff.), although on this occasion it is possible that Virgil's simile is itself derived from Antimachus (F14).[52]

Wyss (XIII-XIX) effectively dismisses the more fanciful suggestions of earlier scholars who thought they had discovered traces of Antimachus in Statius.[53] More recently, Vessey has further downplayed Antimachean influence on Statius, as has Venini.[54] But the stance of Ahl seems eminently sensible. He writes: 'Statius' vast knowledge makes it unwise to base arguments on his ignorance of certain authors and traditions: notably Antimachus of Colophon's 'Thebaid'. The remains of Antimachus are so fragmentary that there really is not enough evidence to decide the matter one way or the

invoke Allecto rather than Tisiphone and gives an incorrect reference (*Philol.* 114, 124-5).

[50] The reading *Caerumque* is a generally accepted emendation by O. Mueller, *P.Papini Statii Thebais et Achilleis cum Scholii* I (Leipzig 1870) on *Theb.* 6.524.

[51] *Cf.* Vessey, *Philol.* 114, 132.

[52] *Cf.* Vessey, *Philol.* 114, 126-7.

[53] E.g. F. Moerner, *De P. Papini Statii Thebaide quaestiones criticae, grammaticae, metricae* (Diss. Königsberg 1890), 5-6: R. Helm, *De P. Papini Statii Thebaide* (Diss. Berlin 1892), 6-11; D. De Filippis, *Atene e Roma* 4 (1901), 125-8; L. Legras, *Étude sur la Thébaide de Stace* (Paris 1905), 15f.; 31-2; O. Rossbach, *BPhW* 35 (1915), 235-6; C. Fiehn, *Quaestiones Statianae* (Diss. Berlin 1917), 54ff.; J. Van Ijzeren, *Mnemosyne* Ser. II 56 (1928), 273-99.

[54] Vessey, *Philol.* 114, 118-143; P. Venini, *Athen.* 50(1972), 400-3.

other. ... Much of the debate on Statius and Antimachus seems based on the assumption that Antimachus was long and tedious. Scholars who like Statius tend to dissociate him from Antimachus; those who dislike him presume he is an imitator of Antimachus'.[55]

It is indisputable that in treating the subject of the Seven against Thebes Antimachus must have been familiar with the Cyclic *Thebaid*. Ancient commentators have probably passed over without mention many aspects on which he agreed with the earlier epic, but one notable point of agreement between the two *Thebaids* is that Parthenopaeus was an Argive (*cf.* F17 and Cyclic *Theb.* F4 Davies *EGF*), not an Arcadian as the tragedians and later tradition would have it. But on two other details, the story of Periboea (F13, *cf.* F8 Davies) and the list of the owners of the horse Arion (F32, *cf.* F6$^{B\text{-}C}$ Davies), Antimachus differed from his early epic predecessor.

But apart from Homer, whose influence on vocabulary is pervasive, Antimachus does not seem to have borrowed much from other epic poets. Yet the opening of the *Thebaid* (F1 and 2) recalls Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*, F31.5 is indebted to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, F41, 51, and 60 show Hesiodic influence, mostly linguistic. Antimachus was in agreement with the *Titanomachia* on the role of Aegaeon/Briareus as an ally of the Titans (F14, *cf.* *Titan.* F3 Davies).

On the other hand, Antimachus appears to have been considerably influenced by fifth-century writers, both choric and tragic. But his debts to these poets consist of vocabulary rather than mythological material.

Wyss (XII-XIII) rightly stresses that Antimachus is not dependent on the tragedies for Theban material, not even on Euripides' *Phoenissae*.

THE *LYDE*

We know even less about Antimachus' second major work, the *Lyde*, but it is clear from ἐν ἐλεγέιοις (T10) and τὴν ἐλεγέων τὴν καλουμένην Λύδην (T12) that it was a poem in elegiac couplets. It comprised at least two books, since F85 is ascribed to the second book,[56] but only around thirty fragments can be attributed, with any

[55] F. M. Ahl, *ANRW* II.32.5, 2815 n.21.

[56] This is the only fragment for which a book number is cited. Some have emended F78 so as to refer to a third book; see commentary *ad loc.*

probability, to the poem.[57] It is notable that none of the new papyrus fragments appear to come from the *Lyde*.

Antimachus is said to have composed this poem in memory of Lyde, his mistress or wife, to console himself on his loss (T10; 11; 12).[58] Although the fact that the woman was Lydian (T10; 11; 13; and probably guaranteed by her name) need not rule out the possibility that she was the poet's wife (T12) rather than his mistress, it is nonetheless very striking that the three sources which say that she was Lydian or foreign do not call her his wife and that the one which does make her his wife does not mention her foreignness. Wyss (IV) may well be correct in assuming that the author of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, [Plutarch], made Lyde a legitimate wife for moral reasons. The relative chronological closeness of Clearchus (*ap.* Athenaeus, T10) to Antimachus is some guarantee of the accuracy of his information that Lyde was in fact a *hetaira*.[59] The frequent comparison with the Mimnermus-Nanno relationship (e.g.T10, 11, 14) and also with that of Hermesianax and Leontion (T10) supports this belief.

There are comparatively few testimonia specifically to the *Lyde*, making it difficult to discover much about the nature of the poem. Poetically, however, it seems to have shared some of the characteristics of Antimachus' epic, the *Thebaid*.[60] Indeed its very subject-matter, ἡρωικαὶ συμφοραί (T12), suggests that it was imbued with an epic hue. This impression is supported by a positive view from antiquity, that of Asclepiades (T13), who refers to the woman Lyde as being τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Κόδρου σεμνοτέρη πασῶν because of Antimachus. This phrase has subtle shades of meaning: a) 'more revered than all the women since Codrus', i.e. since the dawn of Ionian history, or b) 'more revered than all the women descended from Codrus', i.e. Lyde the foreign Lydian is more revered than all the women of the highest Ionian nobility.[61] In the rest of the epigram, Lyde the

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[57] F67-97; possibly from *Lyde* or *Thebaid* F130, 135; from *Thebaid* rather than *Lyde* F132, 134; from Studia Homerica rather than *Lyde* F183.

[58] *Cf.* Wyss IV; D. Del Corno, *Acme* 15 (1962), 76ff.; Vessey, *PVS* IX (1969-70), 55 and *Hermes* 99 (1971), 2; West, *SGEI*, 18; 75; G. Serrao, *QUCC* 32 (1979), 91; N. Krevans in *Hellenistica Groningana* I (ed. M. A. Harder et al. 1993), 149.

[59] *Cf.* Del Corno, 76.

[60] So early editors, e.g. Schellenberg (30), Stoll (12), Naeke (*Choerili Samii quae supersunt*, 75), Wyss (XXI-II).

[61] Surely here the proverb εὐγενέστερος Κόδρου (Luc. *Tim.* 23) is relevant, despite Gow-Page, *Gk. Anthol.* II, 139. *Cf.* G. Tarditi, *Annali Univ. Macerata Fac. Lett.*

woman becomes *Lyde* the poem (*cf.* τὶς γὰρ ἐμ' οὐκ ἤειδε; τὸ ... γράμμα) and clearly Asclepiades is saying that the poem too is σεμνός, 'reverend', 'august', 'majestic', a term which recalls Quintilian's reference to Antimachus as epic poet displaying *gravitas et minime vulgare eloquendi genus* (T24).

Asclepiades' enthusiasm for the poem is shared by a contemporary epigrammist, Posidippus (T14), who toasts the *Nanno* of Mimnermus and the *Lyde* of σώφρων Antimachus. But Asclepiades' epigram may well have provoked Callimachus' well-known criticism of the poem, Λυδὴ καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν (T15).[62] But Del Corno is probably right in suggesting that this criticism relates to style only, not to the overall structure of the work.[63] However, he sees παχύ as a reference to the pomposity of the poem and οὐ τορόν to its obscurity.[64] In the former case he is probably correct, in the latter not.

It is difficult to agree with Gentili-Prato that παχύ refers to the *magnitudo et longitudo* of the *Lyde.* The adjective seems never to be applied to length but generally to thickness and texture, being frequently contrasted with λεπτός, e.g. a foot swollen with frostbite and a hand shrunken with cold (Hesiod, *WD* 497); the thickness of a finger (Plato, *Rep.* 523d); the texture of a garment, thick or coarse contrasted with thin or fine (*Cratylus* 389b). An excellent recent discussion of παχύς is presented by Nita Krevans, who points out that, in addition to the usual sense of 'stout' or 'thick', the adjective bears two meanings in technical writings on rhetoric and music which are very appropriate to the present context, namely 'florid' and 'rough'.[65]

The former sense is found in discussions of literary style in [Longinus] when the writer criticises Plato for overindulgence in periphrasis (29.1.2), in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* 5.21; *cf. Is.*

Filos. 3-4 (1970-71), 431, who sees a connection between Lyde and Horace's Lydia, who is *Romana ... clarior Ilia* (*Odes* 3.9.8).

[62] *Cf.* Serrao, *QUCC* 32 (1979), 94-5; P. Knox, *HSCP* 89 (1985), 114; Del Corno, 59 and 65-6, suggests that Callimachus' hostility to Asclepiades may have been purely personal, but *cf.* Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* I.566; 749; 755.

[63] Del Corno, 66-7: *cf.* Knox, 115. See now Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 149-160, especially 156-9.

[64] Del Corno, 66-7; in taking τορόν as equivalent to σαφές he follows Pfeiffer, *Callim.* I.326 on F398.

[65] Krevans, 157-8.

19.15; *Pomp.* 2.5.4), and in Hermogenes, who describes an overelaborated logos as παχύτερον (*Id.* 1.6.149). Some of our sources (T33 and 34) bring similar charges of verbosity and excessive use of metaphor against Antimachus.

The second meaning 'rough', 'coarse' occurs in discussions of sound or music, e.g. Aristotle (*Aud.* 803b) defines sounds as 'fine' (λεπτάς) or 'coarse' (παχέας) and similarly distinguishes voices (804a), comparing the 'fine' ones to those of the cicada and nightingale. For this sense, Krevans also well cites the only instance of παχύς in Aratus, παχέα κρώζουσα (*Phaen.* 953, of the harsh cawing of a crow).[66]

Krevans seeks corroboration of her suggestion that Callimachus' criticism may be directed at the sound of Antimachus' verses in the testimony of Dionysius about the poet's ἀγωνιστικὴ τραχύτης (T23), which she translates as 'provocative roughness'.[67] But it should be noted that Dionysius is praising Antimachus as an epic poet, not criticising him as a writer of elegy. The phrase might be rendered 'heroic ruggedness' (*cf.* T22, where Dionysius approvingly compares Antimachus' austerity to that of Pindar, Aeschylus, and Thucydides, among others). We may be able to assume however from Callimachus' criticism that Antimachus' elegy sounded too much like an epic to the Cyrenean's discriminating ear.

These illustrations of the meaning of παχύ indicate that Serrao's attempt to relate Callimachus' παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν to Aeschylus' βραχὺς τορός θ' ὁ μῦθος (*Suppl.* 274) and thus to the length of the *Lyde* is ill conceived.[68] In Aeschylus' play, the Danaids, in response to Pelasgus' statement that the city does not care for a long discourse (μακράν ... ῥῆσιν, 273), reply 'the story is brief and to the point': βραχύς answers to μακράν. But Serrao's error lies in thinking that παχύ in Callimachus is the opposite of βραχύς in Aeschylus. In fact, rather than viewing βραχύς and παχύ on the one hand and τορός and οὐ τορόν on the other as representing the two polarities of a single semantic axis, as he argues, I would suggest that Callimachus' line is simply an emphatic double expression of a single idea: The *Lyde* is

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[66] Krevans, *ibid.*

[67] Krevans, 158.

[68] Serrao, *QUCC* 32 (1979), 97-8. He presents the same arguments, in almost identical words, in *SCG* (1979), 305-6.

thick in texture and not acute or finely wrought.[69] It is rough sounding and not clear.

Here I would accept Serrao's understanding of τορόν against that of Del Corno. Serrao correctly points out that εἰ τορὸν οὖας ἔλλαχες in the epigram of Antipater (T19) is in deliberate response to Callimachus' οὐ τορόν, and that the force of τορόν is essentially the same.[70] Antipater bids his reader to commend the verse of Antimachus, verse forged on the anvils of the Muses, if by chance the reader has a discriminating ear. It is worth noting that a synonym for χαλκευτόν is τορευτόν, from the same root as τορόν.[71] Moreover τορευτόν is applied to Callimachus' own poem, the *Hecale*, by the epigrammist Crinagoras, Καλλιμάχου τὸ τορευτὸν ἔπος τόδε (*AP* 9.545 = T4 Hollis) and 'implies high finish, as of embossed work or carving in relief'.[72] A poem that is τορευτόν or τορόν is 'fine', ' highly-finished', while an ear that is τορόν is 'acute', attuned to recognise such a work, one ringing from being beaten out on the anvils of the Muses.

Since παχύ has been shown to be no criticism of the length of the *Lyde*, Serrao's conclusion that the negative judgement of Callimachus was not limited to the formal expression, but involved the condemnation of the entire poem can be seen to be ill-founded.[73] Callimachus' criticism was purely stylistic, as is suggested by the association of his opinion of the *Lyde* with Aristophanes' criticism of Aeschylus in the *Ranae* (T15[A-B]).[74] Callimachus himself in his prologue to the *Aetia* (23-4) tells how Apollo bade him feed his sacrificial lamb to be as fat as possible (ὅττι πάχιστον), but to keep his

69 Cf. Knox, 115, who says that Callimachus faults the poem for an absence of λεπτότης" .

70 Serrao, 95-6; *cf.* the note of Gow-Page, *Hell.* Epig. II, 217, who render τορόν in Callimachus as 'lucid' and, although seeing that Antipater "is seemingly contradicting C. and turning the criticism on its author," say that " his use of τορός is not quite the same, but may suggest that, rightly or wrongly common he understood it here of sound." Krevans also indicates that τορός can refer to sound (158).

71 *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* IV.1.1126 s.v. τορεῖν. For the verb τορεύειν used metaphorically *cf.* Dion. Hal. *De Thuc.* 24, on the careful literary craftsmanship of Thucydides; for similar metaphorical language *cf.* ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν (Pind. *P.* 1.86) and *non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua est* (Cic. *de Orat.* 3.30.121).

72 Gow-Page, *Gk. Anthol.* II.220.

73 Serrao, *QUCC* 32 (1979), 97-8.

74 On Aristophanes' presentation of Aeschylus and Euripides and Callimachean aesthetics *cf.* F. Cairns, *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge 1979), 8-10.

Muse slender (λεπταλέην). While the details of this lacunose text are uncertain, it is clear that the prologue champions the cause of λεπτότης, referring to the subtle, finely-wrought poetry, against slowly-moving turgid compositions which are characterized by παχύτης.[75]

Another sense of παχύς which Krevans thinks may be present in Callimachus' criticism of the *Lyde.* is "stupid".[76] She appears however to contradict this suggestion when she states that Callimachus' charges against Antimachus do not preclude admiration for the *Lyde's* attractive aspects, which she sees as its combination of personal poetry, *scholarship*, and catalogue-narrative (my italics).[77] Her source for παχύς, "stupid" (Aristoph. *Nub.* 842) in fact couples the word with ἀμαθής. While Callimachus clearly disliked the *Lyde* for the reasons suggested above, even he can hardly have accused its scholarly author of being "unlearned" or "stupid".

Callimachus probably saw Antimachus as his own predecessor in the field of elegy regarding the scholarly treatment of antiquarian motifs. What he could not accept was the style, which appears to have been similar to that of Antimachus' epic and perhaps excessively dependent on heavy epic language and expression.[78] Peter Green depicts Callimachus as rejecting epic and the heroic *ethos*, but Alan Cameron points out that Callimachus' criticism in the *Aetia* prologue refers to elegy, not epic, as is apparent from the mention of Mimnermus (v.11) and the allusion to Philetas (v.10).[79] We have already noticed the testimony of Asclepiades (T13) and Posidippus (T14) to the popularity of Antimachus' *Lyde* in early third-century Alexandria. If we can believe an ancient scholiast, this pair was among those attacked in the *Aetia* prologue, perhaps because of their admiration for Antimachus' elegy.[80] Cameron is surely right in sup-

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[75] The literature on the *Aetia* prologue is extensive, but the reader might note N. Hopkinson, *A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge 1988), 86-101; P.M. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.*, I.747-9; II.1058 n.287; D.L. Clayman, *Wien. Stud.* N.F.XI (1977), 27-34; A.W. Bulloch in *CHCL* I.557-561. For summaries of the controversy over the details *cf.* L. Torraca, *Il prologo dei Telchini e l'inizio degli Aitia di Callimaco* (*Collana di studi greci*, 48) (Naples 1969); A.S. Hollis, *CQ* 28 (1978), 402-6; V.J. Matthews, *Mnem.* 32 (1979), 128-37; K. McNamee, *Amer. Soc. Pap. Bull.* XIX (1982), 83-6; A. Allen, *Mimnermus* (Stuttgart 1993) Appendix B, 146-56.

[76] Krevans, 156-7.

[77] Krevans, 159.

[78] *Cf.* Del Corno, 67.

[79] P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1990), 172 and 203; Alan Cameron, *TAPA* 122 (1992), 309.

[80] Schol. Flor. 4-5 (I.3 Pf.): *cf.* Alan Cameron, 309, but possibly the scholiast is

posing that Callimachus disapproved of the *Lyde* as an elegy written in "a heavily epicizing style".[81]

As for the subject matter of the *Lyde*, Hermesianax (T11) says that Antimachus filled books with γόων, without specifying whether these laments were the poet's own or those of the mythological characters about whom he wrote. The evidence of [Plutarch] (T12), however, suggests the latter, that Antimachus lessened his own grief by describing the troubles of others, enumerating τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς. Here the manuscript reading ἡρωικάς should be retained and not emended to ἐρωτικάς, since the fragments show that not all the themes treated contained an erotic element, e.g. the wanderings of Demeter (F78) and the story of Oedipus (F84). Other myths treated which did tell of love gone awry include the voyage of the Argonauts (F67-77), the stories of Bellerophon (F81-83), of Adonis (F92), and probably Erysichthon (F85), Idas, Marpessa, and Apollo (F88-89), and the return of Diomedes (F90). There were clearly many more if we can trust Hermesianax' ἐνεπλήσατο (T11) and [Plutarch's] ἐξαριθμησάμενος (T12). Heinze points out that the several references to the Argonaut story show that ἐξαριθμησάμενος should not be taken to indicate a mere catalogue type of treatment.[82] Certainly the mention of a catalogue of the Argonauts (F67), the building of the *Argo* (F68), various stages of the voyage (F69-71), Jason's adventures at Colchis (F72-73), the union of Jason and Medea (F75) and the return voyage (F76 and 77) point to a treatment of some length and scope.[83]

But it is perhaps unlikely that the entire poem consisted of such mythological material. West is probably correct in suggesting on the basis of Hermesianax (T11) and Antimachus (F93) that the poet himself told how because of his love for Lyde he came to the river Pactolus and sat by its banks with his lover.[84] Such a description

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merely making an assumption on the basis of the anti-Callimachean epigrams of the two poets.

[81] Alan Cameron, 309.

[82] R. Heinze, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig Philol.-histor. Klasse* 71 (1919) fasc.7, 86-7. *Cf.* E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (3rd ed. Leipzig 1914, repr. Hildesheim 1960), 77-8; Wyss, XXIII.

[83] *Cf.* Serrao, *QUCC* 32 (1979), 92; Del Corno, 84-5; Wyss, XIX (but there is no compelling evidence that the Argonaut story came in the first book of the *Lyde*, as Wyss suggests).

[84] West, *SGEI*, 170; *cf.* Krevans, 153-4. Wyss (XXII) had thought that *ne tenuissimum quidem ... frustulum* existed of such a nature.

likely came in the introductory part of the poem, but we have no indications from the fragments of any similar personal passages interspersed between the mythological tales.

Antimachus appears to have been the creator of this type of narrative elegy,[85] a circumstance which may have led Aristotle to rank him among the principal authors in the genre, along with Archilochus, Mimnermus, and Solon (T7).[86] But on the problem of the structure of the *Lyde*, Del Corno can hardly be right in his suggestion that this work was made up of the ποιήματα which Plato sent Heraclides to Colophon to collect (συλλέξαι).[87] Del Corno places too much weight on Proclus' reference to Choerilus having a high reputation at the time as being an indication that Plato's preference was for Antimachus' epic production. Wyss (XXIV) is more likely to be correct in supposing that it would hardly be credible that Antimachus left unpublished his most important works, the *Thebaid* and the *Lyde*. Presumably these were the works which had won Plato's admiration, which after the poet's death led the philosopher to wonder if Antimachus might have left behind some other unpublished poems. Wyss proposed that the works collected by Heraclides were the *Delti*, the very title of which suggests their suitability for such a collection. Del Corno objects that the *Delti* is a rather mysterious poem, mentioned in antiquity only once (F129, cited by Athenaeus), whereas it is likely that a work recognized by the great philosopher Plato would surely have gained greater notoriety among posterity.[88] But of course we know nothing of the quality of the *Delti*, not even whether it too met with Plato's approval. We can also turn Del Corno's argument back on its author by suggesting that if the poems collected by Heraclides constituted the *Lyde*, it is surely surprising that none of the several testimonia for that work make any reference to either Plato or Heraclides. It is also more likely that Heraclides' "collection" was made up of more obscure poems than

[85] *Cf.* Heinze, *loc.cit* n.17, 86; G. Luck, *The Latin Love Elegy* (London 1959), 25; Vessey, *Hermes* 99 (1971), 2: West, *SGEI*, 18; *cf.* 75-6 for West's suggestion that Antimachus may have made Mimnermus much more of a precursor than he really was. Del Corno on the other hand does not view Antimachus as an innovator and suggests that the *Lyde* was not different from the *Nanno* (80). Alan Cameron thinks that the *Nanno* was "undoubtedly the model and inspiration of the *Lyde*", (*TAPA* 122 [1992], 309); *cf.* Krevans, 151.

[86] *Cf.* Del Corno, 61.

[87] *Cf.* Del Corno, 70-1.

[88] Del Corno, 60.

a well-attested work like the *Lyde*. Del Corno's argument that the plural form ποιήματα (T4) is more suitable for the *Lyde* is hard to understand, since in both T10 and T15 which he cites the singular ποίημα is used, as are the singular γράμμα in Callimachus' epigram (T15) and ἐλεγείαν in [Plutarch] (T12).[89]

Using a somewhat circular argument, Del Corno also suggests that the terms συλλέξαι and ποιήματα would be hard to explain in the case of a continuous homogeneous poem.[90] He goes on to argue that the *Lyde* was not a *carmen continuum*, but a complex of elegies, composed separately and united for the first time by Heraclides and by Plato, and organized into a definitive form, including the title and the subdivision into books, by the first Alexandrian grammarians. Such a scenario is supported by none of the ancient references to the poem. Indeed, on the contrary, several testimonies suggest that Antimachus himself was responsible for the structure of the *Lyde*, e.g. Clearchus (*ap.* Athen. T10) says that Antimachus composed in elegiacs the poem called *Lyde*, [Plutarch] (T12) that he composed the elegy entitled *Lyde*, and Hermesianax (T11) that Antimachus filled holy books, while Asclepiades (T13) calls the *Lyde* τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου. Moreover, Callimachus' jibe Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν (T15) would surely be pointless if Antimachus himself were not personally responsible for the poem being what it was.[91] Del Corno's argument that after the publication of the "collected" elegies the term ποίημα cannot be a basis for either hypothesis, whether the *Lyde* was or was not a *carmen continuum*, is weak, yet he uses it to discard the evidence of most of these sources, even Callimachus, for the poem being in fact a continuous elegy.[92] While Del Corno is certainly correct in supposing that [Plutarch] did not have first-hand knowledge of the *Lyde* and that he was mistaken in saying that Lyde was the poet's wife, he gives a false impression when he claims that, according to [Plutarch], the *Lyde* was almost an anthology of ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα. This erroneous assumption leads him on to remark that it is difficult to trace in the remaining fragments elements that could justify such a statement, and he mentions the stories of Demeter and of Oedipus in particular as hardly suit-

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[89] Del Corno, 71.
[90] Del Corno, *ibid.*
[91] Serrao, in opposing Del Corno's view, cites Callimachus, Hermesianax, and [Plutarch] (*QUCC* 32 [1979], 91-2).
[92] Del Corno, 72.

able to a context of sentimental events. But [Plutarch] says that Antimachus listed ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς, not ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα. Del Corno overemphasizes the sentimental aspect at the expense of the heroic.[93] While he may be right in arguing that we should not place much trust in the singular ἐλεγείαν as evidence for the *Lyde* being a *carmen continuum*, he fails to prove that it was not.

Serrao, on the other hand, argues that the opinions of the ancient sources indicate that the *Lyde* was a *carmen continuum* of notable extent[94] in which Antimachus, to assuage his own grief, recounted ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς and that there is some probability that he linked his own unfortunate love affair with great unhappy loves of mythology.[95] But he may be going too far when he argues on the basis of the long "catalogue of loves" fragment of Hermesianax (F7 Powell), with its three instances of second-person address, probably to the lady Leontion herself, that the poem of Antimachus was constructed on similar lines.[96] In fact, there is no evidence that Hermesianax himself used this device elsewhere in his poem than in this catalogue. While it may be likely and even probable that the later Colophonian poet modelled his poem called after his girlfriend on that of his famous fellow townsman, it must be admitted that we have no real knowledge of the structure of Hermesianax' own work.[97]

On the question of whether Antimachus' poem was a subjective love elegy, earlier writers have been doubtful, e.g. Day writes: "Whilst making every allowance for differences of taste and of literary convention, one cannot help feeling that the death of Lyde, who may even have been a fiction, served more as a pretext for a display of erudition than as the inspiration and cause of a passionate threnody".[98] This sceptical scholar does concede that "part of the elegy, however, probably the introduction, may have been concerned with

93 Del Corno, 77-8.

94 *Cf.* Wyss, XXIII.

95 Serrao, 92.

96 Serrao, 93-4. He is followed by R. Pretagostini, "La Poesia ellenistica" in *Da Omero agli Alessandrini: problemi e figure della letteratura greca*, ed. F. Montanari (Rome 1988), 320.

97 On the Colophonian elegiac tradition involving Mimnermus, Antimachus, and Hermesianax *cf.* West, *SGEI* 72-6; F. Cairns, *Tibullus: a Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge 1979), 217-21; Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* I.554-6.

98 A.A. Day, *The Origins of Latin Love-Elegy* (Oxford 1938, repr. Hildesheim 1972), 11.

the poet's grief, real or imagined ...", but he goes on to assert that "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the poet's sorrow was largely a literary pose, a plausible pretext for a poem in the style of Mimnermus, a work more erudite and more complete, and consequently more laboured and less sincere".[99]

But even Day does not doubt Antimachus' importance and his influence in the development of the elegy. He says that Antimachus seems to have instituted definitely the mode for learned elegy, as distinct from the purely lyric or philosophic, and he acknowledges that despite the criticism of Callimachus he was admired and imitated. Day states that the fragments offer little help in establishing the subject and form of the *Lyde* and says that "there is certainly nothing to suggest a subjective erotic elegy".[100]

Day's view has been strongly challenged by Cairns who argues that it is indeed probable that the function of the *Lyde* was revealed within the poem, most naturally in a prologue or epilogue.[101] Cairns cites Ovid *Trist.* 1.6.1 (T6) as an indication that Antimachus must have treated his love for Lyde as well as describing his grief. Moreover, the personal information about Antimachus and Lyde presented by Hermesianax (T11) must surely have been drawn from the poem itself, as has also been suggested by West.[102] The latter scholar refers F93, which, like Hermesianax, mentions the river Pactolus, to the personal framework of the *Lyde* and suggests that the poet sat with Lyde on its banks. Also to the point is that Antimachus told of Jason and Medea making love by the banks of Medea's local river (F75).[103]

But if we may judge from the epithets applied to the two poets by Posidippus (T14), the subjective love-element in Antimachus' poem may not have been as strongly expressed as in Mimnermus' elegy. Mimnermus is φιλεραστοῦ, "fond of lovers", "passionate", while Antimachus is σώφρονος, "restrained", "chaste".[104] This interpretation is probably preferable to that of Del Corno, who sees

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99 Day, *ibid.*

100 Day, 13.

101 Cairns, *Tibullus*, 219.

102 Cairns, *Tibullus*, 219-20; Krevans, 153-4.

103 West, *SGEI*, 169-70.

104 Jacobs' emendation φιλεραστοῦ for the MSS φερεκαστου is generally accepted (*cf.* ἑκάστου v.3). Allen's φιλέρωτος would give similar sense.

σώφρονος as a reference to the learned element in Antimachus as contrasted with the erotic in Mimnermus.[105]

Krevans has made the interesting suggestion that the *Lyde* was an important model for Callimachus' *Aetia* in that it was a learned collection of thematically linked elegies set in a personalized frame and also in terms of its size and shape.[106] This is very possible, but too little of the poem survives for her case to be conclusively proven.

That the fragments themselves display little material traceable to the subjective element of the *Lyde* results from the nature of the sources: the scholia to Apollonius, Homer, and Euripides are concerned purely with mythological details, while the lexicographical sources such as Athenaeus, Photius, Harpocration, Steph. Byz. and the *Etymologica* are interested only in rare words or place-names. Moreover, the indirect form of reference prevalent in the scholia means that we are given very little in terms of actual Antimachean words or verses on which to base a study of his elegiac style and vocabulary.[107]

The longest fragment is F68, three verses preserved on an ostracon of the third century B.C. to illustrate the Homeric gloss (σ)οῦσα.[108] Describing the construction of the *Argo*, the lines are replete with Homeric language and in turn seem to have been used by Apollonius. But they also exhibit Attic forms such as θεά and κάλωας. Del Corno's charge that Antimachus' taste for the learned word makes the lines repetitious is based on a faulty interpretation of the nautical terminology.[109] Antimachus is in fact distinguishing (σ)οῦσα from ὅπλα.

In F86 Antimachus employs the first half of an Homeric verse as the second half of his pentameter. Del Corno is probably wrong to defend the manuscript reading εὐχρεῳ against the Homeric χρυσέῳ as an example of artistic variation in the epithet-noun combination.[110] In the second verse, the feminine adjective ἀγακλυμένη appears to be an Antimachean invention.

The language in F84 is again largely Homeric, although Anti-

[105] Del Corno, 83-4.
[106] Krevans, 154.
[107] *Cf.* Del Corno, 84.
[108] For the following discussion, the reader is referred to the commentary on the individual fragments mentioned.
[109] Del Corno, 88; 91.
[110] *Cf.* Del Corno, 88.

machus uses the Hesiodic θρεπτήρια in place of the Homeric θρέπτρα. Del Corno sees the pentameter as more original, being linked to the preceding hexameter by a notable enjambment, but his criticism of Antimachus' use of ἐλάσας at line-end as clumsy and banal, indicating that the poet had not mastered elegiac expression, can be shown to be insupportable.[111]

In F85 ἔκτοθι is an Homeric rarity, which Apollonius seems to have picked up enthusiastically from Antimachus.[112]

From F87 we can see that Antimachus in his elegy used nouns in -τωρ, just as he did in his epic (*cf.* Wyss, XXXII). So too his liking for epithets in -όεις extends to both poems, i.e. ὀφιόεις (F91), probably from the *Lyde*, ἠνεμόεις (F2), ἀρπεδόεις (F5), possibly σκιόεις (F3), all from the *Thebaid*, and οὐατόεις (F64), probably from the *Thebaid*.

Again, as in his epic, Antimachus in his elegy demonstrated his opinions on controversial Homeric words. As well as (σ)οῦσον already noted, there is ἤδυμος (F74), indicating that Antimachus considered νήδυμος in Homer an incorrect reading.[113]

Del Corno points out a number of instances where Antimachus in the *Lyde* seems to have been indebted to the *Homeric Hymns*.[114] His observations lead him on to two rather contradictory conclusions: 1) that Antimachus believed in the Homeric authorship of the *Hymns* and affirmed this belief by alluding to them in his own work and 2) that the relatively greater frequency of such references in the *Lyde* may indicate a) that Antimachus wanted to demonstrate the secondary nature of his elegiac work as compared to his epic (i.e. as the *Hymns* are secondary to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) or b) that he intended to create a deliberate stylistic parallelism between mythological narratives of similar dimensions, although in different metres (i.e. a reference to Del Corno's belief that the *Lyde* was made up of separate elegies, each approximately the length of an *Homeric Hymn*).[115] However, the allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* may not be as significant as he thinks.

He himself admits that we do not know which poem F145, with the word ἄλφι, comes from. But in any case, I would argue that it

[111] Del Corno, 89; 91. *Cf.* commentary on F84.
[112] *Cf.* Del Corno, 89.
[113] *Cf.* Del Corno, 89.
[114] Del Corno, 89-90.
[115] Del Corno, 90.

should be seen more as a *variatio* on *Od.* 2.354 than a derivation from *Hy. Dem.* 208, although that may have been the source for the form ἄλφι. As for Ἐλευσινίης (F79, *cf. Hy. Dem.* 266) scanned as a quadrasyllable, it may in fact be Antimachus' way of indicating that the extra verse *Il.* 18.551a, which also contains the form, is an authentic Homeric line. Also, for the sense of θρεπτήρια (F84), Antimachus is in agreement with Hesiod (*Op.* 188) rather than with *Hy. Dem.* 168 and 223.[116] With the word λαῖφος (F68), Antimachus may have taken the meaning "sail" from *Hy. Apoll.* 406, but that sense is first attested in Alcaeus (F326.7 L-P).

Regarding Del Corno's first conclusion, there is no way of knowing whether Antimachus believed that the *Hymns* were really the work of Homer. As for the second conclusion, it has been shown that most of the apparent allusions to the *Hymns* in the *Lyde* are not exclusive to them, but may derive from other sources. It is also significant that the clearest and most obvious borrowing from the *Hymns* is to be found not in the *Lyde*, but in the *Thebaid* (*cf.* F31.5 and *Hymn Dem.* 8-11).

Another aspect in which there seems to be little difference between Antimachus' two main poems is the use he makes of vocabulary from the tragedians. But whereas Del Corno sees this as part of Antimachus' attempt (not always fortunate, in that scholar's opinion) to raise the humble tone of the elegy to his own artistic ideals, it is perhaps simply a further indication that Antimachus' style remained much the same, whether he was composing epic or elegy.[117] If this were the case, then Callimachus' criticism of the *Lyde* becomes more understandable and acceptable.

THE *ARTEMIS*

For a poem by Antimachus called the *Artemis* we are dependent upon a single notice in Steph. Byz. 379.11 Mein. s.v. Κοτύλαιον· ὄρος Εὐβοίας, ἀνακείμενον Ἀρτέμιδι, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος β' (F98).[118]

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[116] Del Corno (90) misunderstands the sense here.

[117] *Cf.* Del Corno, 90-1. Here it is to the point to recall that Antipater's defence of Antimachus, when he turns Callimachus' οὐ τορόν back on its author, involved praise for the *Thebaid*, not the *Lyde*, *cf.* Serrao, *QUCC* 32(1979), 96; Knox, *HSCP* 89 (1985), 116.

[118] The following discussion has been adapted from my article in *LCM* 18.6 (1993), 86-88.

This fragment has had an interesting history in the hands of the successive editors of the remains of Antimachus' works. In 1786, the first editor, Schellenberg, apparently reluctant to accept a poem by this title, wrote '... nomen, cum Salmasio et Berkelio non dubito, quin in Steph. Byz. corruptum sit, et pro Ἀρτέμιδος legendum Θηβαΐδος, ...' and listed the fragment as his F XLVIII.[119]

The next editor, Dübner in 1840, preferred to remove the fragment altogether from the Antimachean *reliquiae* by reading in Steph. Byz. Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν Εὐβοϊκῶν β′ or γ′, basing his proposal on Harpocration s.v. Κοτύλαιον ὄρος (155 Keaney)· Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτεσιφῶντος (86) ἔοικε τὸ ὄρος τῆς Εὐβοίας εἶναι. Ἀρχέμαχος γοῦν ἐν γ′ Εὐβοϊκῶν φησι· Κότυλος μὲν οὖν φαίνεται κατασχεῖν τὸ ὄρος τὸ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κοτύλαιον καλούμενον (*FGrHist* 424 F2a).[120]

Dübner was quickly followed by Stoll in 1845, who accepted his predecessor's argument for rejecting the fragment as Antimachean.[121] They seem to have convinced Kinkel, who makes no reference whatsoever to the fragment in his 1877 edition of epic remains.

But the fragment (and the title) was rescued from oblivion by Bernard Wyss in his 1936 edition of Antimachus. Wyss counters Dübner's argument for attributing it to Archemachus by pointing out that it is hard to see how the words Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν Εὐβοϊκῶν β′ or γ′ could have been corrupted into Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος β′ and states that, moreover, there is no evidence that Archemachus ever discussed the cult of Artemis or even mentioned the goddess.[122] But Wyss surprisingly makes no mention of Schellenberg's suggestion that the fragment belongs to the *Thebaid*.

Felix Jacoby, writing in *FGrHist* on Archemachus, is reluctant to side with either Dübner or Wyss. He objects to the former's suggestion on the ground that the book numbers do not agree (i.e. Harpocration's reference is to Bk. III of Archemachus' *Euboïca*, while Steph. Byz. mentions a Bk. II). As for Wyss' defence of the transmitted text, Jacoby argues that we do not otherwise know of an *Artemis* by Antimachus.[123] In his notes, he states that he did not find

[119] Schellenberg, 31. The fragment is presented on 91.
[120] Dübner, 51.
[121] Stoll, 15.
[122] Wyss, xxv.
[123] *FGrHist* IIIb *Kommentar*, 246.

credible the suggestion that fragments from the Antimachus papyrus commentary from Hermoupolis (*P.Mil.Vogl.*1.17 = Appendix A) might come from such a poem.[124] He goes on to suggest that D. Mueller was on the right track in assuming in the text of Steph. Byz. a double citation of two authors, although he seems to find Mueller's reconstruction of Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν <γ' καὶ> Ἀρμενίδας β' unacceptable.[125] Of the three positions mentioned, I feel that Wyss' retention of the transmitted text is the most defensible and Maas' proposal to attribute to the *Artemis* the series of fragments in the Antimachus papyrus commentary has generally been thought to strengthen the case.[126]

But in a recent article (1986), Paolo Carrara has argued against what he terms *questa fantomatica Artemide.*[127] His argument is based on what he seems to think is a new proposal: 'Propongo di leggere: Κοτύλαιον ὄρος Εὐβοίας, ἀνακείμενον Ἀρτέμιδι, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Θηβαΐδος (o, meno probabilmente, ἐν Λύδης) β'.'[128]

In fact, exactly two centuries after Schellenberg, Carrara has come up with the same proposal.[129] He argues that the substitution of the title *Artemis* for *Thebaid* arose from a copyist's mistake caused by the mention of the name Artemis above. He also suggests that a phonic affinity between the two names and the fact of their having the same number of syllables contributed to the error.

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[124] *FGrHist* IIIb *Kommentar* (Noten), 163-4. The suggestion is made by Paul Maas in *P.Mil.Vogl.1 (PRIMI)* (17.46,n.2). The Hermoupolis commentary is included in Wyss' edition, 76-90, with a conspectus of the fragments (173-189), 89-90.

[125] *FGrHist* IIIb *Kommentar*, 246;(Noten), 164.

[126] *Cf. Supplementum Hellenisticum* ed. H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (Berlin and New York, 1983), 28 "frr.174-183, 185-186 W ad Artemin (fr. 75W) non absurde rettulit Maas." E. A. Barber refers to the Hermoupolis papyrus as "an erudite commentary on his *Artemis* (end) and *Thebais* (beginning) with seventeen *lemmata* from Antimachus' text" (in M. Platnauer, ed., *Fifty years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship*[2] [Oxford 1968], 272). Another who accepts the attribution to the *Artemis* is C. A. Trypanis (*Greek Poetry: From Homer to Seferis* [London/Boston 1981], 723, nn. 34-5).

[127] P. Carrara, "Sull' *Artemide* di Antimaco (fr.75 Wyss)," *Prometheus* XII (1986), 213-216. The phrase is in the final sentence of his article. He is followed by N. Krevans in *Hellen. Groning.* I, 150 n. 8; 155 n. 44.

[128] Carrara, 215.

[129] Carrara clearly did not investigate scholarship any earlier than Wyss' edition, as is shown by his discussion of Dübner's proposal, taken second-hand from Wyss: *cf.* Carrara, 214 with n.11. Since Wyss does not mention Schellenberg, Carrara has no knowledge of him.

This suggestion by Schellenberg and Carrara is a plausible and an attractive one, which, in the absence of other references to an *Artemis*, is very difficult to refute. It would hardly have been beyond the capacity of Antimachus to work into his *Thebaid* a reference to a Euboean mountain sacred to Artemis.

Carrara is also disinclined to believe in the existence of the *Artemis* because of the reference to a second book. He suggests that it is more natural to think of a work of the length of the Homeric or Callimachean *Hymns* or of the *Demeter* or *Hermes* of Philetas.[130] Wyss was aware of such objections and tried to counter them with a suggestion of Eduard Fraenkel who referred him to the poem of Catullus' friend, Caecilius, on the Magna Mater (Cat. 35.13).[131] But Fraenkel's comment 'nam ex ipso Catulli loco hoc carmen non ita parvum fuisse apparet' has no firm basis. All that we can deduce from Catullus' poem is that he considered Caecilius' work to be *incohata*, meaning essentially 'unfinished'.[132] Nevertheless, I can see no absolutely compelling reason for excluding the possibility that Antimachus wrote a work on Artemis that extended to at least two books. We know that his elegy, the *Lyde*, was at least that long (*cf.* F85). Moreover, as Wyss suggests, it would not be surprising that a Colophonian poet should write a poem about the goddess Artemis, who was worshipped in his native city next to Clarian Apollo.[133]

As already mentioned, the case for an Antimachean *Artemis* has been felt to have been strengthened by Maas' proposal that fragments from the Antimachus papyrus commentary be attributed to that poem. Maas' original suggestion was that fragments F99-108 (= Wyss F174-183) and 110-111 (= Wyss F185-186) came from the *Artemis*. Because of the words ἐν ἄλλοις (line 39 of the papyrus), F109 (= Wyss F184) was thought to come from another work and Maas' own supplement <Οἰδιπόδαο> at the end of F112.1 (line 47) (= Wyss F187.1) suggested that this fragment and those following (F113-114 = Wyss F188-189) came from the *Thebaid*. But since F112 follows on F110 and 111 without a break, it is more likely that it

[130] Carrara, 214.

[131] Wyss, XXV-XXVI.

[132] *Cf.* F.O. Copley, *AJP* 74 (1953), 149-60, reprinted in K. Quinn (ed.), *Approaches to Catullus* (Cambridge 1972), 173-184. Carrara (214) is also unconvinced by Fraenkel's suggestion.

[133] Wyss, XXV.

belongs to the same poem as the preceding fragments.[134] As for F109, I would argue that ἐν ἄλλοις simply means elsewhere in the same poem which is the subject of the commentary,[135] especially since the way in which the reference to *Thebaid* Bk. 3 is made clear by both title and book number, ἐν δὲ τῶι γ´ τῆς [Θ]ηβαΐδος (line 52, F16 = Wyss F173), surely indicates that this is the manner in which the author makes a citation of another work. The same reference is also an indication that the *Thebaid* itself is not the subject of the papyrus commentary. Surely too it is more satisfactory to assume a commentary on a single work than that the same commentary treated two different poems[136] (as distinct from the occasional reference to another work as with F16).

The discovery that *P. Oxy.* 2516 fragment 4.1-3 (Antimachus F65 *SH*) coincides with F187 Wyss implies that, at least in the section containing that fragment, the Oxyrhynchus text included the *Artemis*.[137] But in fact there may be more than just F65, since the first fragment from this papyrus (F62 *SH* = F115) suggests the proem of a poem:

]ον ὑμνείουσαι
ἐν]τύνειαν ἀοιδὴν
ἀ]μφήριστον
]. ς ᾿Αχελῶιος
]υργων

This proem moreover does not correspond to the known opening of the *Thebaid*, Ἐννέπετε, Κρονίδαο Διὸς μεγάλοιο θύγατρες (F1).[138]

Nevertheless Carrara states that it is easy to see that the whole hypothesis that both the papyrus commentary and the *P.Oxy.* 2516 fragments refer to the *Artemis* cannot be readily sustained.[139] He objects to the possibility that a work of which antiquity has bequeathed but a single attestation should be transmitted in a second-century A.D. papyrus and also be the subject of a learned commentary from that same century. He argues moreover that although

134 *Cf. SH* 28 on F65.1.

135 The possibility of this interpretation of ἐν ἄλλοις is recognised by Vogliano (*PRIMI* 17.62 n.1).

136 As suggested by Barber, in *Fifty Years (and Twelve)*, 272.

137 *Cf.* Carrara, 215.

138 *Cf.* Commentary on F115; *SH* 26 on F62a col.i.

139 Carrara, 215-6.

many glosses from the papyrus commentary are met in Hesychius' lexicon, we do not hear of the existence of an *Artemis* of Antimachus from any passage in Hesychius. To this last objection we can reply that Hesychius in none of his many other references to Antimachean words ever mentions a specific work of the poet, generally employing a phrase like ὡς Ἀντίμαχος (e.g. F128; 137; 181) or παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ (e.g. F96; 134; 152), but most often not even citing the poet's name at all (e.g. F5; 26; 54; 55; 79; 95; 97; 138; 140; 145; 147; 148; 153; 157; 179). So too in all of the glosses from this papyrus commentary which are to be found in Hesychius, the name Antimachus is never mentioned, let alone a title (*cf.* F100-103; 107-108; 111). Regarding Carrara's main objection of the unlikelihood of the survival of a barely-attested work, we should remember that most of what has come down to us in papyrus is the result of mere chance. One has only to think of how virtually nothing remained of such eminent writers as Bacchylides or Hyperides until the sands of Egypt yielded up substantial pieces of their works or, conversely, of how we now possess eight of the *Mimes* of an obscure author like Herodas.[140] As for the survival of a text and a commentary of the *Artemis* rather than the *Thebaid*, it is interesting to note that, at least at Oxyrhynchus, the *Paeans* and *Dithyrambs* of Pindar appear to have been read in preference to his *Epinicians*.[141]

If the papyrus commentary is not to the *Artemis*, to what poem would Carrara refer it? The metre shows that it cannot be the *Lyde*, the specific reference to an extraneous fragment from *Thebaid* Bk. 3 (F16) indicates that it is unlikely to be the *Thebaid*, and indeed no detail in the commentary appears to have anything to do with Thebes or the expedition of the Seven. The only other reliable Antimachean title is the *Delti*, of which we likewise possess only one fragment (F129). Nothing is known of its contents, but the title is suitable for a work dealing with a miscellany of topics.

On the other hand, the fact remains that several fragments from the papyrus commentary do refer to Artemis, e.g. Ο]ὖπιν ὀβριμότοξον (F99), Λαθρίᾳ (F107), and probably ἄνασσαν (F101) and θ[ε]ή (F111), so that it must remain a real possibility (if not a probability) that the commentary is on the poem called *Artemis*, ascribed to

140 *Cf.* E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton 1968), Ch.VII, 97ff; L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*³ (Oxford 1991), 195-7.

141 Turner, 98.

Antimachus in the transmitted text of Stephanus of Byzantium.

I have therefore assigned the fragments from the Hermoupolis commentary (F174-189 Wyss) to the *Artemis*, numbering them F99-114. The *P.Oxy.* 2516 fragments also may be claimed for the *Artemis* because of the coincidence of F65 *SH* with F187 Wyss (= F112). Although F62 *SH* appears to belong to a proemium, I have thought it best to present it and the remaining *P. Oxy.* 2516 fragments in sequence after the Hermoupolis commentary fragments as F115-127, since there are no other indications of how the two groups might relate to each other. The obscure and corrupt F104 Wyss, with its reference to the Ephesians, might also be attributed to the *Artemis* and has been made F128.

In a previous study, I put forward the supplement θεῦν for Callimachus *Aetia* I F1.10 Pf. and interpreted it as a reference to Antimachus' *Artemis*.[142] Since then, however, I have been convinced by the argument of McNamee that αὐτ' (Schol. Flor. Callim. *Aetia* F1.1-12 Pf., line 15) stands for αὐτῶν ('their own') not αὐτά, whereby the comparison becomes an internal one, contrasting the long poems of Mimnermus and Philetas with the short ones by these same poets.[143] I am also persuaded by the discussion of Allen that no reference to or criticism of Antimachus is to be found in the *Aetia* prologue or the scholia to it.[144] I have therefore not included these passages among the testimonia for Antimachus.

THE *DELTI*

This work is attested by a single hexameter (F129), preserved by Athenaeus. It is thus impossible to tell whether it was in epic or elegiac metre. The title may suggest that the work was a collection of separate poems of comparatively short length, i.e. that each might be considered a *deltos* or tablet. But the word also carries with it the

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142 *Mnem.* XXXII (1979), 128-137. A.S. Hollis independently came up with the same supplement (*CQ* 28[1978], 402ff.), but saw it as a reference to a long poem by Philetas.

143 K. McNamee, *Amer. Soc. Pap. Bulletin* XIX (1982), 83-6; *cf.* P.J. Parsons, *ap.* Hollis (previous note), 405.

144 A. Allen, *The Fragments of Mimnermus* (*Palingenesia* XLIV) (Stuttgart 1993), Appendix B, 146-156, espec. 151-2.

notion of the poet as representative of an explicit written tradition, an idea which emerged in the fifth century. This development may be illustrated by the frequent use of δέλτος and its related forms by the Attic tragedians.[145]

A rather similar title is Callimachus' *Graphion* (F380 Pf.), but unfortunately just as little is known about that work.[146] All that can be said is that Antimachus' *Delti* may have been a collection of miscellaneous short poems. The emperor Hadrian is said to have composed what appears to be a set of miscellaneous poems in imitation of Antimachus, namely obscure books called *Catacannae* (T31). Since the word *catac(h)anna* is used by Fronto referring to a tree which bears many different fruits, its use as a title has been taken as a metaphor for variety of content, i.e. a miscellany.[147] There is no need to suppose that Hadrian's imitation of Antimachus extended as far as the title of the collection. Although a derivation of *catachanna* from καταχήνη is suggested,[148] the latter word bears the meaning 'mockery' or 'joke' in Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 575; *Eccles.* 631) and is nowhere attested in the sense of a miscellany.

Studia Homerica[149]

In addition to being a poet, Antimachus is also attested as a γραμματικός (*Suda* = T3; Eustathius = T43). These sources employ the word not its original sense of a teacher of letters, but in the meaning which it developed in the Hellenistic period of 'a person who concerns himself with literary texts', a 'critic'. The earliest example of this usage occurs in what is apparently the proem to the *Hymn to Demeter* by Philicus of Corcyra from the early third century B.C. (F677 *SH*= Hephaest. *Enchir.* 9.4, 31 Consbruch: καινογράφου συνθέσεως τῆς Φιλίκου, γραμματικοί, δῶρα φέρω πρὸς ὑμᾶς).[150] When

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[145] E.g. Aesch. *Prom.* 788-9; *Eum.* 275; F281a 21 Radt; *Suppl.* 179; Soph. F597 Radt; *Trach.* 683; Eurip. *IT* 760; *IA* 112; *Cf.* Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I.26.

[146] *Cf.* Pfeiffer I. 306.

[147] Fronto 29.14; 153.11 ed. M. P. J. van den Hout (2nd ed. Teubner 1988); *Cf.* E. Courtney (ed.), *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993), 375; H. W. Benario, *A Commentary on the Vita Hadriani in the Historia Augusta* (*American Classical Studies* 7: Scholars Press 1980), 105.

[148] *OLD* ii, 284.

[149] *Cf.* Wyss, XXIX-XXXI.

[150] *Cf.* R. Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.*, I.155.

later writers inquired as to who was the first to be called γραμματικός in the new sense, three names were suggested: the obscure Antidorus of Cyme, mentioned by Schol. Dionys. Thr.,[151] and also named ('Απολλόδωρος cod.) by Clement of Alexandria (drawing on a Hellenistic source) along with Eratosthenes (*FGrHist* 241 T8) and Praxiphanes (F10 Wehrli).[152]

The term in this sense thus appears to date from at least the mid-third century. Late Byzantine sources like *Suda* and Eustathius apply the word retroactively to earlier authors who were thought to have engaged in similar critical work. The editor of Eustathius, van der Valk, wrongly accuses his author of writing '*parum accurate*', saying that Antimachus was a poet and not a '*grammaticus*'. But the term is present in the *Suda* some two centuries before Eustathius and moreover the lexicon (T3) adds the valuable information that Antimachus was a pupil of Stesimbrotus of Thasos, presumably in the role of Homeric scholar, as Wilamowitz has seen.[153] The poet is also recorded in a sequence of people who wrote about Homer's poetry, nationality or family (γένος) and date after Theagenes of Rhegium and Stesimbrotus (T42). We are also told by several of the ancient lives of Homer that, according to Antimachus, Homer was a Colophonian (F166).

It is surprising that George Bolling in 1925 should have wondered whether Antimachus the poet and the Homeric critic might be two separate people and even more so that Nigel Wilson could resurrect this idea in 1969.[154] Pfeiffer remarks that Antimachus is 'the only pre-Hellenistic author of a 'edition' of Homer of which we can be certain, as it is frequently referred to in our Scholia: ἡ 'Αντιμάχου, ἡ 'Αντιμάχειος, ἡ κατὰ 'Αντίμαχον sc. ἔκδοσις.'[155]

In the second century B.C. Aristarchus of Byzantium had a num-

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[151] *Gramm. Graec.* III. 3.24; 448.6 Hilgard.

[152] *Strom.* 1.16.79 (II.51.17 Stählin); Pfeiffer, 157-8.

[153] *Hermes* 12 (1877), 357 n. 42 (= *Kl. Schr.* III, 30 n.2); *cf.* Pfeiffer, 35-6.

[154] G.M.Bolling, *The External Evidence of Interpolation in Homer* (Oxford 1925), 39; N.G. Wilson, review of Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.*, *CR* 19 (1969), 369. The view is as old as F.A. Wolf (in a letter appended to Schnellenberg's 1786 edition of Antimachus, 199ff.), but Wolf quickly changed his opinion following the publication of the Venice Scholia (J.B.G. d'Ansse de Villoison, *Homeri Ilias ad veteris codicis Veneti fidem recensita* [Venice 1788]), *cf.* Ch. XXXIX and XL of his *Prolegomena to Homer* (1795), transl. A. Grafton, G.W. Most, and J.E.G. Zetzel (Princeton 1985), espec. 163, n. 44.

[155] Pfeiffer, 94.

ber of earlier editions, which were divided into two classes, those associated with the name of a particular individual, αἱ κατ' ἄνδρα, and those which were known only by their place of origin, αἱ κατὰ πόλεις. Antimachus is the earliest representative of the first group, followed by Zenodotus and Rhianus from more than a century later.[156]

Pfeiffer states that we should not assume that Antimachus made a 'recension' of the Homeric poems by collating manuscripts and emending the text, remarking that his work is never called a διόρθωσις.[157] But Fraser points out that this distinction is not easy to maintain, since the references to Antimachus' text are couched in the same terms as those to the editions of Zenodotus and others.[158] Richard Janko prefers to view Antimachus' edition, as well as the city-editions, as an emended text.[159]

Any doubts that the poet and the Homeric critic are one and the same may be laid to rest by comparing the sources for one fragment (F34). After telling us that Deimos and Phobos (at *Il.* 4.439) are the sons of Ares, Schol. A (I.522 Erbse) says that Antimachus in error (πλανηθείς) made the pair Ares' horses and quotes a line from Antimachus' own verse. A second source, Schol. T *Il.* 13.299 (III.455 Erbse), on Φόβος φίλος υἱός, asks 'how then does Antimachus say (φησι) that Phobos is Ares' horse?', going on to quote *Il.* 15. 199 καὶ ῥ' ἵππους κέλετο Δεῖμον τε Φόβον τε ζευγνύμεν. It is apparent that Antimachus misinterpreted this grammatically ambiguous verse, overlooking the Homeric passage (13.299) which would have set him right. Whereas our first scholiast quotes an Antimachean verse to illustrate his error, the second does not, and his words suggest that he is questioning a comment by Antimachus on *Il.* 15. 199. That he could have been referring to an Antimachean commentary is suggested by a third source (not cited by Wyss), namely Eustathius (T43), who writes: ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀντίμαχος ἵππους Ἄρεος τὸν Δεῖμον καὶ τὸν Φόβον νοεῖ. It can also be gathered from this fragment that Antimachus was a poet-scholar who sometimes carried his Homeric interpretation over into his own poetry.

Readings from the Antimachean edition are cited in the Homeric

[156] Pfeiffer, 94; G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I (Cambridge 1985), 42.
[157] Pfeiffer, 94.
[158] P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 449, with II, 648 n.9.
[159] R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV (Cambridge 1992), 26.

scholia at fourteen places, introduced in various ways: ἡ Ἀντιμάχου (F167); ἐν τῇ ... Ἀντιμαχείῳ (F168; 169); ἐν τῇ Ἀντιμάχου (F170; 171); ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀντίμαχον (F177; 180); παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ (F174); οἱ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον (γράφουσι/ἐποίησαν) (F175; 176; 178); Ἀντίμαχος γράφει (F173); ἡ λέξις Ἀντιμάχειος (F172); thrice simply Ἀντίμαχος followed by the reading (F175; 177; 179).

The references expressed in these terms are all concerned with particular readings in the Homeric text, all but one (F180) in the *Iliad*. In addition to these, there are some references in the Homeric scholia which present a comment or interpretation by Antimachus on a particular passage, given in the form Ἀντίμαχος ... φησίν (F186); ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ... πλανηθεὶς ᾠήθη (F187). To these can be added examples from Eustathius, ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀντίμαχος ... νοεῖ (F34); from *Etym. Gen.*, φησὶν Ἀντίμαχος (F183); from Porphyrius, Ἀντίμαχος λαμβάνει (F185); from Schol. A.R., Ἀντίμαχος ... λέγει (F188); from Steph. Byz. κατὰ δὲ Ἀντίμαχον (F182); from Hesychius ὡς Ἀντίμαχος (F181). From these references we may deduce that Antimachus provided his Homeric text with a commentary, perhaps dealing only with disputed passages. It is interesting to observe the distinctions made by the ancient sources in the verbs applied to Antimachus as editor (γράφει, -ουσι/ ἐποίησαν) and as commentator (φησί/ λέγει/ παραδίδωσιν) or interpreter (ᾠήθη/ νοεῖ/ λαμβάνει).

An evaluation of Antimachus' work as a Homeric critic is made difficult by the paucity of surviving examples of his readings and observations.[160] In some instances, his reading is perhaps preferable to the vulgate (e.g. F168; also correct Ionic forms in F167 and 169). In others, while the Antimachean readings have some merit, it is better to retain the vulgate (e.g. F170; 171; 174; 175). Sometimes Antimachus departs radically from the traditional text, usually in attempts to impart clarity or to remove ambiguity by means of unnecessary emendations (e.g. F173; 176; 177). In one instance he clearly misunderstood the Homeric text (F178).

The quality of the Antimachean comments on the text of Homer displays a similar variety. Sometimes what he says is correct and to the point, as in his understanding of the application of μητρυιή at *Il.* 5.389 (F186). He rightly retained *Il.* 17.134-6, rejected by Zenodotus

[160] For fuller details on what follows see the commentary on the individual fragments.

and the Chian edition, but did so for the wrong reason (F187). His comment (F184) on the identity of Clymene (*Il.* 3.144) shows that he retained that line too (athetized by Aristonicus), but it is probably a late Athenian interpolation. His erroneous comment on Phobos being Ares' horse (F34) has already been noted. Some of Antimachus' comments show his views on the meaning of disputed words (e.g. ἐπίηρα, F181; λευκός as the antithesis of πηγός, F185; περιρρηδής, F188) or on geographical details in the Homeric catalogue (e. g. the location of Amphigenia, F182; the reason why the Erythini were so called, F183).

As already noticed in the example of Deimos and Phobos being the horses of Ares (F34), Antimachus sometimes reflected his Homeric opinions in his own works. It is possible on several occasions to discern from what he wrote in his own poems what he probably read in his Homeric text.

An ostracon from the third century B.C. (F68) preserves a series of glosses on words in Homer, Antimachus (a three-line quotation from the *Lyde*), and Hipponax (F49 West). A word which concerned the commentator in both *Od.* 21.390 and in the second line of the Antimachus quotation was apparently misread by him as σοῦσον in the *Odyssey* (ὅπλον vulg.) and σοῦσα in Antimachus. Other sources indicate that the correct form is οὖσον. We may conclude that Antimachus read οὖσον at *Od.* 21.390 and that by using both οὖσα (v.2) and ὅπλα (v.3) in the passage quoted on the ostracon he was attempting to clarify the difference between the words and to show why οὖσον should be read in Homer.

It can be seen from F74 that he read ἥδυμος not νήδυμος in such places as *Il.* 2.2. In F149, σπιδόθεν indicates that he had διὰ σπιδέος rather than δι' ἀσπιδέος at *Il.* 11.754. From F156 it appears that he probably read φή for ὡς at *Il.* 2.144 and 14.499. It is possible from F56 that Antimachus read νῶε for the first person accusative dual pronoun at *Il.* 4.418 and 14.344. From F57 we learn that, in his *Thebaid* (if the text of Steph. Byz. is sound), Antimachus mentioned a spring in Macedonia called Αἶα, which is clearly related to a reading of *Il.* 2.850 recorded by Strabo, whereby a spring called Αἶα pours its beautiful waters into the river Axius.

Two fragments suggest that Antimachus may have retained in his Homeric text lines which have disappeared in the vulgate. His reference to 'Cauconian' Dyme (F27) may indicate that he retained *Od.* 15.295, reading βὰν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ παρὰ Δύμην

(*cf. Hom. Hy. Ap.* 425) rather than Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεθρον or Χαλκ. πετρήεσσαν as recorded by Strabo (8.3.26; 10.1.9), our only other source for the verse. Similarly, Δήμητρός τοι Ἐλευσινίης (F79), requiring either synizesis or epic shortening, suggests that Antimachus included in his Homeric text καρπὸν Ἐλευσινίης Δημήτερος ἀγλαοδώρου (*Il.* 18.551a).

From other fragments Antimachus' understanding (or indeed misunderstanding) of certain uncommon Homeric words becomes apparent, e.g. πρόχνυ (F5) ~ *Il.* 9.570; 21.460; *Od.* 14.69; ἐνσχερὼ ἑστηῶσι (F21.5) ~ ἐπισταδόν (*Od.* 12.392; 13.54 = 18.425; 16.453); ἀμφίθετος (F23.1) ~ *Il.* 23.270; 616; δέρτρον (F53.2) ~ *Od.* 11.579; θοός (F112.2) ~ *Il.* 10.394; σφονδύλια (F144) ~ *Il.* 20.483; εὐνείκεστος / εὐνεικής (F146) ~ νείκεσσε (*Il.* 24.29). This method of revealing his own particular opinions on disputed Homeric words is yet another aspect in which Antimachus anticipated the Hellenistic scholar-poets.[161]

Vocabulary

Since many fragments of Antimachus are preserved by lexicographers and grammarians precisely because they illustrate unusual words, it is not surprising that the surviving Antimachean vocabulary is replete with words or forms for which he is either the only or the earliest authority. It is difficult to assess how frequent or dominant such novelties were within Antimachus' work as a whole; but their numbers are such to suggest that unusual vocabulary was a distinctive feature of the Antimachean style.[162]

Our evidence seems to suggest that Antimachus particularly favoured certain endings in his word formations, namely nouns in -τύς, nouns of agency in -τωρ, epithets in -όεις, and verbs in -ύνειν (*cf.* Wyss, XXXII).

This liking for nouns with the archaic ending -τύς, as seen in πωρητύς (F54), ἀβολητύς (F193) and his Homeric reading ὀτρυντύν (F172) is the probable reason for Eratosthenes' coinage ἀντιμαχητύς

[161] On Antimachus as a forerunner of Callimachus in this dual status of poet and scholar *cf.* Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 150.

[162] Rather than give a separate listing here, I have marked such words with an asterisk in the *Index Verborum.* Forms resulting from emendations or conjecture are marked with a raised [c], both in the *Index* and in this discussion.

(F31 Powell), which conceivably could be a jocular reference to Antimachus himself, an alteration of his name to indicate his favourite noun-ending. This noun type is one Antimachean fashion which appealed to Callimachus, who has two in a single verse, μαστύς and ἀλητύς (F10 Pf.) and also displays ἁρπακτύς (*Hy.* 2.95), διωκτύς (*Hy.* 3.194), γελαστύς (*Hy.* 4.324), πλαγκτύς (F26.7 Pf.), ἀσπαστύς (F123 Hollis = 316 Pf.), and ἀφραστύς (F123 Hollis = 318 Pf.).[163]

Another favourite is the noun of agency in -τωρ, as in ἕρκτωρ (F87), ἀσήτωρ (F112.1), and ἀβολήτωρ (F133). The first two are built on a simple verb stem, similar to the common epic δώτωρ (e.g. *Od.* 8.335) or σημάντωρ (e.g. *Il.* 4.431), while the last is formed from a compound verb (ἀβολέω = ἀντιβολέω), like the Homeric ἐπιβήτωρ (e.g. *Od.* 11.131). As for βασιλεύτωρ (F10), there are no Homeric models from stems in -εύειν and indeed such forms did not become popular with Hellenistic authors, apart from ταμιεύτορες (Manetho 4.580), βακχεύτορα (*AP* 9.524.3 anon.) and, later, τιθασεύτορες ([Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.543).

Antimachus may have helped to set a trend for epithets in -όεις, exhibiting ἠνεμόεις (F2), οὐατόεις (F64), ὀφιόεις[c] (F91), σκιόεις[c] (F3.2), all of which are formed on the normal pattern for such words. More unusual is ἀρπεδόεσσα (F5), in that it is a compound form, with prefix ἀρ(ι). A similar exceptional compound formation occurs in the Hermoupolis papyrus, ὑψικραν[ά]εσσα (F113). Epithets with this ending were also invented by Callimachus.[164]

Other rather unusual adjectives apparently created by Antimachus are ἀφνήμων (F61) and ὑπονῑφής (F117.2).

Antimachus also liked verbs in -ύνειν, going beyond their typical formation from adjectives in –υς to create such as ἀμορφύνειν (F148) and ἀκαχύνειν (F156). The latter (= the Homeric ἀκαχίζειν) is perhaps invented on the analogy of ἀλεγύνειν (*Od.*) = ἀλεγίζειν (*Il.*).

Wyss (XXXI) has noted a number of unusual declensions employed by Antimachus. Several of these are with proper names:

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[163] *Cf.* F. Williams, *Callim. Hy. Ap.* 81 on 2.95 and Hollis, *Hecale*, 308, who also suggests (359, *Append.* V,e) that ἐπητῦι in *Suda* (II 348.18 Adler) may be Callimachean. *Cf.* Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 152 n. 24.

[164] *Cf.* Hollis, *Hecale*, 14; 253. Such words are frequent in Apollonius, but particularly in Nicander, on whom *cf.* A. W. James, *Studies in the Language of Oppian of Cilicia* (Amsterdam 1970), 220 and the lists in Buck-Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (1945, repr. Hildesheim/New York 1970), 461-3.

nom. Τύδης (F6), voc. Τύδη (F7), accus. Ἄιδον δέ (F11), Πῡδην (F82), gen. Ταλαῶ (F31.1), and Ταλαῶο (F189 dub.2), Πύδητος (F83), Ἴδαντος (F89) as well as Ἰδεῶ (F88), Ionic gen. in -εῖος (F129, a corrupt name of a river). Others include the neuter noun κάρηαρ (F155), the Attic accus. pl. κάλωας (F68.2), the Attic gen. sing. νεώς (F68.3), and the dative form κυανοχαῖτα (F50).

There are several unusual pronominal forms: σφῶ (F15), σφωίτερον, -τερην used of the third person (F59; 8), νῶε (F56), ἴν (F103), ἑίν (F139). In ἀφνειέστατος (F62), Antimachus displays an abnormal superlative form, again perhaps setting an example for Callimachus, who has both τέρπνιστον (F150 Hollis = 369 Pf.) and τερπνίστατα (93.3 Pf.) as well as μαλκίστατον (F139 Hollis = 348 Pf.).[165]

Antimachus has several unusual verb forms, e.g. κολῳέω (F40, imperf. κολῴειᶜ) = Homeric κολῳάω (*Il.* 2.212), imperative ἄργειτε (F158) for Homeric ἄγρειτε, mixed aorist infinitive ῥεξέμεν (F21.2), iterative aorist θέσκε (F155), *cf.* Homeric δόσκεν etc. There is a series of unusual perfect participial forms; κεκυθημένηᶜ (F3.3), dat. pl. ἑστηῶσιᶜ (F21.5), πεπληθός (F22.3 from πλήθω), dual μεμυζότε (F63), λελοχυῖα (F103, from λέχομαι), τεθορυίης (F144, from θρῴσκω).

On several occasions, Antimachus employs verbs in other than their usual voice. He uses the middle voice (νωμήσαντο, F21.2) of a verb which is only active in Homer, Hesiod, and Apollonius. While this may be seen as a deliberate *variatio* from Homeric practice, Antimachus' choice may be influenced by metrical considerations, since it provides a convenient form with which to close out a spondaic verse. On other occasions, he presents active forms from verbs which occur only in the middle in Homer, ἐπιστέψασαᶜ (F25) and τιτύσκει (F52.1), also only middle in Apollonius. The latter verb occurs at line-end where a middle form would be impossible. A similar metrical consideration applies to Bacchylides' use of the participle τιτύσκων (5.49), the only earlier example of the active voice. Among Hellenistic writers, the active recurs in Aratus (τιτύσκει 418, same *sedes*), in Lycophron (1403), and later, in Oppian (τιτύσκων, *Hal.* 2.99, same *sedes*).

Notable too are instances where Antimachus employs a word in a new or extended meaning, e.g. ἀσκηθές applied to a jar of honey

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[165] *Cf.* Hollis, *Hecale*, 313 and 317.

(F23.5) and to the honey itself (F21.2) in the sense 'untouched'; εὐήλατον (F145) of grain, with the meaning 'well-ground'; ἠθείοισιν (F58) referring to 'comrades' or 'friends', not in an address by one character to another, but used by a third party, the poet himself; πλόον (F77) applied to a journey over land; πρόχνυ (F5) in the sense of πάγχυ through a misunderstanding of Homeric usage.

In our discussion of the *Thebaid*, it was remarked that Antimachus' vocabulary was influenced by fifth-century writers, both choric and tragic. However, Wyss' suggestions (XIII; 28; 47) of lyric influence on Antimachus are exaggerated, because the poet's Dorisms are simply imitations of the dialectal mixture found in Homer, e.g. F6; 7; 159. In particular, Wyss' contention that Antimachus (in F56 and F139) imitated Corinna can be shown to be unfounded, thus annulling what might have been a valuable indication of that poet's date.[166] But words like ἐνσχερώ (F21.5), possibly from Pindar, αἰνετώ (F34) and εὐαινέτω (F31.2), in both Pindar and Bacchylides, τιτύσκω in the active voice (F52), from Bacchylides, and Antimachus' use of ἠθεῖος (F58), similar to that of Pindar, do demonstrate notable lyric influence. Wyss (XII-XIII) perhaps underestimates the influence of the Attic dramatists on Antimachus' vocabulary. Examples include such phrases as παίδεσσι + ethnic genitive (F27), ethnic epithet + ἄστυ (F28), the noun ἔδεθλον (F33.2), probably borrowed from Aeschylus, the adverb λέχρις (F51), the use of γηγενής (F41.7), the verb ἀναπτύσσειν (F58), the epithet εὐήλατος (F145), συμπλήξ in the singular (F117.3) = συμπληγάς, τέρμων (F118.6) = τέρμα, the noun ἐριώλη (F124).[167]

Antimachus also takes over usages from fifth-century prose sources, such as the preposition ἔμπροσθε (F136.3), *cf.* Hdt. 5.62, and the adjective σταθεράς (F29), *cf.* Plato, *Phaedr.* 242a.

Some measure of the influence of Antimachus' epic may be gauged from the fact that the only Hellenistic epic poem which survives intact, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, displays considerable familiarity with the *Thebaid*, particularly in terms of vocabulary.[168]

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[166] *Cf.* D.L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1963), 70.

[167] The stem τεμν -- (F51; 135), while Attic, is also Homeric; see commentary on F51.

[168] *Cf.* Wyss, XLVIII. M. Campbell in *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius* (Leiden 1987) limits his study to epic from Homer to Panyassis. J.J. Clauss sees Antimachean influence on Apollonius coming chiefly from the *Lyde* (*The Best of the Argonauts: The Redefinition of the Epic Hero in Book One of Apollonius' Argonautica* [Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1993] 10, with n.25)

That Apollonius should be indebted to the *Thebaid* rather than to the *Lyde* is at first surprising, since the latter poem included the Argonaut myth, but the situation is merely a reflection of our sources and the material which they preserve. Although the scholia to Apollonius have saved us eight fragments of the *Lyde* (F67; 69-73; 75-6), all are concerned with mythological details of narrative, without quoting any text, suggesting that the references may derive from an epitome, perhaps that of Agatharchides (T17).[169] Actual quotations from the *Lyde* by other sources are very few, yet several borrowings by Apollonius from Antimachus may be discerned, e.g. γαίης ἔκτοθι Δωτιάδος (F85) ~ γαίης Παναχαιίδος ἔκτοθι (A.R. 1.243); the Attic form κάλωας (F68.2) ~ A. R. 1.566; 2.725; ἥδυμος (F74) ~ A. R. 2.407.

Given our more substantial body of verses and vocabulary from the *Thebaid*, it need be no surprise to find a larger number of instances where Apollonius exploited Antimachean usages, e.g.

F3.3-4: ... ὥς ῥά ἑ μή τις / μηδὲ θεῶν ἄλλος γε παρὲξ φράσσαιτό κεν αὐτοῦ
A.R. 4.181-2: ... ὄφρα ἑ μή τις / ἀνδρῶν ἠὲ θεῶν νοσφίσσεται ἀντιβολήσας.

F33.1 : ἐγγύθι δὲ προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ Λάδωνος ἔασιν
A. R. 2.743: ἔνθα δὲ καὶ προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ Ἀχέροντος ἔασιν

F33.2: Δήμητρος τόθι φασιν Ἐρινύος εἶναι ἕδεθλον
A.R. 4.331: τῶν δ' ἤτοι ἑτέρῃ μὲν ἐν ἱερὸν ἔσκεν ἕδεθλον

F36: τὼ δ' αὖτ' ἀμφὶ κονισάλεον πεπονήατο δίφρον
A.R. 1.752: ἐν δὲ δύω δίφρον πεπονήατο δηριόωντες

F51: λέχρις δὲ δρεπάνῳ τέμνων ἄπο μήδεα πατρός / Οὐρανοῦ Ἀκμονίδεω λάσιος Κρόνος ἀντιτέτυκτο.
A.R. 4.984-6: ᾗ ὕπο (i.e. Corcyra) δὴ κεῖσθαι δρέπανον φάτις – ἵλατε Μοῦσαι, / οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος – ᾧ ἀπὸ πατρὸς / μήδεα νηλειῶς ἔταμεν Κρόνος.

F131.3-4: ...ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσήποιο, / ἔνθα τετίμηταί τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται.[170]

[169] A ninth fragment (F132) need not come from the *Lyde*, while a tenth (F188) is best referred to Antimachus' Studia Homerica; *cf.* the commentary *ad loc.*

[170] While this fragment may not be from the *Thebaid* (see commentary), it is certainly from a hexametric poem.

A.R. 1.1115-6: ἐκ δ' ἑτέρης ποταμοῦ ῥόος Αἰσήποιο / ἄστυ τε καὶ πεδίον Νηπήιον Ἀδρηστείης.

F132: ἠύτε τις καύηξ δύπτῃ < > / ἁλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγος
A.R. 1.1007-8: ἄλλοι μὲν ἐς ἁλμυρὸν ἀθρόοι ὕδωρ / δύπτοντες

In addition to these larger borrowings, there are several individual words which Apollonius probably took over from Antimachus, e.g. ἐνσχερώ (F21.5; A.R. 1.912); ἔδεθλον (F33.2; A.R. 4.331); λέχρις (F51; A.R. 3.238); οἶα (F121.4; A.R. 2.139); ἐριώλη (F124; A.R. 1.1132; 4.1778); δύπτω (F132; A.R. 1.1008).

Wyss has already noticed several examples where Apollonius followed Antimachus in applying new meanings to words taken from earlier epic, e.g. τόφρα used as a relative (F3.2; A.R. 3.807; 4.1487); πρόχνυ = πάγχυ (F5; A.R. 1.1118; 2.249); ἠθεῖος (F58; A.R. 3.52).

Another Hellenistic epic poet who displays significant Antimachean influence is Euphorion,[171] *cf.* three points of comparison in a single fragment (F23 Powell): the horses of Amphiaraus described as 'Asbotian' (F35) ~ F23.1); κονισάλεον (F36) ~ κονισαλέῃσιν (F23.2); Φυσαδειόθ[εν (F104.1) ~ Φυσάδειαν (F23.3); *cf.* also Αἰγιαλῆων = Argives (F10 ~ F59 Powell); the Oncaean Gates at Thebes (F38 ~ F28 Powell); the plural of λίς (F65 ~ F35a,b Powell); the meaning of εὐήλατος (F145 ~ F51.10 Powell).

In conclusion we shall note that in his choice of word forms, Antimachus makes use of some of the devices mentioned by Aristotle as aids to distinction of style. At *Poetics* 22.3 (1458a) Aristotle says that a diction which contains strange or unfamiliar words (τοῖς ξενικοῖς) is dignified (σεμνή) and outside the common usage (ἐξαλλάττουσα τὸ ἰδιωτικόν). Such diction includes:

a) γλῶτται (rare words), of which Antimachus has many examples;[172]

b) ἐπεκτάσεις (lengthening of the normal form): Antimachus shows ἀγακλυμένη (F86.2) for ἀγακλυτός, ἀδόροισι (F145) for δοροῖσι, ἀφνειέστατος (F62) for ἀφνειότατος, ἀφνήμονας (F61) for ἀφνειούς, βασιλεύτορες (F10) for βασιλῆες, δέπαστρον (F19; 21; 23; 25) for δέπας, κάρηαρ (F155) for κάρη, κελέβειον (F20; 22; 23)

[171] *Cf.* Wyss, IL-L.
[172] See the *Index Verborum.*

for κελέβη. But it is interesting how often Antimachus uses both a lengthened form and the normal form of a word: βασιλεύτορες (F10) and βασιλῆα (F118.3), βασιλεῦσιν (F21.4); δέπαστρον (F19; 21; 23; 25) and δέπαϊ (F86.1); εὐνείκεστα (F146a) and εὐνεικές[c] (F146b); νωμήσαντο (F24.2) and νώμησαν (F21.4); πρώτιστος (F31.2) and πρῶτος (F131.2). This phenomenon is also apparent with name forms: Ἴδαντος (F89) and Ἴδεω (F88); Οἰνείδης (F6) and Οἰνῆιε (F7); Πύδητος (F83) and Πύδην (F82);

c) ἀποκοπαί (shortened forms): Antimachus has ἄλφι (F145) for ἄλφιτον, λαχμόν (F97) for λακτισμόν, τερέντερον (F161) for the more common τερενώτερον or τερεινότερον. But despite the authority of Strabo, ὄψ (F79) is probably not a shortened form of ὄψις, but actually the missing nominative of the Homeric ὄπα etc. (= *vox*);

d) ἐξαλλαγαὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων (alteration or variation of noun forms), explained by Aristotle (*Poetics* 21.20, [1458a]) as when a poet makes up part of a word, but leaves the rest unchanged. Obviously words in this category often coincide with those which have been given lengthened forms, as seen above, but Antimachus also has ληχμόν (F147) instead of λῆξιν.

Metre

Any discussion of Antimachus' metrical practice is limited of course by the meagre remains of his verses, with only 76 hexameters and 5 pentameters surviving intact. But as Hollis has pointed out in his edition of Callimachus' *Hecale*, even when a line is incomplete we can often determine whether it had a strong or weak caesura, a spondaic fifth foot, or a bucolic diaeresis.[173]

In arriving at the statistics given below for Antimachus, I have excluded the Fragmenta Dubia, confining my attention to those fragments I consider genuine, but I have tried to maximize the infor-

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[173] *Callimachus: Hecale*, 16. I think it best to discard as sexist the terms masculine and feminine as applied to the caesura, but, like Hollis, I retain the term 'bucolic diaeresis', referring to word-division after the fourth dactyl of the hexameter. West dismisses the term as a 'modern pedantry' preferring 'bucolic caesura' (*GM*, 192; *cf.* *CQ* 32 [1982], 292).

mation gleaned from partial lines. In this way, our statistical sample can be increased from 76 to 98 (first foot), 111 (second foot), 134 (third foot), 133 (fourth foot), 129 (fifth foot), 135 (caesura) and 133 (bucolic diaeresis).[174]

Dactyls and Spondees

A comparison of the practice of Antimachus and earlier epic may be made from the following table of percentages of spondaic feet.[175]

	Il. 1	*Il.* 24	*Od.* 1	*Od.* 24	*Theog.*	*Op.*	Pany.	Antim.
1st foot	38.2	39.6	42.5	37.5	40.9	39.1	41.0	45.9
2nd foot	39.3	38.4	42.2	43.5	40.5	48.1	44.3	40.5
3rd foot	13.9	17.3	15.6	17.5	14.0	22.2	26.2	18.7
4th foot	27.0	25.8	30.0	29.6	26.9	29.8	23.0	33.8
5th foot	4.9	6.2	6.3	6.6	6.5	6.8	1.6-3.2	20.2

The most striking of these figures illustrates a feature which has often been commented upon by scholars, namely Antimachus' propensity for spondaic fifth feet, which occur approximately three times more frequently than in Homer or Hesiod.[176] This liking for σπονδειάζοντες can also be illustrated in another way. In his 76 complete hexameters, Antimachus displays 21 different arrangements of dactyls and spondees, a comparatively greater variety than his fifth-century predecessor, Panyassis, who exhibits 15 or 16 hexametric types in his 60 extant verses.[177] Of the seven hexametric patterns found in Antimachus but not in Panyassis, no fewer than five (totalling eleven hexameters) are σπονδειάζοντες, while the remaining two types both contain a spondaic fourth foot. The two Panyas-

[174] Wyss' discussion of Antimachus' metrics is based on only 66 hexameters since he did not take the Hermoupolis papyrus into account (XXXIV, with n.1).

[175] The figures for Homer and Hesiod are taken from the table of West (*Hesiod: Theogony*, 93), itself a reduction to percentages of the statistics of A. Ludwich, *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik* II, 327-9. Elsewhere, West gives approximate overall percentages for Homer of 40 in the first two feet, under 20 in the third, 30 in the fourth, and 5 in the fifth, noting that when instances arising from vowel contractions are excluded the latter frequency falls to 2 (*GM*, 37). For Panyassis, *cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis*, 38. In the case of Antimachus, it is interesting to note that for the 76 complete hexameters, the figures for the fourth and fifth feet are 35.5 and 20.8 respectively. The proximity of these percentages to those from the larger sample suggests that we can have some confidence that the figures presented give us a fairly reliable impression of Antimachus' hexametric patterns.

[176] *Cf.* Wyss, XXXIV; West, *GM*, 154: Hollis, *Callim. Hecale*, 18. Antimachus even converts a verse borrowed from Homer into a σπονδειάζων (F88).

[177] *Cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis*, 36-7.

sian hexametric types not found in the remains of Antimachus have spondees in all of the first three feet (2 examples) and in the second and third feet (5 examples), the only ones in which Panyassis shows a greater preference for spondees than does Antimachus. The large number of spondees in Antimachus' fourth or fifth feet may have contributed to the impression that his verse was heavy. One hexameter (F27.2) even has spondees in both the fourth and fifth feet. Two verses, F83 (SSSSD) and F129 (SSSDS) display four spondees. Since both refer to rivers, it is possible that Antimachus was trying to evoke their slow flow. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in discussing the severe style (among whose practitioners he subsequently lists Antimachus, T22), states that it displays an aversion to being confined to short syllables, implying that it has a tendency towards the use of the spondee (*De comp. verb.* 22).[178]

Of Antimachus' Hellenistic successors only Eratosthenes (24%), Aratus and Euphorion (both 17%) exceed or approach his frequency of contraction in the fifth foot.[179] Callimachus (7%) and Apollonius (8%) are much closer to the Homeric and Hesiodic figures, although in the fragments of the *Hecale* Callimachus reaches 13%. Nicander is very low in his *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* (2.6%), but appreciably higher in the remains of his *Georgica* (9%).[180]

In the Hellenistic age there was a tendency to avoid the spondaic fourth foot and, in a related development, to have word-end after the dactyl in this position, i.e. the bucolic diaeresis.[181] Whereas in Homer bucolic diaeresis occurs in only 47% of verses, in Apollonius the figure is 57%, in Callimachus 63%, in Theocritus 50% (epic), 59% (mimic), and 74% (bucolic). Since Antimachus on the other hand shows a high percentage of spondaic fourth feet, it is not surprising to find also an appreciably lower frequency of bucolic diaeresis (55 of 133 = 41.4%).

Antimachus' many spondaic fourth feet may be one reason for a higher incidence of word-break after such feet, something shunned completely by Callimachus (Naeke's Law).[182] Other Hellenistic

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[178] As noted by Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 158.

[179] For the Hellenistic poets, *cf.* West *GM*, 154; Hollis, 18. There is little justification for Wyss' contention (XXXIV-V) that Antimachus influenced these poets in their use of σπονδειάζοντες.

[180] *Cf.* Hollis, 18.

[181] *Cf.* West, *GM*, 154, from whom the Hellenistic percentages are taken.

[182] *Cf.* West, *GM*, 154-5; Hollis, 20-1.

poets are not as fastidious as Callimachus in this regard, e.g. Apollonius has 68 instances in his 5835 lines (1.2%).[183] But Antimachus has 7 examples (5.3%), generally after a word shaped ⏑⏑– following strong caesura (F22.2; 144) or one shaped ⏑– after weak caesura (F27.2;136.1; 136.2). Some verses display unusual metrical features, e.g. τὸ καί σφω γείνατο μήτηρ (F15) contains a sequence of appositives;[184] κελέβειον <θ ᾽> ὅττι φέριστον (F22.2) requires lengthening by position, a violation of Wernicke's Law;[185] Ἐπειῶν ἀρχεύοντες (F27.2) shows both fourth and fifth feet spondaic;[186] Τήνου τ᾽ ὀφιοέσσης (F91) has both a proper name and lengthening by position.

Main Caesura

In the Homeric poems, the weak caesura predominates over the strong in a ratio of 4:3, while a fourth foot caesura occurs in only 1.4% of verses in the *Iliad*, .9% in the *Odyssey*, and 2.2% in Hesiod.[187] West has noted that in the fifth century, in Panyassis and Antimachus as well as in hexameters in drama, the balance changes in favour of the strong caesura.[188] For Panyassis the percentages are: strong 52.5%, weak 41%, fourth foot 6.6%, and for Antimachus: strong 50.4%, weak 45.9%, fourth foot 3.7% (all hephthemimeral).[189] It is interesting that Antimachus, who differs considerably from Panyassis in his distribution of dactyls and spondees, should be so similar to him in choice of caesura. Again a change in preference can be detected in the Hellenistic age, this time back to the weak caesura, e.g. Apollonius 67%, Callimachus 74%, Theocritus in his epyllia 72%, Euphorion 78%, and Nicander 63%. Likewise the fourth foot caesura falls into disfavour, with only two examples in the whole *Argonautica*, only one in Nicander, and none at all in Callimachus or Euphorion.[190]

183 *Cf.* West, *GM*, 154.
184 West, *GM*, 26.
185 West, *GM*, 37.
186 West *GM*, 154.
187 West, *GM*, 36.
188 West, *GM*, 45; 98.
189 Wyss (XXXV) gives 45%, 'quadragies quinquies', for the weak caesura, but 42% 'bis et quadragies' for the strong. Presumably the latter should read 'bis et quinquagies'. Since Wyss' study is based on only 66 complete hexameters, the closeness of his percentages to those drawn from my total of 135 complete and partial verses is some guarantee that we have an accurate impression of Antimachus' practice.
190 West, *GM*, 153; *cf.* Hollis, *Hecale*, 19.

Hiatus

Examples of hiatus in Antimachus have been considerably increased by the new papyrus fragments. Older examples have been noted by Wyss (XXXIX) and usually have Homeric models, e.g. ἀγακλυμένη 'Ερύθεια (F86.2) is paralleled by several feminine nominative singular participles of similar shape in the same *sedes*, e.g. καλυψαμένη ὀθόνῃσιν (*Il.* 3.141); ἐπειγαμένη ἀφικάνει (6.388); ἀλειψαμένη ἰδὲ χαίτας (14.175). There is an obvious Homeric model for ἐμπάζεσθαι ἀλεείνων (F147) in ἀλεξέμεναι ἀλέεινεν (*Il.* 13.356)

Among the new fragments from papyri there are three apparent hiatuses in F112 alone, θάλαμοι ο- (v.3, *cf.* θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ, *Il.* 3.382); -η ὀπὸς (v.7); and -η ὑπ- (v.8).

All of the above examples show hiatus between the princeps (longum) and a dissyllabic biceps, which is the commonest practice in the Hellenistic poets.[191] But a fragment from the Hermoupolis papyrus (F104) may show two consecutive lines in which Antimachus has hiatus after a short vowel, 'Αχαιίδα ως- (v.2) and λύθρων δὲ ἀλυ- (v.3).

Since it is apparent that the comment 'hiatum evitat A(ntimachus)' (Wyss, 17) is too strong, it is preferable to retain Ταλαῷ υἱός at F31.1 rather than emend to Ταλαῶ'. The statement of Choeroboscus that Antimachus used Ταλαῷο could refer to some other passage, perhaps F189.2 dub.

Like Homer, Antimachus displays examples of hiatus before words which originally had digamma. The most common type is with the personal pronouns, e.g. οὕνεκα οἱ (F3.1); ῥά ἑ (F3.3); ῥά οἱ (F20.2; 23.2; 74; 104.1; 143); δέ οἱ (F131.2); καὶ ἵν (F103). But a more interesting instance is F79 where I would argue that ἱερὴ ὄψ shows the 'lost' nominative of the Homeric ὄπα, -ος, -ι, which once had digamma.

Neglect of Digamma

Also like Homer and other poets, Antimachus sometimes neglects the digamma for the sake of his metre; πᾶσιν ἄνασσαν (F3.1); ὑπ' ἄνακτι (F32); οἷσιν ἄνασσαν (F39); δέχθαι ἄνασσαν (F101); ἄγεν

[191] *Cf.* West, *GM*, 156; Hollis, *Hecale*, 19.

οἴκαδε (F9); χηρήιον οἶκον (F134); θνητοῖσι ἰδέσθαι (F31.5); οἱ ἥδυμος (F74); and twice in a single verse καὶ οἷς τεκέεσσιν ἕκαστος (F54).

Correption

The remains of Antimachus show 24 examples of epic correption, the commonest type being after καί (9 in all, with 7 standing after the weak caesura). Two verses each contain two correptions, ἐνσχερὼ ἑστηῶσι, καὶ ἐς λοιβήν (F21.5),[192] and πεφοβημέναι ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα (F41a.11). Several show neglect of digamma as noted above; καὶ οἷς (F54); οἱ ἥδυμος (F74); δέχθαι ἄνασσαν (F101). There are also four interesting examples of correption within words; κήρῠκας (F22.1, *cf.* κήρῠκι Ἠπυτίδῃ, *Il.* 17.324); κολῳ̆ει (F40); ἐνε̆γρα[ψατο (F119.3, *cf.* ἐνε̆κρυψε, *Od.* 5.488); νενευκᾰσιν (F142; *cf.* e.g. πεφύκᾰσι, *Od.* 7.114).[193]

Lengthening of Short Syllables

On several occasions, naturally short syllables not followed by two consonants are lengthened for metrical reasons. All occur in arsis and again most have Homeric precedent: τά πε̄ρ ἀφνήμονας (F61, *cf.* δαίμονα πε̄ρ εἴ πως, *Il.* 17.104); ὀ̄φιοέσσης (F91 *cf.* ὄ̄φιν *Il.* 12.208); Ἄϊδος (F112.2, *cf.* Ἄϊδος εἴσω at line-end, *Il.* 3.322 etc.; *Od.* 9.524 etc.); κρέματο̄ περὶ πάσσαλον (F143, *cf.* τέκετο̄ Πολυφείδεα, *Od.* 15.249). Antimachus himself exhibits a lengthening of τέκετο̄ before the liquid ρ, τέκετο̄ Ῥέα (F41a.10, taking the phrase from *Il.* 15.187). There are similar lengthenings in παρὰ ῥόον (F131.3, *cf. Il.* 16.151; *Od.* 11.21; similarly with κατά, *Il.* 21.147; *Od.* 5.324;461; 12.204; 14.254); τὸ ῥα (F143); δὲ λινέοις (F68.1, pentameter); and, before a nasal, ἐνὶ μεγάροις (F22.3).[194]

In Antimachus, a plosive followed by a liquid always lengthens a preceding syllable with the exception of εἴσατο πρῶτος (F131.2, *cf.* ὅντινα πρῶτον, *Od.* 3.320; ἠὲ σὺ πρῶτος, 17.275).

Sometimes, for the sake of his metre, Antimachus employs different lengths in the same noun, as in Πῡδητος (F83, initial position)

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[192] *Cf.* ἐπισχερὼ three times in correption in Homer, all with bucolic diaeresis (*Il.* 11.668; 18.68; 23.125).

[193] *Cf.* West, *GM*, 11-12; 16.

[194] For all these lengthenings *cf.* West, *GM*, 14.

and Πῦδην (F82, mid-line) and (in a single verse, F65) λῖες (initial) and very probably λῖεσσι (mid-line).

Synizesis

Antimachus has several examples of synizesis, all in instances where the first vowel is ε, usually in words which could not otherwise fit into a hexameter.[195] These include the genitives in -εω as in Ἀκμονίδεω (F51.2), and Ἴδεω (F88, a line adapted from *Il.* 9.558). Other examples are ἀμορβέων (F28.1, in the final foot) and χρυσέοισιν (F93, *cf. Il.* 8.436; 11.31). An interesting case is τέκετο Ῥέα (creating a σπονδειάζων, F41a.10) reproduced from *Il.* 15.187, where it is guaranteed by line-end.

The form Ἐλευσῖνίης (F79, *cf. Hom. Hy. Dem.* 266) is best explained as a consonantalization of ι,[196] although it might be seen as a correption (*cf.* Ἐλευσῖνίδαο, *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 105).[197]

Elision

Antimachus displays a wide range of elisions. Those with conjunctions, particles, and adverbs are very common, but there are four examples involving nouns, οὖσ' (F68.2), δέσμ' (F109.3), both in the first foot, δμω[ῇ]ισ' (F105) at the strong caesura, and the proper name Γαῖ' (F31.5). Three examples occur with verb forms, ὡμίλησ' (F28.2), ἑδνώσατ' (F117.5), and γένετ' (F136.3). We have an adjectival example only if we accept my conjecture δορι[σθενέ'] ὄντα at F118.3. Three instances of elision are at the strong caesura (F9; 105; 147) and one at the weak (F25).

[195] *Cf.* West *GM*, 12-13.
[196] This usually occurs to accommodate a name; *cf.* West, *GM*, 14.
[197] *Cf.* Richardson, *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 64; 183; 248.

ANTIMACHUS' REPUTATION IN ANTIQUITY

Although Antimachus is best known as an epic poet, it is interesting that, when mentioned by himself outside the listings of the epic canon, he is never called ποιητὴς ἐπῶν or ἐποποιός as Panyassis is (Panyassis T1 and 9 Davies), but simply ποιητής e.g. T1,3,*cf.* 5,8. This may indicate that he was not seen merely as an epic poet and the frequent citations of his elegy, the *Lyde*, show that this poem too contributed to his poetic reputation (*cf.* T6, 10-15, 17; F69, 72, 75, 76, 78, 80, 84, 85).

The stories connecting Antimachus, Choerilus, and Plato seem to refer only to epic poetry (T2, 4, 5). Knox has noted that in poetry after the third century B. C., the sole reference to the *Lyde* is the unhelpful one in Ovid, *Trist.* 1.6.1 (T6).[1] Ovid knows that Lyde was Antimachus' beloved, but that fact need not mean that he had actually read the poem.[2] A similar sentiment is expressed by Henrichs: 'Although copies of Antimachus' epic poetry must have been available to the Roman reading public until well after the middle of the first century B. C., there is no evidence for the survival of the *Lyde* into late Republican times'.[3]

In fact when we examine the dates of the testimonia for Antimachus' two main poems, an interesting pattern emerges. Whereas many sources from the second century B.C. up to the fifth century A.D. either mention Antimachus explicitly as an epic poet (T22, 26, 29) or indicate that he is to be seen as such by association with Homer or other epic poets (T9, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 40), only two sources from the first and second centuries A. D. refer to the *Lyde* (T6 and 12).[4] All other testimonia for the *Lyde* are early, mostly fourth or third centuries B.C. (e.g. T10, 11, 13, 14, 15), the latest being Agatharchides of Cnidus, from the mid-second century (T17).

The information furnished by this last witness is, as Del Corno has

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1 R. Knox, *HSCP* 89 (1985), 113n.20.

2 *Cf.* Del Corno, 76.

3 A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 77.

4 I exclude T10, since Athenaeus is drawing on a third century B. C. source, Clearchus.

noticed, of fundamental importance for the history of the text of Antimachus.[5] This is the statement that Agatharchides made an epitome of the *Lyde*. As Del Corno suggests, this was probably a sort of reference book to the mythographic material in the poem. The making of this epitome shows that by the time of Agatharchides what people were interested in was the mass of learned material, the mythological stories which Antimachus presented. On the other hand, the abstruseness of his poetic style and language constituted an obstacle to easy reading and reference. The creation of the epitome can only have accelerated the decline of direct first-hand knowledge of the *Lyde* resulting in the paucity of subsequent references to the work. Indeed this epitome could itself have been the source of the information used by Ovid and [Plutarch] (T6 and 12), who provide two of our latest references to the content of the *Lyde*. It is interesting too that our richest source of *Lyde* fragments, the scholia to Apollonius, presents eight fragments without quoting a word of text. A ninth fragment quotes two incomplete lines, but I would argue with West against Wyss that it need not come from the *Lyde*..[6] A possible source for the Apollonius scholia is the Rhodian's own contemporary, Chares, who wrote a work Περὶ ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου.[7] It is also notable that not a single fragment survives in papyrus from an edition or copy of the *Lyde*, but merely quotations or references made by grammarians (i.e. F68, glosses on a 3rd c. B.C. ostracon, a very early source, and F77, a marginal scholium of the 3rd c. A.D.). On the other hand, there are several papyri from the 2nd c. A.D. of texts of the *Thebaid* (i.e. *P. Berol.* 21127=F19-20, 23-23A; *P.Oxy.* 2518 = F41-49; possibly *P.Oxy.* 859 = F189 dub.) and probably of the *Artemis* too (i.e. *P.Oxy.* 2516 = F115-127 and the papyrus commentary, *PRIMI* I.17 = F99-114).

Three important Roman sources which do not specifically mention the *Thebaid* can be seen to refer to Antimachus as an epic poet. Although Catullus' phrase *tumido Antimacho* (T20) appears at first glance to be a simple reflection of Callimachus' description of the *Lyde* as a παχὺ γράμμα (T15), the context involves a comparison with the *annales* of Volusius in antithesis to the Callimachean epyllion of

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[5] Del Corno, 74.

[6] F132, see West, *IEG*² II, 43. A tenth fragment (F188) is best referred to Antimachus' Studia Homerica; *cf.* F183.

[7] Schol. A.R. 2.1052-57a; *cf.* Del Corno, 75.

Cinna.[8] In such a context, concerning Callimachean literary criticism, Catullus' reference can only be to the *Thebaid*.[9] Although *tumido* seems to echo Callimachus' derogatory παχύ, the rest of the verse, *at populus ... gaudeat Antimacho*, is closer to the final words of Callimachus' epigram in criticism of the ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν (*Ep.* 28 Pf.), σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια, in its disparagement of the taste of the *vulgus*.[10]

So too Cicero's reference to *magnum illud quod novistis volumen suum* (T5) is clearly to the *Thebaid*.[12] Propertius, the Roman poet most closely associated with Callimachean poetics, mentions Antimachus only once (T21). Vessey clearly is right in seeing that Propertius in this poem, with his advice to his poet friend Lynceus, is balancing the epic canon against the elegiac canon, Antimachus and Homer against Philetas and Callimachus, who is described as *non inflatus*, the opposite of the *tumidus* which Catullus applied to Antimachus.[12] Propertius advises Lynceus, now that he is in love, to abandon learned mythological epic themes and turn instead to his own fiery love. But Quadlbauer is surely in error in suggesting that Antimachus is cited as an example of παχύ and that the coupling of Homer with him is based on the statement of Parthenius that the *Odyssey* was πηλός and the *Iliad* πάτος (Erycius *AP* 7.377.5-6 = Gow-Page, *Garland* 2278-9).[13] The point is that Antimachus and Homer are great *epic* poets who are simply unsuitable as models for a love poet.[14]

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[8] *Cf.* Del Corno, 62; M. Gigante, "Catullo, Cicerone e Antimaco", *RFIC* 32 (1954); Vessey, *Hermes* 99 (1971),3; however J. B. Solodow is too strong in referring to "the identification of Antimachus with Volusius" (*CP* 82[1987], 142n3).

[9] *Cf.* Knox, 113; Vessey, 3; W. Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin Poetry" *GRBS* 5 (1964), 188-191 (also in K. Quinn (ed.) *Approaches to Catullus* [Cambridge 1972], 276-9); T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* (Leicester 1974), 49-53.

[10] *Cf.* Vessey, 3; Del Corno, 62-6.

[11] *Cf.* Wyss; Del Corno, 62; Gigante, 72-3.

[12] Vessey, 5; *cf.* *PVS* 9(1969-70), 57-62; Del Corno, 62. Note that Quintilian (10.1.58) ranks Callimachus first and Philetas second among Greek elegists (*cf.* Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.252-3); see G. O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford 1988), 280.

[13] F. Quadlbauer, "Non tutior ibis (zu Properz 2, 34, 45)", in *Hans Gerstinger Festgabe zum 80 Geburtstag* (Graz 1966), 56-7. Solodow is wrong to list the Propertius' reference among "the principal passages in Roman literature indicating Antimachus' reputation for long-windedness" (*CP* 82 [1987], 145).

[14] Propertius makes the same point in 1.9.10, *plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero*, in love a single verse of Mimnermus outweighs Homer. *Cf.* R.I.V. Hodge and R. A. Buttimore, *The 'Monobiblos': Propertius Bk. 1* (Cambridge 1977), 134; Vessey *PVS* 57; Hutchinson, *Hell. Poetry*, 280; L. Richardson Jr., *Propertius: Elegies I-IV* (Norman, Oklahoma 1977), 171.

This linking of Antimachus as an epic poet with Homer probably reflects the common ancient opinion which ranked him second only to the master of the epic genre. Propertius' epic pair of Antimachus and Homer is balanced against the elegiac pair of Philetas and Callimachus, ranked second and first, respectively, of elegists by Quintilian (10.1.58). The same Roman literary critic, citing *fere grammaticorum consensus*, expressly accords Antimachus second place in epic, although adding *aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum* (T24).

A similar assessment is provided by Antipater of Sidon, who compares the difference between Homer and Antimachus to that between Zeus and Poseidon (T19).[15] The *Suda* says that while some ranked Panyassis second to Homer, others placed him fourth after Homer, Hesiod, and Antimachus, thus according the Colophonian third place (T28). Dionysius of Halicarnassus judged that Panyassis possessed the virtues of both Hesiod and Antimachus, but surpassed them in treatment and arrangement, thus apparently assigning Antimachus either third or fourth rank (T23).[16]

The various versions of the epic canon reflect these differences. Antimachus is accorded second place by Tzetzes in Hes. *Op.* 2.3 (T29B). Other lists place him third (T29E), fourth (T29D) or fifth (T29C); so too Proclus (T29A), though his list may be purely chronological.[17]

Antimachus' inclusion in the epic canon must reflect his high standing with the Hellenistic critics. It is interesting that Choerilus of Samos, highly regarded by most critics at the time when Plato preferred Antimachus, was not admitted to the canon. Crates, in an epigram attacking Euphorion, said that Choerilus fell far short of Antimachus (T18).[18] The scholar Dionysius of Phaselis, apparently

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[15] *Cf.* T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London 1964), 206-7. The comparison resembles Quintilian's judgement in that not only is Poseidon second to Zeus, but he is a distant second. I would agree with Webster, Knox (*HSCP* 89 [1985],116), Krevans (*Hellen. Groning.* I, 149 n. 5) and recent editors such as Beckby and Gow-Page that the Antipater in question is the Sidonian (2nd c. B.C.), not the later poet from Thessalonica as argued by Del Corno, 63n16 (accepted by Garaffoni, *Vichiana* 3 [1966], 12 n. 34).

[16] *Cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis*, 32.

[17] *Cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis*, 31; A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos* 1.2 (Liége and Paris 1938),84.

[18] Despite Meineke (*Anal. Alex.* 7-8; 30ff.), this Crates is probably not one from Mallos, but perhaps the epigrammatist mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (4.23). *Cf.* Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* II.222; Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.*, 243; Huxley. *GRBS* 10 (1969), 26.

a follower of Aristarchus and thus to be dated around the middle of the second century B.C.,[19] wrote a work Περὶ τῆς 'Αντιμάχου ποιήσεως (T37).[20]Another second-century writer, Apollodorus, recorded the date of Antimachus (T1) and probably transmitted Antimachean material which has survived in later sources, e.g. Strabo and Steph. Byz. (*cf.* F24, Dyme; and F182, Amphigenia).

What were the poetic qualities which earned Antimachus his high reputation? Quintilian (T24) praises him for *vis et gravitas et minime vulgare eloquendi genus*, 'force, seriousness, and an extremely uncommon or distinguished style of expression', but then complains of his deficiencies in *adfectibus et iucunditate et dispositione et omnino arte*, 'emotion, charm, arrangement, in technique generally'. His remark that Panyassis surpassed Antimachus *disponendi ratione*, 'in method of organization' reflects the latter's alleged deficiency in *dispositione*.

Dionysius (T23), who was probably the source of Quintilian's opinions, lauds Antimachus for εὐτονία 'vigour of style', ἀγωνιστικὴ τραχυτής, 'impressive or heroic ruggedness', and τὸ συνήθος τῆς ἐξαλλαγῆς, 'his use of variation'.[21] Elsewhere (T22) he praises him for his austere structure, coupling him in epic with Empedocles, and comparing him to writers in other genres, Pindar in lyric, Aeschylus in tragedy,[22] Thucydides in history, and Antiphon in political oratory. This alleged austerity of Antimachus may be one of the reasons for Plato's admiration, for the philosopher says in his *Republic* that he would employ τῷ αὐστηροτέρῳ καὶ ἀηδεστέρῳ ποιητῇ ... καὶ μυθολόγῳ ὠφελίας ἕνεκα, ὃς ἡμῖν τὴν τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς λέξιν μιμοῖτο κ.τ.λ. (398a), 'the most austere and unpleasing poet and story teller for usefulness, who would imitate the expression of the good man etc.'[23] In this passage, ἀηδής must mean something like 'not produc-

[19] This may be learned from *P. Oxy.* XXIII 2368, a commentary on Bacchylides' dithyramb *Cassandra* (F23 Snell-Maehler), col.i.9-20 (128 Sn-M.).

[20] But the belief that Apollonius Rhodius wrote a work on Antimachus (e.g. Wyss, IL; Lesky, *Hist. Gk. Lit.*, 736) should now be abandoned (see commentary on F164).

[21] *Cf.* Vessey, *Hermes* 99 (1971),8; J. Cousin, *Études sur Quintilien* I (repr. Amsterdam 1967), 551.

[22] *Cf.* the association with Aeschylus in T15. That Antimachus was thought to share Aeschylus' rugged archaic qualities may be seen by comparing Dioscorides' address to Aeschylus, ἀρχαίων ἦσθά τις ἡμιθέων (XXI.6 *Epig. Gr.* = *AP* 7.411.6) with Antipater's description of the verse of Antimachus, ἄξιον ἀρχαίων ὀφρύος ἡμιθέων. Note also the comment of [Demetrius] that ἀρχαῖοι implies greater respect than παλαιοί (*On Style*, 175).

[23] *Cf.* Vessey, *Hermes* 99 (1971),5.

ing or aiming at pleasure', 'serious', rather than simply 'unpleasant: or 'disagreeable'. It reminds one of τὰν ἀγέλαστον ὄπα, 'the unlaughing (i.e. serious) voice' of Antimachus, praised by Antipater of Sidon (T19) and of his lack of *iucunditas,* criticised by Quintilian (T24).[24]

It can thus be seen that Antimachus was appreciated for his forcefulness, vigour, and seriousness. While most of the evidence for these characteristics appears to refer to his epic poetry, the epithet σεμνοτέρη employed by Asclepiades (T13) indicates that his elegy *Lyde* displayed the same qualities.[25] Hermesianax (T11) refers to the books of the poem as ἱράς, 'holy, 'sacred', a word often applied to people or things noted for beauty or excellence. Also in relation to the *Lyde,* Posidippus (T14) characterizes Antimachus as σώφρων 'chaste', 'self-controlled', in contrast to the poet of the *Nanno,* Mimnermus, whom he describes as φιλεραστός, 'fond of having lovers'. This particular aspect of Antimachus and his work is yet another quality which must have pleased Plato, who wants young men to display σωφροσύνη, especially in matters of sex (*Rep.* 389d, *cf.* 390c on the stories of Zeus and Hera and of Ares and Aphrodite).

A similar moral or educational aspect of Antimachus' work is reflected in several passages of Philodemus' Περὶ ποιημάτων, in which the poetic theories of a Stoic philosopher, possibly Ariston of Chios, are being discussed (T32A-C).[26] Philodemus quotes the Stoic critic as presenting Antimachus as an example of poets who provide their own explanations for traditional mythological stories (ἰδίως πρὸς τὰ πράγμαθ' εὑρησιλογῶνται), saying that some of his poems contain educational thoughts (T32A).[27] Another quotation shows the

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[24] *Cf.* Vessey, 8.

[25] *Cf.* P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse* (*Hypomnemata* 90, Göttingen 1988), 29-30.

[26] This was first edited by C. Jensen in *Philodemos Über die Gedichte Fünftes Buch* (Berlin 1923) 128-145, with subsequent studies by P. Giuffrida, *L'Epicurismo nella letteratura latina nel I secolo A. C.* I (Turin 1940) 92-123; N.A. Greenberg, *The Poetic Theory of Philodemus* (Diss. Harvard 1955, publ. Garland, New York/London 1990), 57-79; M. Ioppolo, *Aristone di Chio e lo stoicismo antico* (Naples 1980), 256-278. Although only the last two letters of the philosopher's name are preserved, the Stoic has been traditionally identified as Ariston (Jensen, 128-130; *cf.* Greenberg, 58; *contra* R. Phillipson, *Phil. Woch.* 44 [1924], 420 [review of Jensen]; M. Isnardi Parente, "Una poetica di incerto autore in Filodemo", *Filologia e forme letterarie, Studi offerti a F. Della Corte* 5 [1987], 81-98). In a recent study (*Apeiron* 23 [1990], 147-201), Elizabeth Asmis concludes "S. himself remains anonymous for now. It is possible, I think, that he was Ariston of Chios" (196). Her caution is shared by the latest editor, Cecilia Mangoni, *Filodemo, Il Quinto Libro della Poetica* (Napoli 1993), 61-75.

[27] *Cf.* his possible rejection of the savage Thelpusan story of Demeter Erinys (F33).

Stoic saying that the poems of Homer and Archilochus are χρηστά, 'good', 'useful', only μετὰ συγγνώμης, 'with indulgence', 'with forgiveness', while poems with wise and educational thoughts are indisputably (good) and presumably more so, perhaps even in a proper sense (κυρίως), whereas the former poems, i.e. those of Homer and Archilochus, are called (good) only in a imprecise or misapplied sense (καταχρηστικῶς). It would appear that 'poems with wise and educational thoughts' refers to or at least includes the poems of Antimachus mentioned in the previous quotation and that the Stoic is clearly rating these poems higher than those of Homer and Archilochus.[28]

Philodemus himself responds to his Stoic adversary by asking what person of mature judgement (καθεστηκώς) would say that Antimachus' poems were composed in an individual manner (ἰδίως πεποιῆσθαι) (T32B). In a further response to his opponent's theories, Philodemus recognises that some people (τινάς) apply the term τέχνη to what resembles the poems of Antimachus. He himself acknowledges that the poems have been written in accordance with the approved craft, with cities and places being harmoniously fitted together, while keeping proper order, which someone might call beneficial (ὠφέλιμον) (T32C).[29] Asmis may well be correct in discerning sarcasm in Philodemus' words here, with his references to 'praiseworthy craft' and the harmonious and orderly treatment of cities and places, making apparently mocking use of Stoic terminology.[30] But Wyss is mistaken in saying that the Stoic critic himself praised Antimachus' descriptions of cities and places.[31] He may have done so, but it is Philodemus who refers to the cities and places, perhaps as a sarcastic illustration of something in Antimachus which might be called useful or possibly because this was a feature mentioned by the τινάς who saw τέχνη in Antimachus. The reference

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28 *Cf.* Jensen, 134; Greenberg, 71; Asmis (174) points out that Antimachus is not placed outright among wise poets, but that it is suggested that perhaps he attained that status.

29 On the text of the passage (XX.20 Mangoni=17.20 Jensen) Asmis (176n.96) comments that Jensen's ἐ[νόντων] is doubtful, but makes better sense than Wilamowitz' ἔ[κφρασις] (*Hellenist. Dicht.* 1.102). This is true, but surely preferable to either is ἐ[χόντων], which would be a natural verb to find with the adverbial form εὐαρμόστως *cf.*.τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τόπους οὐκ εὐκαίρως οὐδ' εὐαρμόστως... ἔχοντας (Isoc. *Busiris* 12).

30 Asmis, 177.

31 Wyss, XLV.

seems to be not so much to Antimachus' skill in describing places as Asmis suggests,[32] as to his combining the names of cities and places in a harmonious way in catalogues, hence 'while keeping proper order'. Wyss is surely right in suggesting that τάξις in this passage refers to natural order and is not equivalent to οἰκονομία (=*dispositio*), 'arrangement', an area in which Dionysius of Halicarnassus (T23) and Quintilian (T24) deemed Antimachus deficient.[33] Philodemus would appear to be mockingly conceding that Antimachus composed some nicely arranged catalogues of cities and places and even managed to keep them in (geographical?) order, a thing which someone might call beneficial.[34] But despite Philodemus' obvious disagreement, it is apparent that a body of Stoic opinion found aspects of Antimachus' poetry educational and useful.

How did Antimachus create in his poems the literary features for which the ancient critics praised him? We can pick up some clues from the theoretical writings of Aristotle. Firstly, at *Rhet.* 3.6 (1408a) he actually cites Antimachus' famous lengthy negative description of Teumessus (F2) as an example of a way in which to achieve ὄγκος (sublimity, pomp) in style.[35] Then at *Poetics* 21-2 (1458a-b) he discusses how diction may be made dignified (σεμνή) by the use of unusual words and how no small aid to clarity of style and distinction (μὴ ἰδιωτικόν,[36] Quintilian's *minime vulgare*) is the lengthening and shortening, and alteration of words, ἐξαλλαγαὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων (*cf.* Dionysius' τῆς ἐξαλλαγῆς). Aristotle makes a similar statement in the *Rhetoric*, τὸ γὰρ ἐξαλλάξαι ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι σεμνοτέραν (3.2.2, 1404b). In the passage of the *Poetics*, he goes on to say (22.8) that

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[32] 179n.99. She refers to "his praise of Therapnae and Teumessus (Strabo ix.2.24)" (i.e. F2), but there is no evidence that Antimachus mentioned Therapnae at all. Wilamowitz was also thinking of the description of Teumessus when he suggested ἔ[κφρασις] (*Hellenist. Dicht. 1.102*).

[33] Wyss, XLV-XLVI.

[34] One can, at the very least, suppose a catalogue of Argive forces in the *Thebaid* and one of Argonauts in the *Lyde*. In the *Artemis*, possibilities include a list of places associated with the goddess.

[35] Vessey (*Hermes* 99, 9) seems to think that Aristotle disapproved of this Antimachean passage, saying that he added αὔξεται γὰρ οὗτος εἰς ἄπειρον. But the text reads οὕτως and simply means (as Cope translates) "for in that way the amplification may be carried to infinity", not that Antimachus actually went too far. G.M.A. Grube also thinks that Aristotle was using irony in his discussion of ways of achieving ὄγκος (*The Greek and Roman Critics* [Toronto 1965], 97n.2).

[36] For μὴ ἰδιωτικός ~ μὴ ταπεινός *cf.* Arist. *Poet.* 22.1; 8; for οὐ ταπεινός ~ σεμνός *cf.* Eurip. F688 Nauck^2. Antimachus' *Lyde* is σεμνοτέρη (T13).

divergence from normal usage will produce τὸ μὴ ἰδιωτικόν, while clarity will be preserved by retaining an element of the usual form. Examples of these literary devices have been listed in the discussion of Antimachus' vocabulary.

Not all critics, however, admired these aspects of Antimachus' style. Plutarch in his *Timoleon* (T25), while admitting that Antimachus' poems, like the paintings of his fellow Colophonian Dionysius, possessed strength and energy (ἰσχὺν ... καὶ τόνον), adds that they seem forced and strained (ἐκβεβιασμένοις καὶ καταπόνοις), in contrast to the paintings of Nicomachus and the poems of Homer, which apart from power and grace (δυνάμεως καὶ χάριτος), also appear to have been accomplished with facility and ease (εὐχερῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως) The comparison and contrast with Homer indicates that it is particularly Antimachus' *Thebaid* that Plutarch has in mind. A similar criticism of Antimachus' sublimity (ὕψος), suggesting that it was very contrived and bombastic (μεμηχανημένον ... καὶ στομφῶδες), is contained in the remarks of Proclus (T34). This passage also indicates that Antimachus made extensive use of metaphor or transference.

Several other testimonia also compare Antimachus unfavourably with Homer. The author of the *Vita Chisiana* of Dionysius Periegetes (T9), in a discussion of the ideal proemium, advises against excessive sublimity, saying that it is necessary either to set ὄγκος aside or, after a distinguished beginning, be forced 'to thin it out' (ἀπολεπτύνειν), as Antimachus does; 'for he began in elevated fashion, but brought in nothing about the Argives. Homer was not like that, but by taking his proemium from the action, he straightaway explained the main points of his composition'. We may compare these remarks with those of Aristotle, who tells in the *Poetics* how the grandeur of an epic poem (ὁ τοῦ ποιήματος ὄγκος) may be increased by the portrayal of several parts of narrative at the same time and also declares that the epic hexameter is the στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον of metres (24.6 and 9, 1459b). Aristotle also says that in epic the proemium should provide a sample of the subject, in order that the readers may know in advance what it is about and not be kept in suspense (*Rhet.* 3.14.6, 1415a). He goes on to quote the beginning of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and two verses from the prologue of Choerilus of Samos (F1a Colace = F1 Bernabé). The reference to the 'distinguished beginning' may be an allusion to Antimachus' description of Teumessus (F2), which Aristotle cites as a method of

achieving ὄγκος in style. The author of the *Vita* seems to be suggesting that Antimachus could have sustained his ὄγκος more easily if he had said something about the Argives in similar elevated style.

The *Vita*'s remark about Homer's more effective use of his πράγματα is reminiscent of Gregory of Nazianzus' explanation of τὸ λακωνίζειν (T27). It is not as is thought, he says, to write few syllables, but to write few about very many things. Thus, Gregory declares, Homer is briefest and Antimachus full or expansive, for one judges length by the actions and not by the letters.[37]

That Antimachus had a reputation for redundant garrulity is shown by the amusing examples provided by Plutarch (T33) of the way an excessively verbose man might answer a simple question, especially 'one who happened to have read Antimachus of Colophon'.

That readers might find Antimachus' poetry tedious is also illustrated by Cicero's anecdote about an audience walking out on one of the poet's readings, leaving only Plato listening to Antimachus (T5). It seems likely that Cicero's *magnum ... volumen* is to be understood in a derogatory sense, although he does add that the poet's retort that to him Plato alone was equivalent to a hundred thousand was justified, since an abstruse poem (*poema ... reconditum*) need stir the enthusiasm only of the few, in contrast to a speech to the people, which must win the approval of the majority.[38]

Further evidence often cited for Antimachus' verbosity consists of the assertions of the scholiasts [Acro] and Porphyrion on the *Ars Poetica* of Horace (T26). Vessey has rightly noted that these comments have received more attention than they deserve and that they are essentially worthless.[39] Clearly these commentators had only the vaguest knowledge that Antimachus was notoriously prolix. The notion that he filled twenty-four books before bringing the Seven to Thebes or that his epic even contained twenty-four books is baseless.[40] In fact, it is rather interesting that for a poet so infamously verbose, we have no clear indication of the actual length of his works, in contrast to that of his recent predecessor Panyassis or even the Cyclic epics.[41]

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[37] *Cf.* Kassel, "Antimachos in der Vita Chisiana des Dionysios Periegetes" in *Catalepton* (*Festschrift Wyss* 1985), 75 (= *Kleine Schr.*, 408-9).

[38] For fuller discussion *cf.* Matthews, *Eranos* 77 (1979), 47-8.

[39] Vessey, *Hermes* 99 (1971), 9. *Cf.* my discussion of the *Thebaid.*

[40] *Cf.* Wyss, VIII-IX; Gallavotti, *RFIC* (1937), 326; Barber, *Gnomon* (1938), 546.

[41] E.g. we are expressly told by the *Suda* that Panyassis' *Heraclea* consisted of

The last book of the *Thebaid* from which a fragment is cited is Bk. 5 and we have no indication of the number of verses in the poem. It may well be that Antimachus' work was no longer than most other post-Homeric epics, none of which was nearly as long as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. One only has to think of Gregory's comments about Homer and Antimachus, when he describes Homer as βραχυλογώτατος and Antimachus as πολύς. Clearly the actual physical length of their respective poems is not the point, which is really a question of style and manner. Antimachus could apparently expend many words while advancing the action only slowly or in a not very relevant way. The same impression may also be gained from the comments of Plutarch about the poet's garrulity.

This aspect of Antimachus' style, not his length, is clearly the target of the most famous criticism of the poet, namely Callimachus' description of the *Lyde* as καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν, 'a turgid writing and not lucid' (T15), a comment already discussed in our examination of the *Lyde*. There it was shown that what Callimachus disliked about the *Lyde* was probably the heavy epic manner in which Antimachus composed his elegiac poem.

Callimachus' criticism seems to have been a direct riposte to Asclepiades' praise of the poem, *cf.* Λυδὴ καὶ γένος εἰμὶ καὶ οὔνομα and Λύδην, τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα (T13).[42] The next round in this literary battle was then fired by Antipater (T19), whose εἰ τορὸν οὖας ἔλλαχες is in obvious response to Callimachus' οὐ τορόν. He then goes on in the following line, εἰ τὰν ἄτριπτον καὶ ἀνέμβατον ἀτραπόν ἄλλοις μαίεαι, to cast back at Callimachus his own advice to drive on unworn paths (*cf.* τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἅμαξαι and κελεύθους ἀτρίπτους, *Aetia* 1.25, 27-8).[43]

As Vessey has indicated, it was Antimachus' misfortune to become part of these Hellenistic disputes about the nature and aim

some 9000 verses in fourteen books and his *Ionica* of 7000 verses (T1 Davies), while Proclus gives us specific book numbers for the *Cypria* (eleven) (p. 30 Davies), the *Aethiopis* (five) (p. 47 Davies), the *Little Iliad* (four) (p. 52 Davies), the *Iliou Persis* (two) (p. 62 Davies), the *Nosti* (five) (p. 67 Davies) and the *Telegony* (two) (T1 Davies). According to the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 15, both the Cyclic *Thebaid* and the *Epigoni* (T2 Davies) had 7000 lines.

42 *Cf.* Bing, 30; Pfeiffer I, 325-6 on F398; Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 149.

43 Note that Antipater's praise is for the *Thebaid*, as shown by ὄβριμον στίχον and ἀκαμάτου; *cf.* Del Corno, 63-4; Knox, *HSCP* 89 (1985), 116; ἀκάματος of the voice of the Muses (Hes. *Theog.* 39).

of poetry.[44] Because of the attitude and influence of Callimachus, his reputation suffered, greater damage being inflicted on his status as a poet of elegy than on his standing as an epic poet. In this latter genre, his inclusion in the canon saved him temporarily from utter oblivion. By Hadrian's time his name was almost unknown, but that emperor's strange literary taste preferred him to Homer (T30) (so also Ennius to Virgil). But even the fact that Hadrian composed obscure books in imitation of Antimachus (T31) could not prevent the works of the Colophonian from decaying into a mere quarry for lexicographers and grammarians in search of linguistic rarities.[45]

One of the earliest of these scholars was a pupil of Porphyrius, Cassius Longinus, who in the third century wrote Λέξεις 'Αντιμάχου. (T38). As Wyss suggests (LV), it may be to this work that many of the glosses preserved by later lexicographers can be traced. Wyss has also noted the role played by the Neoplatonists in keeping the name of Antimachus alive in this period, e.g. Porphyrius complained of Antimachus stealing verses from Homer (F39; 88; 90) and also cited him in his commentary on the *Iliad* (F183). It is hard to tell whether he was drawing all his information from the Alexandrian grammarian Aretades or perhaps supplementing what he found there from his own knowledge, as Wyss thinks possible.

Wyss remarks on the coincidence that just as Plato's pupil, Heraclides, had contributed to the preservation of Antimachus' poems (T4), so Plotinus' pupil, Zoticus, performed a similar service in writing 'Αντιμάχου διορθωτικά, presumably critical studies on the text of Antimachus (T39). Wyss thinks that the fifth-century Neoplatonist Proclus was the last witness to have actually seen the books of Antimachus (T29A; 34). Paradoxically it is to him that we owe the preservation of the important evidence from Heraclides about Plato's request for the poems of Antimachus (T4), the earliest indication of Antimachus' reputation as a poet. Wyss sees it a fitting fate that the poet whom Plato was the first to champion in the fourth century should find his latest admirers among followers of Plato.

Wyss (LVI) is perhaps too ready to assume that Gregory of Nazianzus (T27) had not read Antimachus at first hand. Certainly Wyss' contention that Gregory, when he contrasts Homer's brevity with Antimachus' expansiveness, employed the words of Calli-

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[44] Vessey, *Hermes* 99 (1971), 10; Serrao, *SCG* III, 5,310.

[45] *Cf.* Wyss LIV-LVI; Vessey, *loc. cit.* 9-10.

machus and Plutarch (referring presumably to T15 and T33 respectively) and not his own does not stand up when these testimonia are examined.

Photius attests to Antimachus being mentioned by several late writers. While the dates and indeed identities of Sopater and Rufus (T40) are uncertain, the former is more likely to be the Neoplatonist follower of Iamblichus in the latter part of the fourth century rather than the Athenian rhetorician of about a century later. In the early fifth century, Stobaeus included Antimachus amid the multitude of writers cited in his anthology (T41).

Wyss (LVI) suggests that Nonnus in his huge fifth-century epic shows little knowledge of Antimachus, remarking that his only notable agreement is in depicting Lycurgus as an Arab, not a Thracian (*cf.* F162 and Nonn. 20.187) But we might notice also a reference to the Euboean mountain Cotylaeum (*cf.* F98 and Nonn. 13.163). In his use of καλαῦροψ (1.82; 343), Nonnus differs from Antimachus (F64) and elsewhere displays the influence of Callimachus rather than Antimachus (*cf.* on Nemesis / Adrastea [F131] Callim. *Hy.* 6.56 ~ Nonn. 1.481; 37.423; Callim. *Hecale* F116 Hollis and F464 Pf. ~ Nonn. 48.463). Nonnus' apparent verbal borrowing from Antimachus, μεγάλη θεός (F131.1 and Nonn. 10.90) is taken directly from Callimachus (*Hy.* 4. 122), as is obvious from its application to the goddess Ἀναγκαίη.

TEXT AND COMMENTARY

THEBAID

1 (1 Wyss)

Eustath. *Il.* 9.43 (I.16 van der Valk) (= Schol. A *Il.* 1.1d, I.5 Erbse; Schol. Matrangae *Anecd. Gr.* 2.274): τῷ δὲ Ὁμηρικῷ τούτῳ σχήματι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐνηγλαΐσαντο. οὐ μόνον γὰρ Ἡσίοδος (*Op.* 1) ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπικλήσεως ἄρχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος Ὁμηρικῷ ζήλῳ φησίν

Ἐννέπετε, Κρονίδαο Διὸς μεγάλοιο θύγατρες.

καὶ Πίνδαρος ... λέγει (F150 Snell-Maehler) 'μαντεύεο, Μοῦσα· προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ'. ἀλλὰ καὶ Στησίχορος ἐν τῷ (F240 *PMGF* Davies)· 'δεῦρ' ἄγε, Καλλιόπεια λίγεια.'

Commentary

The context in Eustathius and the scholiasts indicates that this verse is the first line of Antimachus' poem, probably his epic *Thebaid*.[1] While Homeric influence is evident, Antimachus, as Wyss says, expresses himself more fully and resonantly than Homer.[2] A similar contrast may be made with the opening line of the Cyclic *Thebaid* (F1 Davies *EGF*): Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον ἔνθεν ἄνακτες. Unlike the openings of the two Homeric epics and the Cyclic *Thebaid*, Antimachus' line invokes all of the Muses.[3] Indeed Antimachus displays a similarity to Hesiod *Op.* 1-2:

Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν ἀοιδῇσιν κλείουσαι
δεῦτε, Δί' ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνείουσαι.[4]

But there is also an obvious similarity to *Hom. Hy.* 32.1-2:

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[1] *Cf.* Wyss, 1; Schellenberg, 51; Stoll, 31.

[2] *Cf.* Stoll, 31.

[3] A plural invocation to the Muses does occur in *Il.* 2.484, at the beginning of the Catalogue, on which Scholiast A comments, surely facetiously, that while one Muse sufficed for the wrath of Achilles, the invocation of all of them is suitable for the Catalogue of the Greek contingents. The Homeric line is repeated in 11.218, 14.508, and 16.112, in all of which the scholiast's suggestion is inapplicable.

[4] *Cf.* Wyss, 1; C. Buzio, *Esiodo nel Mondo Greco* (Milan 1938), 83.

Μήνην ἀείδειν τανυσίπτερον ἔσπετε, Μοῦσαι,
ἡδυεπεῖς κοῦραι Κρονιδέω Διός, ἵστορες ᾠδῆς.

Antimachus thus follows the usual tradition in making the Muses daughters of Zeus (*cf. Od.* 1.10: θεά, θύγατερ Διός).[5] Wyss' comparison with Naevius *Bell. Pun.* F1 Morel: ***novem Iovis concordes filiae sorores*** is not apposite for, as West has shown,[6] Naevius' line is modelled on Hes. *Theog.* 60, ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἐννέα κούρας ὁμόφρονας, *cf.* Eumelus F*dub.* 2 Davies *EGF*, Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐννέα κοῦραι.

For metrical reasons, the genitive form given by Eustathius, Κρονίδαο, must be read. Although not in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* (always Κρονίωνος or -ίονος), it is found in the same *sedes* in *Hy. Dem.* 408. Antimachus' Κρονίδαο Διός is a metrical variant for the Κρονιδέω Διός of *Hy.* 32.2, and is itself repeated in the same *sedes* by Apollonius (4.753).

The rest of the line also reveals Antimachus' controlled adaptation of traditional formulae. The verb ἐννέπω is frequently used in Homer and the *Hymns* of the Muse, always in the imperative, and, in the present tense, always in the singular. For the plural, the form is always the aorist ἔσπετε. The only example of ἐννέπετε before Antimachus is Hes. *Op.* 2. The formula Διὸς μεγάλοιο occurs in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 5.907; 14.417, *Od.* 4.27; 11.255; 268; 16.403, and Hes. *Op.* 4. But Antimachus' whole phrase Διὸς μεγάλοιο θύγατρες can be seen as a metrical variant for θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διός (*Theog.* 76) and as a plural equivalent (same *sedes*) to Διὸς θυγάτηρ μεγάλοιο (*Hy.* 14.2; *cf.* Διὸς θυγάτερ μεγάλοιο *Il.* 7.24). It is also a metrical alternative to Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο (*Theog.* 81, *Il.* 9.502, of the Litai: *cf.* the singular Διὸς κούρη μεγάλοιο *Il.* 6.304; 312, 9.532; 10.296; *Od.* 6.151; 323; 24.521). θύγατρες at line end occurs in *Il.* 6.238; 22.155; *Od.* 11.227; *Hy. Ap.* 446; *Hy. Dem.* 105.

Thus this opening line in the *Thebaid* shows Antimachus as thoroughly familiar with the early epic invocations of the Muse(s) and with traditional phaseology. But instead of beginning conventionally with ἔννεπε or ἔσπετε he selects the more unusual ἐννέπετε, and in place of the standard Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο, he uses Διὸς μεγάλοιο θύγατρες, which has the effect of keeping the emphasis on

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[5] Mimnermus and Alcman made them daughters of Uranus and Ge; *cf.* Mimn. F13 Allen/West; Alc. F5 fr. 2 ii 28-9 and F67 *PMGF*; Schol. Pind. *N.* 3.16b (iii.43.19 Drachmann).

[6] *Philol.* 113 (1969), 1.

the Muses (the last word of the line) rather than on Zeus. At the very beginning of his poem, Antimachus is striving for effect and right away he employs *imitatio cum variatione*, a technique in which he anticipated the Hellenistic poets.[7]

2 (2 Wyss)

Aristot. *Rhet.* 3.6 (1408a, 158-9 Kassel): καὶ τὸ 'Αντιμάχου χρήσιμον, ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχει λέγειν, ὃ κεῖνος ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τευμησσοῦ·

ἔστι τις ἠνεμόεις ὀλίγος λόφος (– ⏑⏑ – ⏑)

αὔξεται γὰρ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον.

Strabo 9.2.24: ἐν δὲ τῇ Θηβαίων εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ Θεράπναι καὶ ὁ Τευμησσός, ὃν ἐκόσμησεν 'Αντίμαχος διὰ πολλῶν ἐπῶν, τὰς μὴ προσούσας ἀρετὰς διαριθμούμενος· 'ἔστι ... λόφος'. γνώριμα δὲ τὰ ἔπη.

Commentary

Frazer has identified Teumessus with a low rocky hill, small, but conspicuous from its isolated position in the plain, lying about five miles (eight kilometres) from Thebes to the left (i.e. north) of the road to Chalcis.[8] He remarks 'the poet Antimachus described Teumesus as 'a little windy hill'... and the description is apt; for the isolated situation of the little hill in the middle of a plain enclosed by mountains on the north and south must expose it to the full force of the winds both from the east and from the west'.

The identification with this hill, called Mesovouni, is accepted by the most recent investigator, Fossey, although he has the mistaken impression that Aristotle implied that Antimachus' description was incorrect 'in some unspecified way.'[9]

The mistaken belief that both Strabo and Aristotle say that Antimachus has given Teumessus attributes which it did *not* possess has

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[7] G. Giangrande, "Hellenistic Poetry and Homer", *L'Antiquite Classique* XXXIX, (1970), 46 n.3 (= *Scr. Min. Alex.* I [Amsterdam 1980], 33 n.3) says that he was the first to practise it. Wyss (LVII) discusses Antimachus' use of the technique, but does not notice it in Fl.

[8] J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (repr. New York 1965) V, 59-60, *cf.* P. Levi (trans.), *Pausanias: Guide to Greece* I.345 n. 90 (Harmondsworth, 1979).

[9] John M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago 1988), 212-216, with quotation in note 52.

even led another modern scholar, Wallace, to argue that Mesovouni is not a convincing site for the ancient Teumessus.[10]

The line is similar to epic introductory formulae for a new section describing a place or a character, e.g. ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη (*Il.* 2.811; *cf.* 11.711; 722; 13.32; *Od.* 3.293; 4.844; Ap. Rhod. 1.936; 3.927, Demosth. Bith. F4.1 Powell).[11] Antimachus himself has ἔστι δέ τις μεγάλη θεός in F131. Clearly this verse (F2) was the introduction to a lengthy passage about Teumessus.

It is ironical that neither Aristotle nor Strabo quotes the following lines because they were well-known. So well-known were they that now, alas, they are lost. As Wyss suggests, Strabo was probably drawing on a Peripatetic source. Surely this could have been Aristotle himself, and Strabo may have failed to quote the following lines because he did not find them in Aristotle. To the latter, the passage was so famous that he quotes merely the first line, although the feature he is treating was illustrated only in the following verses.[12] Aristotle presents Antimachus' device of describing something in terms of qualities which it did not possess as a method of aiding ὄγκος, 'pomp' in style. Aristotle cites Antimachus with approval and clearly the passage must have been the *locus classicus* of its type.[13]

Wyss (2) is undoubtedly correct in supposing that Antimachus did not, as Wallace thinks, celebrate the beauty of Teumessus by a lengthy list of non-existent virtues, but instead presented a truthful account of the place.[14] It appears from Aristotle and Strabo that Antimachus used the device of negative description. Presumably the passage contained numerous negative or privative forms.[15] Two

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[10] Paul W. Wallace, *Strabo's Description of Boiotia: A Commentary* (Heidelberg 1979), 96. He would locate Teumessus at Soula (Soulis) two kilometres south of Mesovouni (97). But Fossey (217) prefers to see both sites as constituting ancient Teumessus.

[11] *Cf.* Wyss, 2; Stoll, 32; K. F. Ameis and C. Hentze, *Anhang zu Homers Odyssee Schulausgabe I* (1890), 83 (on *Od.* 3.293); A. F. Naeke, *RhM 3* (1835), 513.

[12] As was seen by M. Parry, "The Traditional Metaphor in Homer" *CP* 28 (1933), 31 (= *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. A. Parry (Oxford 1971), 366). M. E. Hubbard, presumably thinking that this line too illustrates negative description, mistakenly renders 'There is a little *windless* hill' (in *Ancient Literary Criticism*, ed. D. A. Russell and M. Winterbottom [Oxford 1972], 144). Conversely, Wallace, thinking that Antimachus' description of Teumessus as 'windy' is a feature which the place did not possess, rejects the identification with windswept Mesovouni (96).

[13] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 52.

[14] Wallace, 96. Wyss contrasts Soph. *OC* 668ff for that poet's picture of Colonus.

[15] *Cf.* Arist. Stephanus (*Commentaria in Aristotelen Graeca* XXI.2., ed. H. Rabe [Berlin 1896] 316.33): τὸ ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχοι λέγειν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἤτοι ἀφαιρεματικῶς ἢ ἐξ ἀναιρέσεως καὶ ἐκ τῶν στερήσεων λέγειν.

Odyssean passages about Elysium and Olympus (4.566 and 6.43) provide precedents for such use of negatives, but Antimachus must have gone much further in this respect.[16] A major difference, of course, is that the absence of wind, rain and snow in the Homeric passages is an actual virtue, while Antimachus must have listed desirable features which he said Teumessus did not have.[17] Certainly the suggestion of Stoll (33) that Antimachus depicted Teumessus as distinguished by various flowers (*cf. Hom. Hy. Ap.* 224 Τευμήσσον λεχεποίην) is completely misguided. Strabo's ἐκόσμησεν, which perhaps led Stoll to his opinion, is clearly used in a rhetorical sense 'elaborated upon' *vel sim.* Frazer's description of Teumessus appears to confirm our interpretation of this fragment, unless we are to suppose drastic changes in climate and vegetation since antiquity.[18]

The nom. sing. masc. form ἠνεμόεις never occurs in Homer, only the accusative ἠνεμόεντα in *Il.* 22.145 and *Od.* 3.172 (also *Hy. Aphr.* 291; Tyrt. F2.14 West). For ὀλίγος as here in the sense of μικρός *cf.* e.g. *Od.* 10.94: οὔτε μεγ' οὔτε' ὀλίγον (also 9.512; 12.252; *Il.* 14.376; Hes. *Op.* 643; Callim. *Hymn* 5.91). The word λόφος in the meaning 'hill' is not particularly common. We find λόφον so used in the same *sedes* in *Od.* 11.596, but the only other Homeric occurrence of the word in this meaning is in *Od.* 16.471 (*cf. Hy. Ap.* 520; *Hy.* 19.6 λόφον νιφόεντα). However, the word is used by Pindar for the hill of Cronus at Olympia, Κρόνου λόφῳ (*O.*8.17); Κρόνιον ... λόφον (*O.*5.17), and possibly also by Callimachus (F641Pf). Another fragment of the latter poet (F673Pf.) presents αὐσταλέον Χαρίτων λόφον, a very similar (and metrically identical) expression to Antimachus'. Like Antimachus' ἠνεμόεις, Callimachus' αὐσταλέον refers to an undesirable feature of the hill.[19] It is a remarkable coincidence that Callimachus' only other extant use of αὐσταλέος occurs in an accumulation of privatives and negatives, αὐσταλέα ἄποτός τε καὶ οὐ φάγες οὐδὲ λοέσσα (*Hy. Dem.* 16).

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[16] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 52.

[17] *Cf. The Rhetoric of Aristotle with a Commentary by E. M. Cope*, rev. and ed. J. E. Sandys (Cambridge 1877) III.68.

[18] *Cf.* Frazer, 60; Fossey, 215; Wallace (96) recognizes that Mesovouni is windswept (*cf.* note 2), but thinking that Antimachus is describing Teumessus by a quality not appropriate to it, rejects the identification.

[19] *Cf.* Wyss' remark that Antimachus, as was fitting for a precursor of the Hellenistic poets, strove for *veritas* in his descriptions.

3 (3 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 618.21 Meineke: Τευμησσός, ὄρος Βοιωτίας. Ὅμηρος ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ (224) 'εἰς Μυκαλησσὸν ἰὼν καὶ Τευμησσὸν λεχεποίην.' ἄστυ, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν τρίτῳ Βιθυνιακῶν (*FGrHist* 699 F3). ἐκλήθη δ' οὕτως, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος πρώτῳ Θηβαΐδος

οὕνεκά οἱ Κρονίδης, ὅς <δὴ> μέγα πᾶσιν ἀνάσσει,
ἄντρον ἐνὶ †σκιῇ τευμήσατο, τόφρα κεν εἴη
Φοίνικος κούρη κεκυθημένη, ὥς ῥά ἑ μή τις
μηδὲ θεῶν ἄλλος γε παρὲξ φράσσαιτό κεν αὐτοῦ.

οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τευμήσσιοι, καὶ Τευμησσία ἡ ἀλώπηξ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, καὶ τὸ οὐδέτερον Τευμήσσιον. καὶ τὸ ἐκ τόπου Τευμησσόθεν, καὶ τὸ εἰς τόπον Τευμησσόνδε. Ἀντίμαχος ἐν πρώτῳ Θηβαΐδος (F4).

Antimachi versus om. V.
1 τε vel δὴ suppl. Schellenberg ὅσ<περ> Hermann πᾶσιν Holstenius πάντων codd. 2 ἐνὶ σκιερὸν Schell. ἐνὶ σκιόεν Boesch ἐνὶ σκιῇ P^r A ἐνὶ σκηνῇ R ἄντρῳ ἔνι σκηνὴν O. Schneider ἐνὶ στίῃ Meineke ἐν ἐσχατιῇ Herm. 3 κούρη R κούρα P^r A κεκυθημένη Herm. κεκυθμένα R κεκευθμένα P^rA κεκρυμμένη Stoll κεκυημένη Meineke et Schneider ὥς ῥά ἑ μή τις Stoll ός ῥά ἓ μῆτις R ὃς ῥὰ <2-4 litt.> μήτις P^rA ὄφρα ἑ μή τις Herm. ὥς ἄρα μῆτιν Unger ὥς ῥά γε μῆτιν Matthews. 4 παρὲξ φράσσαιτό Stoll πάρεξ φράσαιτο P^r πάρεξ φράσαι τό A πάρος ἒξ φράσαιτό R αὐτοῦ γε φράσαιτο Herm. αὐτῷ dubitanter Matthews.

Etym. Gen. B (cf. *Etym. Magn.* 755.50): τευμήσατο· παρεσκευάσατο, ἐτεχνήσατο· 'Κεκροπίης τευμήσατ' ἐπίσκυρος Εὐρύκλεια' (F1044 *SH*). ἐπίσκυρος δέ ἐστιν οἷον ἐπικυρῶν τις ἡγεμών· εἴρηται δὲ τὸ τευμήσατο ὅτι τὸν Τευμησὸν τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατασκευασθέντα εἰς ἀπόκρυψιν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι Τευμησόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατεσκευάσθαι.

Cf. Pausan. 9.19.1: ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ λεωφόρῳ (quae Chalcidem a Thebis fert) χωρίον ἐστὶ Τευμησσός· Εὐρώπην δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς κρυφθῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα.

Hesych.: τευμᾶται· τεχνάζει, τιμᾶται.

Commentary

There are a number of textual difficulties in these four verses. In verse 1 Schellenberg's (54) ὅσ<τε> is accepted by Wyss. But Schellenberg's comparison with *Il.* 2.669 ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει is not compelling, since in that line τε does not have to be lengthened for the sake of the metre. It is true that τε is often so

lengthened before μέγας etc., e.g. καλοί τε μεγάλοι τε (*Od.* 9.426, *cf.* 12.436; 13.389 = 16.158; 14.7; 15.229; 418; 18.68). But instances of such lengthening of τε after ὅς (or other relative forms) are lacking in Homer. It may thus be preferable to adopt Schellenberg's other suggestion ὅς δή (which Wyss does not even mention) or Hermann's ὅσ<περ> (*cf.* Stoll, 34). It is better to change πάντων to πᾶσιν than to rearrange the line as Düntzer does: ὅς δὴ πάντων μέγ' ἀνάσσει (99).

In the second verse the readings ἐνὶ σκιῇ (codd. P^r A) and ἐνὶ σκηνῇ (cod. R) present a problem. The first does not scan, and the second does not give very acceptable sense. Wyss is probably correct in taking ἐνί as a tmesis with τευμήσατο.[20] Presumably a copyist misunderstood this and supplied ἐνί with a dative. Wyss is also correct in seeking an epithet modifying ἄντρον, but it is less certain whether that epithet should be σκιόεν (which he adopts) rather than σκιερόν. Both words occur in the two Homeric poems: σκιόεις fifteen times, always in the plural and with ὄ(υ)ρεα, μέγαρα, or νέφεα, but in the same *sedes* as here only once (*Il.* 1.157); σκιερός twice, ἐν νέμει σκιερῷ (*Il.* 11.480) and ἄλσος ὑπὸ σκιερόν (*Od.* 20.278), both in this *sedes.* In later poets we find σκιόεις: Μέγαρα σκιόεντα (same *sedes,* Hes. F204.78 M-W); ἄλσεα τε σκιόεντα (same *sedes, Hy. Aphr.* 20); σκιόεντας ἐναύλους (*Hy. Aphr.* 74 and 124); ἄλσος τε σκιόειν (*metr. grat.* same *sedes,* A.R. 2.404); σκιόεντά τε βωμόν (A.R. 4.1715); σκιό[εντα (*Boeotica* F694[41] fr.1b.6 *PMG*); σκιερός: σκιεροὺς θώκους (same *sedes,* Hes. *Op.* 574); σκιεροῖσιν ὑφ' ἔρνεσιν (Ibyc. 286.5 *PMGF*); ἐς σκιερὸν χῶρον (Theogn. 708); ἄλσεα τε σκιερά (same *sedes,* 1252); ἄλσει ἐνὶ σκιερῷ (same *sedes,* A.R. 4.1715).

Apollonius presents the two epithets in a single verse, ἄλσει ἐνὶ σκιερῷ τέμενος σκιόεντά τε βωμὸν/ποίεον (4.1715). Giangrande has suggested that the Rhodian did so to demonstrate that while σκιερός = *opacus,* 'shady', 'full of shade', σκιόεις can mean either 'shady', *cf.* 2.404) or 'casting a shadow.'[21] But since σκιόεις occurs only with ὄ(υ)ρεα, μέγαρα, or νέφεα in Homer, one could maintain that it always has the active sense of 'casting a shadow', 'shadowy' and that the proper Homeric epithet meaning 'shady' to employ with such nouns as νέμος, ἄλσος, θῶκος etc., including ἄντρον, is σκιερός.

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[20] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 55.

[21] G. Giangrande, "Aspects of Apollonius Rhodius' Language", *Arca* 2(1976), 282-3 (= *Scr. Min. Alex.* I, 300-1); *cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* σκιόεντα; Apoll. Soph. 142.24; Schol. BLV *Il.* 1.157.

Homeric scholar that he was, Antimachus may well have preserved this distinction by writing σκιερόν here.[22]

In support of σκιόεν, Wyss compares *Hy. Herm.* 6; *Hy. Aphr.* 20, A.R. 2.404 and 4.1715. But *Hy. Herm.* 6 in fact reads ἄντρον ναίουσα παλίσκιον while A.R. 4.1715 surely supports σκιερόν rather than σκιόεν. Wyss does not even include σκιερόν (Schellenberg, 55) in his *apparatus criticus*, but it appears to be just as likely as σκιοέν, a neuter singular form not attested anywhere else (although A.R. 2.404 has σκιόειν *metr. grat.*).

In verse 3 the epic form κούρη is preferable to κούρα, in spite of Antimachus' known use of Dorisms (*cf.* T35 = F159; Stoll, 35).

Neither of the transmitted versions of the following participle fits the metre. A verb 'to hide' seems required (*cf.* Εὐρώπην δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς κρυφθῆναι φασιν ἐνταῦθα [Paus. 9.19.1]), and both κεκρυμμένη (Stoll, 35) and κεκυθημένη (Hermann) would give the necessary sense. While the latter has the virtue of being closer to the transmitted text, it is not attested elsewhere. But the reduplicated aorist subjunctive active form κεκύθωσι occurs in *Od.* 6.303 (κεύθωσι pap.) and the form κεκύθωμαι has been plausibly conjectured by Bentley for the MSS κεύθωμαι in *Il.* 23.244. Also relevant is the second aorist middle form κεκύθωμαι in Callimachus *Hecale* F17.6 Hollis (= F238.6 Pf). The existence of such forms makes κεκυθημένη seem quite acceptable here. Wyss compares it with such perfects as τετύχηκα, e.g. *Od.* 10.88.

For the remainder of the line Wyss accepts Stoll's ὥς ῥά ἑ μή τις. This is preferable to Hermann's ὄφρα ἑ μή τις (for which he cites A.R. 4.181), for the combination of τόφρα (v.2) ... ὄφρα ... seems unlikely when the words are not correlatives. To μή τις / μηδὲ θεῶν ἄλλος γε we may compare, with Wyss, τά γ' οὔ κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο / οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων (*Od.* 8.280 f.), and perhaps more aptly μή τις ἔπειτα θεῶν ἐθέλῃσι καὶ ἄλλος (*Il.* 16.446, where the positive καὶ ἄλλος corresponds to the negative μηδὲ ... ἄλλος of Antimachus); *cf.* μή τινα νόσφιν ἐμεῖο θεῶν αἰειγενετάων / ἄλλον γ' ... (*Hy. Herm.* 537 f.); μή τίς τ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 14.90); οὐδέ τις ἄλλος / οὔτ' ἀνδρῶν (*Il.* 16.225 f.). On non-connective μηδὲ ... γε 'Not even' see Denniston *GP*, 156.

In verse 4 for θεῶν ἄλλος γε *cf.* ἐξ ἄλλου γε θεῶν (*Il.* 5.897) and

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[22] At 2.404, metrical exigency may have forced Apollonius to abandon σκιερόν for the lengthenable σκιόε(ι)ν, *cf.* δακρυόειν (4.1291).

Hy. Herm. 537 f. (quoted above). Stoll's παρὲξ φράσσαιτό must be correct. For παρέξ before a consonant *cf. Il.* 11.486; *Od.* 12.276; 443; 14.168. It is the rule in Herodotus and may be seen as an Ionism. There is little reason to doubt κεν in this *sedes*, *cf.*, e.g. *Od.* 1.158; Hes. *Op.* 562; 630; F75. 18 M-W; F204. 81 M-W.

One problem with this reading of the text is how to understand ὥς ῥά ἑ μή τις ... φράσσαιτο. Wyss suggests that the words might be rendered in Attic as ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτὴν θεάσαιτο, or ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῇ πλησιάσειεν. It is hard to find a parallel for either suggestion. The closest meanings given by LSJ[9] *s.v.* φράζω are under II.4 'perceive, observe', e.g. *Od.* 17.161; 23.75 (in both cases the idea is more of 'noticing' rather than simply 'seeing') and II.5 'watch, guard' *Od.* 22.129. The best rendering of the passage with this reading would appear to be 'in order that no one might keep an eye on her' *vel sim.*

A radically different approach, however, is possible. cod. R reads ὅς ῥά ἕ μῆτις. In *Il.* 9.423 we have ὄφρ' ἄλλην φράζωνται ἐνι φρεσὶ μῆτιν ἀμείνω, *cf.* φραζώμεθα μῆτιν (*Il.* 17.634, also 712); μῆτιν συμφράσσασθαι (Hes. *Theog.* 471, μήτιν οἱ φράσσασθαι [*var. lect.*]); ἐφράσσατο μῆτι[ν (*Margites* F7.7 West [*P. Oxy.* 2309]). Thus epic usage may justify reading μῆτιν in Antimachus. For μῆτις transmitted as μή τις (codd. P[r] A) *cf. Od.* 19.158, where for μῆτιν we find μήτιν P; μήτι LW (Ludwich's *apparatus*). Thus we might consider Unger's ὥς ἄρα μῆτιν[23] or, perhaps closer to the codices, ὥς ῥά γε μῆτιν. In this case we could render 'in order that not even another god might devise a scheme (i.e. concerning her)'.

Perhaps we should also examine the prepositional phrase παρέξ ... αὐτοῦ. Wyss suggests that it is used in the same force as παρὲξ 'Αχιλῆα (*Il.* 24.434), *clam Achillem* ('without the knowledge of Achilles' LSJ[9]). This idea of 'behind his back' would give good sense in this fragment, whether we read μή τις or μῆτιν. There is no instance in early epic of παρέκ governing a genitive in this sense.[24] Even in later poets παρέκ with the genitive is rare, but in A.R. 3.743 we find τοῖα παρὲξ οὗ πατρὸς ἐπ' ἀνέρι μητιάασθαι. Here the prepositional phrase is usually translated 'against her father's wishes', but it could equally mean 'behind her father's back'. Such a departure from Homeric usage (here a change of case) is parallelled by the

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[23] *El. Crit.* 25, cited by Meineke, not mentioned by Wyss.

[24] Homeric genitival uses are restricted to topographical descriptions, i.e. *Od.* 9.116; *Il.* 10.349.

change in meaning of the phrase παρὲκ νόον from Homer to the Hellenistic poets.[25] Apollonius often adopted features from Antimachus[26] and it is possible that his use of παρέξ in 3.743 is derived from the Colophonian. The similarity between this passage and the Antimachus fragment is even more striking when we compare μητιάασθαι and the reading μῆτιν ... φράσσαιτο.

However, another meaning for παρὲξ ... αὐτοῦ is possible. In Parmenides (B8.36-7 D-K I.238) we read ... οὐδὲν γὰρ <ἢ> ἔστιν ἢ ἔσται/ἄλλο πάρεξ τοῦ ἐόντος ... '... not any other thing except ...'. Hence Antimachus may mean 'in order that none other of the gods except himself might devise a scheme etc.'. But perhaps this meaning of παρέξ with the genitive might be deemed too prosaic for epic poetry. It is common in Herodotus (e.g. 1.14) and we should note Proclus' comment on Parmenides (A 18 D-K I.220=in Parm. 1.665 Diehl): ὥστε μᾶλλον πεζὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν ἢ ποιητικὸν <τὸν> λόγον.

Yet another consideration is that there seems to be no instance of παρέκ (ξ), in its prepositional uses, being so widely separated from the word it governs. One way out of this difficulty would be to adopt Hermann's παρὲξ αὐτοῦ γε φράσαιτο, but this is too far removed from the readings of the codices. Perhaps παρέξ here is adverbial, as it often is in Homer, e.g. παρὲξ ἀγορευέμεν 'out of turn', 'to wrong purpose' (*Il.* 12.213); ἄλλα παρὲξ εἴποιμι 'away from the point' (*Od.* 4.348 = 17.139); ἄλλα παρὲξ μεμνώμεθα 'other things, apart (from these)' (14.168); ταῦτα παρὲξ ἐρέουσα 'away from (the truth)' (23.16). In the latter four instances παρέξ may be epexegetic to ἄλλα or ταῦτα, but *Od.* 14.168 is the only case where this explanation seems compelling. In our fragment of Antimachus, certainly παρέξ could be taken as epexegetic to ἄλλος, 'no other of the gods besides (himself)'. However, in *Il.* 12.213 the adverb can only modify the verb, and it can also be understood thus in the other instances. All the verbs refer to the mental processes of speaking or remembering, and the adverbial force is 'away from the point, truth', 'to wrong purpose', etc. Possibly μῆτιν ... παρὲξ φράσσαιτο may be understood similarly, e.g. 'might contrive a scheme to wrong purpose, away from what is right'. If such an interpretation is adopted, we would have to read

[25] See Pfeiffer on Callimachus F234 (= *Hecale* F8 Hollis) for the meanings in Homer (*Il.* 10.391; 20.133), Callimachus and A.R.(1.130; 323; 4.102); *cf.* Hollis, *ad loc.* The change of case may have evolved from παρὲκ νόον plus genitive of person by the simple omission of νόον.

[26] *Cf.* Wyss XLVIII f. See also O. Rossbach, *Jahrb. f. Class. Ph.* 143 (1891), 93.

αὐτῷ, 'against him', in keeping with common epic usage after φράζεσθαι, e.g. *Od.* 2.367; 3.242; 13.373, etc.

Frazer in his description of Teumessus continues (60) 'On the south side of the hill, at the foot of the rocks, there is a conspicuous but shallow cave in which the Teumessian fox may be supposed to have had his lair'. It is surely very tempting instead to identify this cave with that in which Antimachus said Zeus concealed Europa. The poet apparently derived the place name from the construction of the cave – τευμήσατο (*cf.* Stoll, 32). As Wyss suggests,[27] Antimachus probably did not make up this verb, but took it over from Boeotian usage. Antimachus' derivation of the name is very similar to the one accepted by the Thebans and Tanagrans for the name Mycalessus, from the lowing of a cow – ἐμυκήσατο (Paus. 9.19.4). Could the derivation have been suggested to Antimachus by the coupling of the two places Mycalessus and Teumessus in *Hy. Ap.* 224? Perhaps, as in the case of Mycalessus, the derivation originated with the Boeotians, hence Antimachus' use of a Boeotian word. The very fact that Europa was said to have been concealed on Teumessus suggests a Boeotian origin.[28] But, as Serrao has acutely pointed out, the etymology of the toponym testifies to the truth of Antimachus' version of the legend of Zeus and Europa. He adds that this method of historicizing myth by way of an *aition* is in keeping with the Alexandrian tendency towards realism and that in using it, Antimachus appears to be a precursor of the Alexandrians.[29] For similar derivations, *cf.* A.R. 4.1717-18 Ἀνάφην ... ἀνέφηνεν; Virg. *Aen.* 8.322-3 *Latium ... latuisset.*

This Boeotian story of Europa being concealed in the Teumessian cave appears to be independent of the usual version in which Zeus took her to Crete (*cf.* Apollod. 3.1.1). There may be a connection with the Boeotian earth-goddess Demeter Εὐρώπη who had a shrine at Lebadeia (Paus. 9.39.4).[30]

Antimachus depicts Europa as the daughter of Phoenix, a tradition also recorded in *Il.* 14.321 (probably a Boeotian interpolation).[31]

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[27] Following Wackernagel *ap.* E. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* (Berlin 1921) I.249.

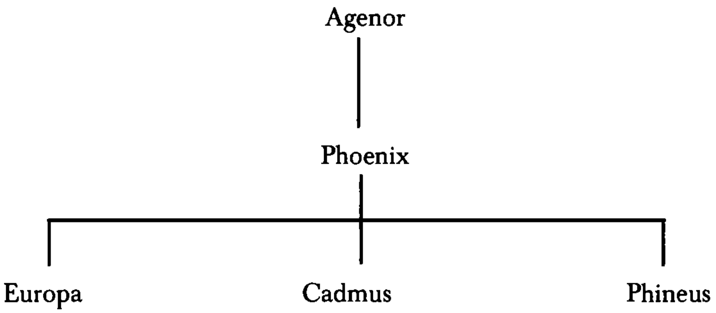
[28] *Cf.* A. W. Gomme, *JHS* 33 (1913), 56.

[29] G. Serrao, *SCG* III 5, 309-10.

[30] *Cf.* Farnell, *Cults* III.30; Preller-Robert II.105; *RE* VI.1 (1907), 1292-3; Roscher I I.1412. Note also in Boeotia the Εὐρωπία κράνα of Pindar F70 Snell-Maehler.

[31] *Cf.* D. B. Monro (ed.), *Homer: Iliad, Books XIII-XXIV* II.290; Hes. F141.7 M-W;

This is probably the older version in which Cadmus too was a child of Phoenix (*cf.* Schol. A.R. 3.1186) and presumably a grandchild of Agenor. The prevalent tradition that Europa and Cadmus were children of Agenor (e.g. Apollodorus 3.1.2 ff., although he does mention the other version) is certainly later (earliest in Hdt. 4.147), as is shown by the story of the Delphic oracle given to Cadmus (3.4.1). He is told to forget about Europa and to follow a cow which leads him to the site of Thebes. Presumably the old Boeotian story followed by Antimachus had Cadmus come to Boeotia in search of Europa. No extant fragment mentions Cadmus, but Antimachus did make Phineus too a son of Phoenix (F70), in agreement with Hes. F138 M-W; Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F86; and Asclepiades *FGrHist* 12 F22. As with Europa and Cadmus, Phineus was held by some to be a child of Agenor (*cf.* Hellan. 4 F95; A.R. 2.178, with Schol., which also record the variant). Fragment 70 implies that Antimachus followed Hesiod in making Phoenix a son of Agenor. Thus Antimachus' version of the genealogy was:



It is impossible to tell whether Antimachus included the story of the Teumessian fox. Wyss may well be right in crediting to Antimachus only the form Τευμησσόνδε (F4) from Stephanus' subsequent information. Schellenberg (52) suggests that Antimachus probably did not overlook the fox, citing Hesychius *s.v.* Τευμησία· οἱ τὰ Θηβαϊκα γεγραφότες. But this phrase is more likely to refer to local Theban tradition or to the Cyclic *Thebaid*.

The fragment as a whole shows some similarity to *Hy. Herm.* 3-9,

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Asius F7 Davies *EGF* (= Paus. 7.41 = *FGrHist* 545 F1.1); Bacchyl. 16.31; Eurip. F472 Nauck[2]; Hellanicus 4F51; Mosch. 2.7; Conon 26F1.37; Schol. ABDT *Il.* 12.292; Schol. Eurip. *Rhes.* 29.

although the resemblance is not as close at Wyss suggests.

These lines again display the influence of traditional epic formulae and phrasing. οὕνεκα is very frequently the first word of a line *cf.*, e.g. *Il.* 1.11; 111; 2.580; *Od.* 3.53; 4.482; 569. We find it followed by οἱ in *Il.* 20.409. So too Κρονίδης occurs in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 2.111 (= 9.8); 4.166; 7.69; 8.414, etc.; *Od.* 24.539; 544; *Hy. Ap.* 308; *Hy. Herm.* 295; *Hy.* 32.14. For the whole line *cf.* Ζηνὶ κελαινεφέϊ, Κρονίδῃ, ὅς πᾶσιν ἀνάσσει (*Od.* 9.552 = 13.25), ἐκ Διός ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει (*Il.* 2.669) and ὅς μέγα πάντων / Ἀργείων ἤνασσε (10.32-3), also ὅς μέγα πάντων / Ἀργείων κρατέει (1.178-9); αὐτὸς δὲ μέγα κρατέων ἤνασσεν (*Il.* 16.172); αὐτὸς δὲ μέγα κρατεῖ ἠδὲ ἀνάσσει (Hes. *Theog.* 403). The form ἀνάσσει is always the last word of a line in Homer.

For ἄντρον as first word *cf. Hy. Herm.* 6 and 234, where it is followed by ἔσω and ἐς respectively. The Boeotian verb τευμήσατο was presumably first introduced to literature by Antimachus. It also occurs in the anonymous hexameter quoted by *Etym. Gen.* (1044 *SH*). Pfeiffer's arguments for attributing this verse to Euphorion rather than Callimachus seem convincing.[32] Euphorion admits the elision employed in this line (e.g. F78 Powell=F83 v. Groningen), and also imitates Antimachus elsewhere (*cf.* e.g. Αἰγιαλήων Antim. F10 and Euph. F59 Powell=F64 v. Groningen).

Antimachus is the first author known to use τόφρα as a final conjunction for ὄφρα to avoid a hiatus.[33] In this he was followed by Apollonius (3.807 and 4.1487) and *Orphic Argon.* 939, in all three instances as here after the bucolic diaeresis.[34] In similar fashion Antimachus writes τόθι for ὅθι in F33.

4 (4 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 619.9 Meineke: Τευμησσός (locus = F3).

Τευμησσόνδε

[32] *Callim.* I. 400 on F567.

[33] *Cf.* R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, IV (Cambridge 1992), 251 on 15.231-2.

[34] Other examples: Antiphilus *AP* 9.242.7; Phaedimus *AP* 13.22.5; *cf.* Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsberichte der prüss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften* (1928), 17. The Hellenistic poets also employ τόφρα for ὄφρα as a relative, e.g. A.R. 4.1617; *Orphic Arg.* 347; Callim. *Hy. Del.* 39.

Commentary

This is the only form from Stephanus' list of adjectives and adverbs derived from Teumessus that can safely be attributed to Antimachus. As Wyss suggests, it very likely comes from the end of a hexameter, *cf.* βουλυτόνδε (*Il.* 16.779); Οὔλυμπόνδε (Hes. *Theog.* 397); ὅνδε δόμονδε (*Scut.* 38); ἤπειρόνδε (A.R. 2.976); Ἀρκαδίηνδε (A.R. 2.1052).

5 (5 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. A (Reitzenstein, *Index Lect. in Acad. Rostoch.* 1890-1, 9, cf. *Etym. Magn.* 148.8): ἀρπεδόεσσα· ἡ ἄγαν πεδινή (πελιδνή codd. corr. Hemsterhuys) Ἀντίμαχος ἐν πρώτῳ Θηβαίδος·

ἀρπεδόεσσα δ' ἐλαυνέμεναι καὶ πρόχνυ τέτυκται.

γέγονε δὲ κατὰ συγκοπὴν ἡ λέξις παρὰ τὸ αρι συγκειμένη, [πέπονθε δέ] ἵνα †μὴ† σημαίνηται ἡ ἄγαν ὁμαλὴ ὁδός. ὁδοῦ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίθετον. πέπονθε δὲ ὁμοίως τῷ ἐρθύρις, Αἰολικῶς· ἐρίθυρις γὰρ, ἡ μεγάλη θυρίς. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός (2.247.19 Lentz) καὶ Δίδυμος (344 Schmidt).

Hesych. (I.251 Latte): ἀρπεδόεσσα· ἰσόπεδος, ὁμαλή.

ἀρπεδόεσσα ex etym. ἀρπ- codd. ἐλαυνέμεναι Blass ἐλαυνομέναι codd. ἐλαυνομέναις vel ἐλαυνομένῳ Reitzenstein τέτυκται Reitz. τέτκται codd.

Commentary

This single hexameter displays a number of interesting features. I follow Wyss in adopting ἀρπεδόεσσα, in accordance with the etymology discussed below. I also prefer the epic infinitive form ἐλαυνέμεναι, *cf.* similar epexegetic infinitives such as ἀργαλέος γὰρ Ὀλύμπιος ἀντιφέρεσθαι (*Il.* 1.589) and χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς (*Il.* 20.131).[35] The dative form ἐλαυνομέναις would be unepic, but the singular ἐλαυνομένῳ must remain a possibility. Reitzenstein's τέτυκται is the only reasonable correction for the corrupt reading of the codices. Wyss is possibly correct in supposing

[35] *Cf.* O. Rossbach, *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.* 143 (1891), 93.

that an adjective such as λείη followed, *cf.* λείην ὁδόν (*Od.* 10.103) and λείη μὲν ὁδός (Hes. *Op.* 288).[36]

Since the fragment comes from Bk. 1, it is a reasonable assumption that Antimachus is referring to a road in the neighbourhood of Teumessus or Thebes. It is odd that Wyss should compare a description of the road from Thebes to Anthedon, probably by Heraclides Criticus (*GGM* I 104, sect. 23), when descriptions of two other roads by the same writer on the same page are much closer to the words of Antimachus: the road from Plataea to Thebes (sect. 12) ὁδὸς λεία πᾶσα καὶ ἐπίπεδος; the road from Anthedon to Chalcis (sect. 26) ὁδὸς παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν λεία τε πᾶσα καὶ μαλακή. In both instances πᾶσα seems to correspond to πρόχνυ in Antimachus, who as in F2 appears to have presented a truthful, factual description, in the manner of a travellers' guide.

The word ἐπίπεδος used of the road from Plataea to Thebes corresponds to Antimachus' ἁρπεδόεσσα, *cf.* Hesych. ἐρπεδό<ε>σσα (II.197 Latte), the Aeolic form for ἐπίπεδος. Although Hesych. (I.251 Latte) has ἀρπεδόεσσα· ἰσόπεδος, ὁμαλή, the opinions of the ancient grammarians Didymus and Herodian concerning its derivation and the probable derivation of ἀρπεδές (Nic. *Ther.* 420) from *ἀριπεδές[37] argue that we should adopt the smooth breathing for the word in Antimachus. Corruption to the rough breathing can be readily understood since most words in αρπ- are aspirated. The two forms ἀρ/ἐρπεδόεσσα appear to be made up of the intensifying prefix ἀρι/ἐρι[38] and πεδ-, on the analogy of such Homeric formations as ἀριδείκετος, ἀρίζηλος, ἀρίγνωτος, ἐρίβωλος, ἐρίδουπος etc. The syncopation ἀρπ-/ἐρπ- becomes necessary because ἀριπεδο- is impossible in a hexameter. For a similar but different change *cf.* ἀριδείκετος for *ἀριδέκετος. No adjective derived from πέδον or πεδίον is attested in Homer or in extant Hesiod, but if Antimachus invented ἀρπεδόεσσα, he is hardly as far from ancient practice concerning adjectives in -οεις as Wyss suggests (XXXII f.). Without the prefix ἀρ(ι), the adjective form πεδόεις surely has a relationship to its par-

[36] For a justification of this reading in preference to the *v.l.*. ὀλίγη see West's commentary, 230.

[37] *Cf.* O. Hoffmann, *Die griech. Dialekte* (Göttingen 1893) 2.235; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymol. de la Langue Grecque* (Paris 1968), I.114; O. Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European and the Nature of Indo-European Accent* (Naples 1964), 277 and 288.

[38] For the force of these *cf.* LSJ[9] and Chantraine, *s.vv.*

ent noun similar to that of ἠνεμόεις, ὀφιόεις etc. The form πεδόεσσα is used by Nic. *Ther.* 662, presumably a back-formation from ἀρπεδόεσσα, and ἀρπεδές (*Ther.* 420) too is a metrically different form probably derived from Antimachus' word. Antimachus had a liking for adjectives in -όεις,[39] but his taste was to be exceeded by that of his Hellenistic compatriot.[40]

Antimachus' use of πρόχνυ is also interesting. It seems probable that in Homer this adverb is always to be understood as *προγονυ, referring to knees, πρόχνυ καθεζομένη (*Il.* 9.570); and even in ὥς κε ... ἀπόλωνται πρόχνυ κακῶς (21.460) and ὀλέσθαι πρόχνυ (*Od.* 14.69) 'perish after being brought to one's knees' (*cf.* LSJ[9] Suppl. 128 *s.v.*). But Schol. BT *Il.* 9.570 (II.522 Erbse) and Apoll. Soph. 135.18 Bekker both interpret πρόχνυ in the Odyssean passage as παντελῶς. Antimachus seems to have misunderstood Homer in similar fashion, as it is difficult to interpret the adverb otherwise in the fragment (*cf.* Wyss, 4-5). His πρόχνυ τέτυκται is very close in sense to *Od.* 12.280 σοί γε σιδήρεα πάντα τέτυκται, 'you are made all of iron'. Antimachus was followed in his misunderstanding by Apollonius, πρόχνυ γεράνδρυον (1.1118) and εἰ δὴ πρόχνυ γέρας τόδε πάρθετο δαίμων (2.249), where the Schol. render it as ὄντως, 'in truth'.[41]

τέτυκται occurs at the end of a line as here in all but one of its twenty-five appearances in Homer, and in all of seven instances in the *Hymns* (five) and Hesiod (two).

6 (6 Wyss)

Priscian. *Inst.* 6.92 (*Gramm. Lat.* 2.276.1 Hertz) Herodian. *Cathol.* I, (1.14.12 Lentz): ***in -eus Graeca sunt et -us in -i mutantia faciunt genitivum: hic Tydeus Tydei.. in huiusce modi tamen terminatione (sc. -eus) quaedam inveniuntur mutatione -eus diphthongi in -s longam prolata, ut*** Ἀχιλλεύς ***Achillēs,*** Περσεύς ***Persēs,*** Οὐλιξεύς ***Ulixēs, in quo Doris sequimur, qui pro*** Φυλεύς Φύλης, ***pro*** Ὀρφεύς Ὄρφης ***et*** Ὄρφην ***dicunt, pro*** Τυδεύς Τύδης. ***sic Antimachus in I Thebaidos*** 'Τύδης τ' Οἰνείδης' ***et vocativum in productum***

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[39] *Cf.* F2; 64; 91; possibly σκιόεν in F3; *cf.* Wyss XXXIIf. *Cf.* ὑψικραν[ά]εσσα (F113) and Homeric κραναός.

[40] For the very large number of adjectives in -όεις in Nicander see C.D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (1945, repr. Hildesheim 1970), 462-3.

[41] See Mooney's notes on the passages, 138 and 168, *cf.* Rossbach, 93.

'τὸν ... Τύδη' (F7) *teste Herodiano qui hoc ponit in I Catholicorum, similiter Ibycus* (F306 *PMGF*) 'ὀνομάκλυτον Ὄρφην' *dixit.*

Τύδης τ' Οἰνείδης

Commentary

Stoll (38) is probably correct in assigning these words to the beginning of a hexameter rather than the end, since the penultimate syllable of patronymic forms in -ειδης never falls on the *arsis, cf.* Ἴναχος Οἰνείδης Κρονίδῃ πολὺ φίλτατον ὕδωρ (Hes. F122 M-W); ὣς ἔφατ' Οἰνείδη δὲ κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας (F280.24); Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν (*Scut.* 182).

The grammarians preserve the phrase because of the Doric form Τύδης. Giangrande rightly rejects Wyss' suggestion (XXXIII and 5) that Antimachus has taken this form from some lyric poet and sees that the poet's Dorisms are simply imitation of the mixture of dialectal forms found in Homer.[42] Indeed the Doric accusative Τυδῆ occurs in *Iliad* 4.384 (*cf.* Μηκιστῆ 15.339). As the Scholiast to Nic. *Ther.* 3 remarks of Antimachus (T35), ἐν ἐνίοις δωρίζει. Ibycus' use of the form Ὄρφην (306 *PMGF*) cannot prove that Antimachus' model was a lyric poet, but Wyss is probably not correct in suggesting that Euphorion was following the example of Antimachus in using the dative form Πέρσῃ (F86 Powell), a restoration by Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* 574) of a corrupt text transmitted by Schol. T *Il.* 14.319 (III.64). The same fragment has now been found in *P. Oxy.* XIX 2219 and 2220 (F418.44 *SH*), from which Lloyd-Jones and Parsons print the accusative form Περσῆ(α). Lobel would read Περσεῖ(α).

7 (7 Wyss)

Priscian. *Inst.* 6.92 (Herodian. 1.14.12 Lentz): (locus = F6)

τὸν καὶ φωνήσας προσέφης, Οἰνήιε Τύδη

[42] 'Der stilistische Gebrauch der Dorismen im Epos' *Hermes* 98 (1970), 261-3 (= *Scr. Min. Alex.* I.69-71).

Commentary

This verse follows a familiar epic pattern, *cf.* τὸν καὶ φωνήσας προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων (*Il.* 14.41).[43]

The old readings of Schellenberg, ζωγρήσας and Οἰνείδη Τύδη, have been decisively corrected by Schneidewin.[44]

As in F6, Antimachus employs a Doric form of a hero's name, this time in the vocative Τύδη.[45] Just as the Dorisms are part of Antimachus' imitation of Homer, so too is his use of two patronymic forms, Οἰνείδης (F6) and Οἰνήιος here. It is more accurate to view Οἰνείδης as a true patronymic name (*cf. Il.* 10.497 and Hesiod F280.24 M-W, in both of which it stands alone) and Οἰνήιος as a patronymic adjective.[46] Similar parallel forms for the same patronymic occur in Homer e.g. Τελαμωνιάδης (*Il.* 8.224 etc.), Τελαμώνιος (2.528 etc); Νηληϊάδης (8.100 etc.), Νηλήιος (2.20 etc.); Καπανηϊάδης (5.109), Καπανήιος (4.367 etc.).

From the words of Priscian, it would appear that this fragment as well as F6 belongs to Book 1 of the *Thebaid.* Vessey sees the fact that Tydeus was speaking in Bk. 1 as evidence 'that the space devoted to preliminary matter was not great.'[47]

Although one cannot be absolutely certain, lacking the context, the line appears to be an example of author's apostrophe. The use of apostrophe is paralleled in Homer, notably in fifteen instances in the *Odyssey* where Eumaeus is addressed, the lines all ending προσέφης Εὔμαιε συβῶτα.[48] Of nineteen instances of apostrophe in the

[43] For others of similar formulaic type see Parry, *MHV,* 16.

[44] F.G. Schneidewin, *Exercitationum Criticarum in Poetas Graecos Minores capita quinque* (Brunsvigae 1836) V, 28-9; *cf. Ibyci Rhegini Carminum Reliquiae* (1833), 161.

[45] See J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer,* 161.

[46] *Cf.* C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955), 134; M.M. Willcock, *A Commentary on Homer's Iliad.* Books I-VI (London 1970), 190, on *Il.* 6.5. J.M. Aitchison in *Glotta* 42 (1964), 132ff. argues that -ιος patronymics are merely possessive adjectives (when used with υἱός) or (with υἱός omitted) due to analogy with the misunderstood noun-epithet formula Τελαμώνιος Αἴας.

[47] D.W.T.C. Vessey, 'Statius and Antimachus: A Review of the Evidence,' *Philologus* 114 (1970), 121.

[48] On Homeric use of apostrophe see V.J. Matthews, *LCM* 5.5 (May 1980), 93-99 and N. Yamagata, *BICS* 36 (1989), 91-103; *cf.* G.W. Nitsch, *Philologus* 16 (1860), 151-4; R.M. Henry, *CR* 19 (1905), 7-9; C. Bonner, *CR* 19 (1905), 383-6; Ellen S. Zyroff, *The author's apostrophe in epic from Homer through Lucan* (Diss. Johns Hopkins Univ. 1971), espec. 126-150. The Eumaeus apostrophes are *Od.* 14.55, 165, 360, 442, 507; 15.325; 16.60, 135, 464; 17.272, 311, 380, 512, 579; 22.194.

Iliad, three are of the type προσέφης,– – ⏖ – – ⏓ namely προσέφης, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ (16.20; 744; 843).[49]

This type of apostrophe, 'and in answer to him, you spoke, name/epithet or epithet/name', is decidedly odd and probably arises from the metrical difficulty posed by names of the spondaic form – – ⏓ in the final feet of the hexameter. The normal ending of the pronoun-conjunction-participle-προσέφη type line is, of course, noun-epithet or epithet-noun in the nominative case. It is notable that three of the other four names with which apostrophe (other than the προσέφης type) occurs are found after προσέφη in the usual nominative noun-epithet combination, i.e. ξανθὸς Μενέλαος, ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.[50] With these names, the metrical need for apostrophe of the προσέφης type does not arise. But the spondaic nominatives Εὔμαιος and Πάτροκλος never stand at line-end. Even when preceding an epithet or noun they create the possibility of a spondaic fifth foot. Thus the only example of either nominative in elements 8-10 of the hexameter is Εὔμαιος ὑφορβός (*Od.* 16.156). But this combination in a προσέφη line would produce what Stanford calls 'a disagreeable hiatus.'[51] Thus, apart from the instances of apostrophe, Homer generally avoids naming Eumaeus directly, e.g. τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε δῖος ὑφορβός (*Od.* 14.401 etc.); τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν (*Od.* 15.351 etc.).[52] Conversely, Homer never addresses Eumaeus in apostrophe as ὄρχαμε ἀνδρῶν, although this vocative combination is commonly found in ordinary speeches e.g. *Il.* 14.102; 17.12 (= *Od.* 4.156) etc.[53]

Similar metrical considerations pertain to this line of Antimachus, since Οἰνήιος Τύδης can only fit the hexameter in these feet in the

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[49] Note that the beginning of *Il.* 16.744, τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων, is identical to *Od.* 22.194, a Eumaeus apostrophe. In the *Iliad* there are eight examples of apostrophe with Patroclus (16.20, 584, 693, 744, 754, 787, 812, 843), seven with Menelaus (4.127, 146; 7.104; 13.603; 17.679, 702; 23.600), two with Phoebus (15.365; 20.152), and one each with Melanippus (15.365) and Achilles (20.2).

[50] The fourth character, Melanippus, does not speak in Homer, but the name is metrically identical to Menelaus. See Matthews, *LCM* 5.5 (1980), 98.

[51] Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer* (2nd ed. London and New York 1965), 2.218 on 14.55; *cf.* Bonner, 384, and A. Heubeck, in *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, II, (Oxford 1989), 195-196.

[52] In *Od.* 17.183-4, the two forms occur consecutively, ... καὶ δῖος ὑφορβός· / τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἄρχε συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν.

[53] For the metrical considerations in the Patroclus apostrophes see Matthews, *LCM* 5.5 (1980), 94-96.

vocative. Thus Antimachus is not only imitating Homer in using the device of apostrophe, but in this instance he employs it, as Homer often does, for metrical convenience. The statement of Schol. T *Il.* 16.787 (IV.300 Erbse) (*cf.* Eustath. 1086.49), ἡ ἀποστροφὴ σημαίνει τὸν συναχθόμενον, is clearly irrelevant to this type of apostrophe, as are the remarks of Wyss (5f.).

8 (8 Wyss)

Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.* 1.111.5 Schneider: ἐδείχθη ὡς ἀπὸ ἐγκλινομένων οὐ παράγονται αἱ κτητικαί. καὶ οἱ ἀξιοῦντες οὖν ἐγκεκλιμένην, ὡς τρίτου, 'ἀλλ' εἴπ' ἤ σφωιν' (*Od.* 4.28) καὶ 'γυιώσω μέν σφωιν' (*Il.* 8.402) καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς κτητικὴν παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ εἰρῆσθαι ἐπὶ Τυδέως καὶ Πολυνείκους τὸ

σφωιτέρην ... ὀϊζύν

καὶ διὰ τῆς δευτέρας <ἐπὶ> Ἐτεοκλέους καὶ Πολυνείκους τὸ 'σφωίτερον μῦθον' (F59) ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντιοῦνται.

σφωιτέρην οἰζύν codd. Wyss σφ. ... ὀϊζύν Kinkel σφ. δι' ὀϊζυν Dübner

Commentary

Wyss (6) is probably correct in assigning this fragment to the description of Tydeus and Polynices arriving at Argos and asking hospitality from Adrastus, probably in Bk. 1.[54]

The reading σφωιτέρην ... ὀϊζύν seems preferable, not only because ὀϊζύν is the regular Homeric form (e.g. *Il.* 13.2 and 15.365; *Od.* 7.211, plus seven other examples, all at line-end), but because it is also found in Hellenistic epic, e.g. Rhianus F1.8 Powell, καὶ οἱ θυμὸν ἔδουσι κατηφείη καὶ ὀϊζύς. Moreover, forms of σφωίτερος are most common at the beginning of a verse, (e.g. in eleven of the twelve instances in Apollonius listed below) or the start of the second foot (e.g. *Il.* 1.216; A.R. 3.395).

It is clear from Apollonius Dyscolus that Antimachus used the dual pronominal adjective σφωιτέρος of both second person (F59) and third person as here.[55]

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[54] *Cf.* Vessey, *Philol.* 114 (1970), 125.

[55] LSJ[9] notes only the third person use in Antimachus, while Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, 422 n.6 notes only the second person use.

In Homer, the word only occurs once, *Il.* 1.216, where it is second person dual.[56] Zenodotus apparently took the word in this instance as a second person singular, since he athetized vv. 208-9, but it is probably an error to attribute to his influence the wider use of the word made by Apollonius.[57]

Antimachus seems to have been the first to use this possessive adjective wrongly as a third person form, although he preserved its dual nature. It was left to Apollonius to make indiscriminate second and third person, singular and plural use of it, i.e. second person singular (= σός) 3.395; third singular (= ὅς) 1.643; 2.465; 544; 763; 3.335; 600; 625; 1227; 4.274;[58] third person plural (= σφός , σφέτερος) 1.1286; 4.454.[59]

9 (9 Wyss)

Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.* 1.88.18 Schneider: σφωέ. αὕτη αἰτιατικὴν μόνην σημαίνει, 'τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν' (*Il.*1.8), καὶ ἐπεὶ σύνηθες Ὁμήρῳ τὸ δισυλλαβοῦν, σαφὲς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ' ἤ τίς σφωε πόρεν θεὸς ἀντιβολήσας' (*Il.* 10.546) οὐ τοῦ ἔπορε τὸ ε ἔχει, τῆς δὲ ἀντωνυμίας,' Ιακῶς κεκλιμένου τοῦ ῥήματος. καὶ ἔτι 'εἰ μὴ σφω' Αἴαντε' (*Il.* 17.531), τὸ πλῆρες σφωέ. παρὰ γὰρ 'Αντιμάχῳ καὶ μονοσυλλάβως ἐν τρίτῃ Θηβαίδος (F15) 'τὸ καί σφω γείνατο μήτηρ', καὶ ἐν πρώτῃ

ἀσπασίως τέ σφω' ἄγεν οἴκαδε (– ⏑⏑ – –)

σφω' Wyss Maasio suadente σφω codd. Apoll. Dysc.

Commentary

It is likely that Wyss (6), following Schellenberg (58) and most other early editors, is correct in referring this fragment to Adrastus taking Tydeus and Polynices to his home. Stoll (40) prefers to take οἴκαδε as a reference not to Adrastus' house but to the respective *patriae* of Tydeus and Polynices, comparing Euripides *Phoen.* 429 where Adrastus swore ἄμφω κατάξειν ἐς πάτραν. But Stoll's statement that in the epic poets at least οἴκαδε is always equivalent to *in patriam*

56 *Cf.* Willcock, *Commentary*, 19 *ad loc.*

57 See H. Erbse, 'Homerscholien and hellenistische Glossare bei Apollonios Rhodios,' *Hermes* 81 (1953), 166; *cf.* Mooney, 110, on A.R. 1.643.

58 *Cf.* Theocr. 25.55; A.S.F. Gow (ed.), *Theocritus* (Cambridge 1952), II, 448.

59 *Cf.* K. Brugmann, *Ein Problem der homerische Textkritik* (Leipzig 1876), 43 n.l.

does not appear accurate, e.g. in *Il.* 3.72, γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω refers to taking a wife to one's house rather than to one's country, *cf.* ὥς κ' ὀστέα παισὶν ἕκαστος / οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅτ' ἂν αὖτε νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν (7.334-5) where οἴκαδ(ε) is clearly more specific than πατρίδα γαῖαν; probably also χρύσον τε καὶ ἄργυρον οἴκαδ' ἄγεσθαι (*Od.*10.35). While there can be little doubt that Antimachus did go on to tell of Adrastus' promise to restore the heroes (like Euripides; *cf.* Statius *Theb.* 2.198-200), it is almost certain that this fragment refers to his initial reception of them.[60]

Wyss notes the unusual occurrence of οἴκαδε in the fourth foot, *cf.* ἄγεν οἴκαδε in the same *sedes* *Od.* 14.280, the only example in this position of over seventy instances of the word οἴκαδε in Homer. However, it occurs twice in this *sedes* in Hesiod (*Op.* 576 and 632). The adverb ἀσπασίως is quite common at the beginning of a hexameter, e.g. *Il.* 11.327; 18.232; 19.72; *Od.* 10.131; 13.33; 333; Hes. *Scut.* 45 etc.

This fragment and F15 owe their preservation to the fact that they contain examples of the third person dual pronoun in the accusative case. Wyss, following Maas, is probably correct in reading σφω'. He does so on the assumption that Apollonius Dyscolus read σφω here but he (and others) seem to have misinterpreted the grammarian. After remarking that the pronoun is always disyllabic in Homer, Apollonius presents two examples, the second of which involves the elision σφω' Αἴαντε, which he explains with πλῆρες σφωέ. This is linked to what follows, παρὰ γὰρ 'Αντιμάχῳ. Apollonius Dycolus says that σφω' is τὸ πλῆρες σφωέ because (γὰρ) in Antimachus there is both the monosyllabic form σφω in *Thebaid* Bk.3 and in Bk.1 the (elided disyllabic)form σφω'. It is hardly even necessary to assume that δισυλλάβως might have fallen out of his text after the second καί. Why would the grammarian cite Bk.3 before Bk.1 if both quotations were illustrations of σφω'? The fact that Antimachus definitely used the form σφω (F15) is no proof that he did not use σφω' here and his customary avoidance of hiatus makes it likely.

[60] *Cf.* the story in Statius, *Theb.* 1.510-512, not that the Latin poet need be drawing on Antimachus. *Cf.* Vessey, *Philol.* 114 (1970) 124.

10 (10 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. et Etym. Symeon.(β) 27.12 Berger: (*Etym. Magn.* 189.5, Zonaras *Lex.* I.370 Tittmann) βασιλεύτωρ παρὰ τὸ βασιλεύσω (-ευειν Zo.) βασιλεύτωρ. Ἀντίμαχος ἐν α´ (AB, πρώτῃ Gaisford, πρώτῳ A.Adler) Θηβαΐδος

(– ⏑⏑) οἷοι ἔσαν βασιλεύτορες Αἰγιαλήων.

οὕτως Φιλόξενος (F373 Theodoridis) εἰς τὸ Ῥηματικόν.

οἷοι Zo(naras) οἵ οἱ AB ὅσσοι Stoll: βασιλεύτορες *Sym.EM* Zo βασιλεύτορ[ ] B βασιλεύτορος A Αἰγιαλήων Valckenaer: αἰπαλήων B*EM* αἰπαλίων A: om. Zo.

Commentary

This fragment is stated to be from Bk 1 of the *Thebaid.* For ἔσαν in a relative clause in this *sedes cf.* αἳ τότ' ἄρισται ἔσαν (Hesiod F1.3 M-W). The form βασιλεύτορες, a *hapax*, is apparently a coinage by Antimachus, who had an obvious liking for strange nouns in -τωρ, *cf.* ἔρκτορες (F87), ἀβολήτορες (F133), ἀσήτορος (F112.1).

Nouns in -τωρ are not particularly frequent in Homer, with the exception of ἡγήτωρ. Its use resembles our context in that it is found almost invariably with a genitive plural denoting a people, most commonly in the *Iliad* with Ἀργείων (thirteen times) and in the *Odyssey* with Φαιήκων (ten times). In several instances, the phrasing is similar to our fragment, e.g. ὅσσοι ἔσαν Τρώων ἡγήτορες (*Il.* 10.301); ἦσαν Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες (*Od.* 13.210). A major difference is that in Homer the genitive invariably precedes the nominative / accusative.[61]

But Antimachus' phrase βασιλεύτορες Αἰγιαλήων is also reminiscent of a Homeric one in which the genitive comes second, namely βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν, at line end in *Il.* 23.36 and used by Antimachus himself in F21.4, βασιλεῦσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

The possibility that the two Antimachean phrases refer to the same people has led Wyss (following the earlier editors) to assume that Antimachus is using the word Αἰγιαλήων for the Greeks in general, equivalent to the Homeric Ἀχαιοί.[62] I believe however that this assumption in mistaken.[63]

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[61] Curiously in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* ἡγήτορα always precedes λαῶν (F25.36; 43a.58; 136.18; 141.12 M-W).

[62] Wyss (7) following Schellenberg (55) and Stoll (37).

[63] In what follows I largely restate the arguments I presented in *The Ancient World*

Wyss mentions that in ancient times Achaea was called Aegialia, but the use of this name to mean Achaea can refer only to the classical Achaea, the coastland of the northern Peloponnese, 'the Αἰγιαλός as far as Dyme and the boundaries of Eleia' (Strabo 8.6.25, C382).[64] This definition is supported by Hesychius *s.v.* Αἰγιάλεια (I.61 Latte), ἡ νῦν Ἀχαία and *s.v.* Αἰγιαλεῖς (1703), οἱ μετὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος στρατευσάμενοι πρότερον Ἴωνες, νῦν δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐν Σικυῶνι.[65]

Antimachus told of Adrastus taking Tydeus and Polynices to his palace, where the pair presumably went on to tell their respective stories and were entertained by the king (*cf.* Wyss, X). The reception accorded Tydeus and Polynices at Argos may have resembled that of Odysseus at the court of Alcinous. The context suggests that these βασιλεύτορες Αἰγιαλήων are subordinate kings under Adrastus, analogous to the Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες, local leaders subordinate to Alcinous (e.g. *Od.* 7.98 etc; also called βασιλῆες at 8.41).[66]

If this is the case, then it may well be that Αἰγιαλήων actually means Argives. In fact, a corrupt entry in Hesychius probably preserves this meaning: *s.v.* Αἰγιαλέων Ἀργείων (I.16 Latte. Ἀγγελω Ἀργειω codd.).[67] In view of the genitive case, I suggest that the ancient authority behind this entry is Antimachus. That Αἰγιαλήων can mean Argives is supported by Steph. Byz. 112 Meineke: Ἄργος, διασημοτάτη πόλις Πελοποννήσου, ἥ τις 'Φορωνικὸν ἄστυ' ἐκέκλητο, καὶ Αἰγιάλεια .... Hirschfeld assumes some confusion on Stephanus' part, since his statement is not supported by any poetic use of the

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III.4 (1980), 113-114. But I now prefer to see the βασιλεῦσιν Ἀχαιῶν (F21.4) as referring to the leaders of the expedition against Thebes.

[64] *Cf.* Strabo 8.7.1, C383; Paus. 5.1.1; 7.1.1; Hdt. 7.94;Steph. Byz. 40.13 Meineke: Αἰγιαλός.

[65] This latter entry could almost be a comment on *Il.* 2.574ff.: ἀμφινέμοντο / Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην εὐρεῖαν / τῶν ἑκατὸν νηῶν ἦρχε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων / Ἀτρεΐδης. Whether Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα in Homer meant a district called Aegialus or simply 'the whole shore' is uncertain; *cf.* R. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970), 69; in *LfrgE* (2.248) αἰγιάλον is read. But in any event, the poet is talking about part of the later Achaea. In Apollonius, Αἰγιαλοῖο (1.178) clearly means Achaea, *cf.* Mooney, 81. For Callimachus (*Hy.* 4.73 Αἰγιαλοῦ) the word denotes Sicyon, *cf.* F278 Pf., with Pfeiffer's comments (*Callimachus* I, 262).

[66] Vessey (*Philologus* 114 (1970), 125) perceives the similarity between the βασιλεύτορες Αἰγιαλήων and the βασιλῆες in Phaeacia, but not the analogy of the noun forms ἡγήτορες and βασιλῆες.

[67] *Cf.* Meineke, *Anal. Alex.*, 116.

name.[68] But quite apart from Antimachus, the name may have been used for Argos in the *Phoronis*.[69] Stephanus' statement is also supported by a considerably earlier source, Herodian Π. καθ. πρ. 1.276.37 Lentz: Αἰγιάλεια. οὕτως ἐκέκλητο Ἄργος.

If Antimachus used Αἰγιαλήων for Argives, he had an even closer Homeric model than Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες, for the commonest use of ἡγήτωρ -ορες in Homer is after the word Ἀργείων (thirteen examples, compared to ten after Φαιήκων) *cf.* also Ἀργείων βασιλῆας (*Il.* 9.59); Ἀργείων βασιλῆες (10.195).

Wyss (7) cites Euphorion F69 Schei. (F59 Powell), [Theocritus] 25.174, and *AP* 9.464 (here actually Αἰγιαλῆες) as all following Antimachus in using Αἰγιαλήων for the Greeks in general (and all in the same part of the verse). But, in fact, they may be following Antimachus in using the name for Argives. On Theocr. 25.174 Αἰγιαλήων, Gow notes the ancient names for Achaea and Sicyon and then adds 'but since the speaker knows that the slayer of the lion was an Argive, the word is presumably here used, like Ἀχαιοί, for Greeks in general, as it is at Euphorion fr. 59 Powell, A.P. 9.464, and probably Antim. fr. 10 Wyss.'[70] Surely one may suggest that since the speaker knows that the slayer of the lion was an Argive, the word Αἰγιαλήων is presumably here used for Argives.[71] On Euphorion F59, Powell himself states (42) that the poet is talking about the oath given to Agamemnon by the Greeks at *Iliad* 2.339 (*cf.* Meineke, 115). But to whom is Nestor addressing himself in that passage? His speech is introduced in v.336 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε κ.τ.λ., where τοῖσι refers back to the subject of the previous sentence, Ἀργεῖοι (v.333). Thus if the fragment of Euphorion is modelled on the Homeric passage, as seems likely, Euphorion used the name Αἰγιαλήων for the Homeric Ἀργείων, combining the Homeric use of Ἀργεῖοι for Greeks and the Antimachean use of Αἰγιαλῆες for

[68] *RE* 1.1 (Stuttgart 1893, repr. 1958), 956.

[69] Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.1, see Kinkel, 209; *cf.* *LfrgE* 2.247.

[70] A.S.F. Gow (ed.), *Theocritus* (Cambridge 1952, repr. 1965), II, 460-1; *cf.* B.A. van Groningen, *Euphorion* (Amsterdam 1977), 133.

[71] *Cf.* LSJ[9] "[pr.n.] of the Argives, Theoc. 25.174." The lexicon and its supplement do not notice the use of the word in Antimachus, Euphorion, or *AP* 9.464; *cf.* Anna Rist, *The Poems of Theocritus* (Chapel Hill 1978), 238 "none of the Argives" H. Beckby, *Die griechischen Bukoliker* (Meisenheim am Glan 1975), 589 "Aigialees (Argiver) Th. XXV 174," but *cf.* 507 "174 Aigialeia: alter Name für Achaea; Aigialeer daher für Achaier, weiter für Peloponnesier."

Argives. The poet of *AP* 9.464 presumably did likewise, although it is possible that his model was Euphorion rather than Antimachus. The Loeb translation renders the word as 'Argives,' presumably in the wide Homeric sense. It may be noted that Αἰγιαλήων is a very convenient metrical alternative to Ἀργείων, which is never found at line-end in Homer, being generally confined to the first two feet of the hexameter.

But how can we explain the equation of Αἰγιαλῆες and Argives? The answer may lie in the person of Adrastus, who, the story goes, came to Argos from Sicyon (*cf.* Hdt. 5.68; Paus. 2.6.3). Strabo (8.6.25, C382) tells that in earlier times Sicyon was called Αἰγιαλούς (*cf.* Paus. 2.5.5ff.) and Herodotus (5.68) tells that one of the tribes of Sicyon was known as Αἰγιαλεῖς. Herodotus derives the tribal name from Aegialeus, son of Adrastus, but it means 'men of the shore' and the eponymous hero Aegialeus is probably to be derived from the name of the tribe.[72] When Adrastus ruled in Sicyon, his subjects would have been Αἰγιαλῆες and the name through its associations with him could be applied to his later subjects at Argos.

Both Wyss (7) and Vessey (125) think that the βασιλεύτορες Αἰγιαλήων are the same as the βασιλεῦσιν Ἀχαιῶν (F21.4). I do not agree, but even if it were so, that fact need not imply that Antimachus used Αἰγιαλῆες in the sense of the Homeric Ἀχαιοί for the Greeks in general, as Wyss suggests. Antimachus can call leaders of the Aegiales (i.e. Argives) kings of the Achaeans just as Homer calls the leaders of Ithaca kings of the Achaeans (*Od.* 1.394f.). It does not follow that Αἰγιαλῆες = Ἀχαιοί in Antimachus any more than that Ἰθακήσιοι (e.g. *Od.* 2.25 etc.) = Ἀχαιοί in Homer. In both cases, Ἀχαιοί is a more general term used instead of a more specific one (*cf.* e.g. *Od.* 16.250: 'and from Zacynthus there are twenty κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν').

The two phrases βασιλεύτορες Αἰγιαλήων and βασιλεῦσιν Ἀχαιῶν provide Antimachus with two distinct metrical units with which to close a hexameter, the former extending from the penthemimeral caesura, the latter from the hephthemimeral caesura. The latter phrase is Homeric, but βασιλεύτορες Αἰγιαλήων appears to have been invented by Antimachus for this part of the line, where its Homeric sense-equivalents would be metrically inappropriate. For

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72 *Cf.* How and Wells II. 35-6 on Hdt. 5.68.2.

instance, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες is impossible at line-end, and Ἀργείων βασιλῆες, while suitable for the metrical elements of the final feet, does not fit the colometry in ths position.

Antimachus' two phrases reflect his treatment of his Homeric models. The one phrase he takes over directly from Homer, the other he creates on the analogy of Homeric models, substituting the unusual βασιλεύτορες for the Homeric ἡγήτορες or βασιλῆες and replacing the Homeric Ἀργείων by the learned equivalent Αἰγιαλήων.

11 (11 Wyss)

Schol. Oxy. Hom. *Il.* 7.76 (*P. Oxy.* VIII.1086.41 = II.224 Erbse) saec. i p. C. [Pack[2] 1186]: τὸ Ἄιδος, ἔνθεν τὺν αἰτιατικὴν τέθηκεν Ἀντίμαχος ἐν πρώτῳ Θηβαΐδος·

Ἄιδον δέ

Ἄιδον δέ Wyss cl. Herodiano (1.298.23 Lentz) qui inter alia exempla Ἄιδος offert ΑΙΔΟΝΔΕ pap.

Commentary

Antimachus' Ἄιδον δέ appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. In Homer, Ἄιδόσδε occurs frequently, e.g. Ἄιδόσδε κατῆλθον (*Il.* 7.330); Ἄιδόσδε βεβήκει (16.856 = 22.362; *Od.* 3.410 = 6.11); Ἄιδόσδε κάτεισι (*Il.* 20.294); πέμπ' Ἄιδόσδε (23.137); Ἄιδόσδε κατῆλθεν (*Od.* 10.560); Ἄιδόσδε κατῆλθε (11.65); Ἄιδόσδε κατελθέμεν (475); Ἄιδόσδε κατῆεν (Hes. *Scut.* 254).

In discussing why Antimachus departs from Homeric usage, Wyss (7) notes that the Ionians were the first to call by the name Hades not just the king of Tartarus, but also the abode of the dead, citing Heraclitus (22 B 98 D-K) and Democritus (68 B 199 D-K). But in fact there are two examples in the *Iliad* where Homer himself uses Hades of the place rather than the god, Ἄιδι προΐαψεν (1.3), 'hurled forth to Hades' and Ἄιδι κεύθωμαι (23.244), 'I shall be hidden in Hades'.

Far from not realising that οἶκον or δόμον was to be understood with the Homeric Ἄιδόσδε as Wyss suggests, Antimachus was probably also influenced by the common Homeric phrase δόμον Ἄιδος, e.g. *Il.* 3.322; 7.131; 11.263 etc.; *cf.* *Od.* 9.524; 11.150; Ἀΐδεω ἰέναι δόμον (10.512); δόμου ἐξ Ἀΐδαο (11. 69), as can be seen from F112.2 Ἄιδος ἐκπρολιποῦσα θοὸν δόμον.

Knowing that the name could also be used of the place, Antimachus could advance the development from genitive plus accusative to genitive and an understood accusative a stage further, namely to an accusative which can dispense with the genitive. The form Ἄιδον δέ rather than Ἄιδην δέ he would seem to have created on the analogy of δόμονδε, οἶκονδε and θάλαμονδε.[73]

12 (12 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 393.15 Meineke: Κύνθος, <ἡ Δῆλος> παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ ἐν πρώτῃ Θηβαΐδος.

lac. ind. Schellenberg <ἡ Δῆλος> Matthews, (cf. e.g. Steph. 3.1 Meineke: Ἀβαντίς, ἡ Εὔβοια; 30.9 Ἀερία, ἡ Αἴγυπτος; 49.6 Αἱμονία, ἡ Θετταλία) <ὄρος Δήλου> Berkel

Cf.226.19 Meineke: (Δῆλος) ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Κύνθος ἀπὸ Κύνθου τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, κ.τ.λ. et Plin. *Nat.Hist.* 4.66: *hanc* (i.e. Delon) Aristoteles (F488 Rose) *ita appellatam tradit, quoniam repente apparuerit enata. Agl(a)osthenes* (*FGrHist* 499F6) *Cynthiam, alii Ortygiam, Asteriam, Lagiam, Chlamydiam, Cynthum, Pyrpylen igne ibi primum reperto etc.*

Cynthum Matthews Cynet(h)um (-ym), cinethym codd. Cynetho Solin. 11.19 (74 Mommsen)

Commentary

Wyss (8) is probably correct in assuming (with Schellenberg 57, whose words are merely repeated by Stoll, 39) that Stephanus has not cited such a learned poet as Antimachus for the well-known fact that Cynthus was a mountain on Delos. As he suggests, Stephanus probably told that according to Antimachus, the name was applied to the whole island, *cf.* Steph. 226.19 Meineke: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Κύνθος ἀπὸ Κύνθου τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ. Therefore I propose for Steph. 393.15 Κύνθος, <ἡ Δῆλος>.

The same name may be seen in Pliny *NH* 4.66, where however I suggest that we connect with Stephanus' Κύνθος not Aglaosthenes' *Cynthia* (as Jacoby implies), which is probably merely an adjectival form derived from the name of the mountain and applied to the

[73] *Cf.* the discussion of L. Leurini in *Tradizione e Innovazione nella Cultura greca da Omero all 'Età ellenistica* I (Roma 1993), 160.

island,[74] but the anonymous and corrupt *Cynethum*, which we should restore as *Cynthum* and attribute to Antimachus.[75]

Two references to Cynthus in Statius' *Thebaid* (1.701-702; 2.239) cannot help us see where or how the name was mentioned by Antimachus in his first book. In both instances, Statius is referring to the mountain (1.701-702 *Aegaeum feriens Latonius umbra/ Cynthus*; 2.239, balancing, with reference to Artemis, the Attic mountain Aracynthus with reference to Athena). As Vessey notes, Cynthus was well known to the Roman poets as the birthplace of Apollo.[76]

The fragment is unlikely to be linked with F109 which mentions Apollo (Λή[τοος υἱός]).

13 (13 Wyss)

Schol. AbT *Il.* 4.400b (I.515 Erbse et *Anecd. Par.* 3.375.4 Cramer): Ἀντίμαχός φησιν παρὰ συφορβοῖς τετράφθαι Τυδέα, Εὐριπίδης δὲ 'οὐκ ἐν λόγοις ἦν δεινός, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσπίδι' (*Suppl.* 902). Zenob. 3.5 sive [Plutarch.] 1.5 (*Paroem. Graec.* 1.322.5 Leutsch-Schneidewin): 'Τυδεὺς ἐκ συφορβίου' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων. Οἰνεὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Ἱππονόου Περίβοιαν ἐβιάσατο· γνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ἔγκυον οὖσαν ὁ πατὴρ συφορβοῖς παρέδωκε μετὰ τοῦ γενομένου παιδίου Τυδέως.

Commentary

Antimachus' story of Tydeus being brought up among swineherds is perhaps his own invention, as Wyss (8) suggests. It apparently became well-enough known to be proverbial and the explanation given by the paroemiographer must surely be derived from Antimachus. Oeneus seduced Periboea, daughter of Hipponous, who, after discovering that she was pregnant, handed her over to the swineherds along with her newborn son Tydeus. Here as in other respects Antimachus gives a version very different from the Cyclic *Thebaid* which told of Oeneus receiving Periboea as a gift of honour after the sack of Olenus (F8 Davies *EGF* = Apollod. 1.8.4). Antimachus' story appears to be a variant of another recorded by

[74] *Cf.* the epithet Cynthia applied to Artemis and Athena and Cynthius to Apollo and Zeus.

[75] See Teubner Pliny *app. crit.* - one MS gives *Cynthum*.

[76] *Philologus* 114, 126.

Apollodorus (1.8.5): εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες Ἱππόνουν ἐπιγνόντα τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα ἐφθαρμένην ὑπὸ Οἰνέως, ἔγκυον αὐτὴν πρὸς τοῦτον ἀποπέμψαι. ἐγεννήθη δὲ ἐκ ταύτης Οἰνεῖ Τυδεύς. It is notable that Antimachus also diverges from the Hesiodic version in which Periboea was seduced by Hippostratus, and her father sent her to Oeneus with instructions to put her to death (Apollod. 1.8.4 = F12 M-W).

As Wyss suggests, the story that Tydeus was raised among swineherds is in keeping with his uncouth uncivilized character in epic, which is seen at its worst when he split open the head of Melanippus and sucked out his brains (Cyclic *Theb.* F5 Davies *EGF*).[77] Tydeus' uncivilized nature may also reflect the fact that he was an Aetolian, *cf.* Eur. *Phoen.* 133 ff. (Paedagogus): παῖς μὲν Οἰνέως ἔφυ /Τυδεύς, Ἄρη δ' Αἰτωλὸν ἐν στέρνοις ἔχει ... (138) (Antigone): μειξοβάρβαρος / (Paed.): σακεσφόροι γὰρ πάντες Αἰτωλοί κ.τ.λ.[78]

Could Antimachus perhaps have made a connection between the rearing of Tydeus by the swineherds and the device of the boar on his shield (*cf.* e.g. Apollod. 3.6.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 69)? Lycophron (*Alex.* 1066) combines the brain-eating and the boar device in an arresting line τοῦ κρατοβρῶτος παιδὸς ἄτρεστου κάπρου, 'son of dauntless brain-devouring boar'.

14 (14 Wyss)

Schol. Veron. Verg. *Aen.* 10.565 (*Append. Serv.* 447.16 Hagen): ***Homerus*** (*Il.* 1.402ff.) ***amicum Aegeona dicit Iovis, sed Antimachus in tertio Thebaidos d<icit> adversum eum armatum.***

Commentary

Aegaeon/Briareus appears as a supporter of Zeus and the Olympians against the Titans in Hesiod (*Theog.* 617 ff). In *Il.* 1.403, he is a supporter of Zeus, presumably drawn from the same tradition. But in the *Titanomachia* (F3 Davies *EGF* = Schol. A.R. 1.1165), he is

[77] Schol. D *Il.* 5.126 unde Schol. Gen. (2.63 Nicole: *cf.* II.22 Erbse) *cf.* Soph. F799.5; Eurip. *Meleag.* F537 Nauck² (= Schol. Pind. *N.*10.12b [3.168 Drachmann]: *cf.* Schol. *N.*11.43[3.189 Drachmann]); Lyc. *Alex.* 1066 (with scholia 324.23 Scheer); Dosiadas *AP* 15.26; Apollod. 3.6.8; Stat. *Theb.* 3.544-5 etc.

[78] On the uncivilized character of Aetolia even in the 5th century *cf.* Thuc. 3.94.

depicted fighting on the side of the Titans, τοῖς Τιτᾶσι συμμαχεῖν.[79] Presumably this poem was Antimachus' source as Wyss suggests (8).

Statius, describing Tydeus awaiting the Theban attack (*Theb.* 2.596), compares him to Briareus: ***(non aliter) armatum immensus Briareus stetit aethera contra***, etc. Wyss (9, *cf.* X n.1) declares that Statius is dependent not on Antimachus but on Virgil, *Aen.* 10.565 ff.: ***Aegaeon qualis ... Iovis cum fulmina contra*** etc.[80] But while *contra* placed after its noun at the end of the hexameter in both poets argues that Statius is indeed indebted to Virgil for the form and substance of his comparison, one may still argue that the context which led to the mention of Briareus/Aegaeon is taken from Antimachus. The fragment comes from Bk. 3 of Antimachus' *Thebaid* and Wyss himself suspects that this book told of the embassy of Tydeus and that Antimachus did compare Tydeus (or some other hero) to Aegaeon. But if Tydeus was the main character in the events narrated in Bk. 3, it seems likely that he would be the subject of a comparison rather than someone else (*cf. Aen.* 10.565 ff., where Aeneas is the character compared to Aegaeon). Since the scholiast mentions Antimachus to interpret Virgil, he (or his source) may be suggesting that Vergil followed Antimachus in this passage.[81] So one cannot rule out the possibility that both Virgil and Statius derived their similes from Antimachus. Vessey may be too skeptical in suggesting that it could be mere coincidence that Statius used the simile in circumstances parallel to those in Antimachus.

15 (15 Wyss)

Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.* 1.88.27 Schneider (locus = F9)

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑) τὸ καί σφω γείνατο μήτηρ

Commentary

That this fragment constitutes the second half of a hexameter is probable from the frequent occurrence of γείνατο μήτηρ at line-end

[79] See West, *Hesiod: Theogony*, 210 on v. 149.

[80] *Cf. Publii Papinii Statii Thebaidos Liber Secundus* ed. H.M. Mulder (Groningen 1954), 310; L. Legras, *Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace* (Paris 1905), 45.

[81] *Cf.* Vessey, *Philol.* 114, 127.

in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 1.280; 3.238; 5.896; *Od.* 6.25; *Hy. Aphr.* 110, 145. In almost every instance, γείνατο μήτηρ is preceded by the object, as here, *cf.* also (- ⏑⏑) ὣς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰήσονα γείνατο μήτηρ (A.R. 1.232). Antimachus uses another form of the third personal dual, σφω(έ), in F9. As Stoll suggests (40), Antimachus probably created the third person form σφω from σφωέ on the analogy of the first and second person forms νῶϊ, νώ and σφῶϊ, σφώ.[82]

There is little reason for changing τὸ καί (codd.) to τῷ καί as Bekker suggested.[83] In *Il.* 3.176 and *Od.* 8.332 τὸ καί occurs in exactly the same metrical position as here. Apollonius uses τὸ καί twice, but in a different *sedes*, after the second *longum* (3.894; 4.756; *cf. Il.* 12.9).

The fragment clearly refers to the birth of a pair of brothers, possibly twins. While Wyss is, as Vessey remarks,[84] non-committal as to their identity in his preface (X), in his commentary on the fragment (9) he is probably right (following Stoll) to refer the fragment to Iocasta and her sons Eteocles and Polynices. Helm has suggested that the reference could be to the sons of Ide, comparing Stat. *Theb.* 3.133 ff.[85] But Ide is not mentioned by anyone other than Statius in extant literature and is likely the Roman poet's invention as a typical Theban mother. It is notable that Statius does not give any names for her sons. As Vessey points out, Helm was allowing Statius to be a guide for reconstructing Antimachus, which is poor procedure without corroborating evidence.[86] That is not to say that Iocasta, Eteocles, and Polynices are the only candidates for the characters referred to in this verse. The Hesiodic *Scutum* tells of Alcmene giving birth at Thebes to the twins Heracles and Iphicles in a line quite reminiscent of this fragment, Θήβῃ ἐν ἑπταπύλῳ διδυμάονε γείνατο παῖδε (49). We could imagine Antimachus' line coming after the story of how one son had a god for his father, the other a mortal - 'wherefore she bore the pair of them etc.',[87] and before a description of how they differed in strength, as in the *Scutum.* There is no reason

[82] *Cf.* his use of σφωιτέρος as the adjectival form for both second person (F59) and third person (F8). *Cf.* Buttmann, *Lexilogus* 427.
[83] See Kinkel's *app. crit.* and Stoll, 40.
[84] *Philol.* 114.129.
[85] R. Helm, *De P. Papinii Statii Thebaide* (Berlin 1892), 8; *cf.* P. Papinius Statius *Thebaid* III ed. M. Snijder (Amsterdam 1968), 92, on v. 134.
[86] 130.
[87] For τὸ καί in this sense *cf.* Monro, *Gram. Hom. Dial.* 232 §262.3.

to assume that τὸ καί implies that the sons were born *ad nescio quam fortunam* (Wyss IX) and Wyss's comparison with *Il.* 1.417, where Thetis says to Achilles νῦν δ' ... ὠκύμορος καὶ ὀϊζυρὸς περὶ πάντων ἔπλεο· τῷ σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκον is not compelling.

Yet another possibility for a mother and two sons in a Theban context is Antiope, mother by Zeus of Amphion and Zethus, the founders of Thebes (*cf.* *Od.* 11.260 ff.). But since this fragment comes from the third book of the *Thebaid*, a context involving Iocasta seems more likely than one with Alcmene or Antiope, whose stories are more fitting to belong to Bk. 1, though such an argument can hardly be conclusive. Vessey unfortunately gives up, concluding 'we simply cannot say to what the fragment refers'.[88]

16 (173 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. (*PRIMI* I.17 ed. A. Vogliano) pap.saec. ii p.C.(qui in totum expositus est, cum apparatu pleniore in Append. A), ii 50-53.

> ....]ης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (F114) ὑποτίθεται ἐν Ἅιδου, καθάπερ καὶ Πανύασσ[ις (F26 Davies *EGF*) .... ἐν δὲ τῷ γ' τῆς [Θ]ηβαίδος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν Νώνακ[ριν ὑποτίθησι]ν.

Νώνακ[ριν Maas ὑποτίθησι]ν Vogliano

Commentary

This fragment is supplied as additional information by the commentator in his remarks on Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (F114). As well as supposing Styx to be in Hades (F114), Antimachus also located it near Nonacris in Arcadia, a well-attested tradition.[89] The detail that this information was in Bk. 3 of the *Thebaid* may imply that the other fragments from the papyrus *hypomnema* are not from that poem.

Antimachus may have mentioned the Arcadian Styx in his *Thebaid* merely in passing, in a reference to the town of Nonacris. It is possible that he alluded to the stories that its water was poisonous and ate through all vessels except those made of horn, which the

[88] *Philol.* 114, 129.

[89] *Cf.* Hdt. 6.74; Callim. F413Pf.; Paus. 8.17.6-18.6; Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* 3.25. At F407 (XXX, from Theophrastus), Callimachus puts the Στυγὸς ὕδωρ at Pheneus, a little to the east of Nonacris according to Pausanias (8.17.6).

ancient commentator goes on to mention, citing the authority of Theophrastus.[90] The town of Nonacris has associations with Lycaon and Callisto as we know from Pausanias who tells (8.17.6) that it took its name from the wife of Lycaon. Callimachus in *Aetia* I (F250.9-10 *SH*) and probably also in his *Hecale* (F140 Hollis = 352 Pf.) called Lycaon's daughter, Callisto, Νωνακρίνη, i.e. daughter of Nonacris.[91] Lycaon is mentioned in a new fragment of Antimachus (F121.5), but the text shows no reference to Nonacris or Styx.

The present fragment may come from a description of the mustering of Arcadian allies of Adrastus.

17 (17 Wyss)

Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 150 (1.269-70 Schwartz): Παρθενοπαῖος· ὡς μὲν 'Αντίμαχος, Ταλαοῦ τοῦ Βίαντος τοῦ 'Αμυθάονος τοῦ Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Διός, μητρὸς δὲ Λυσιμάχης τῆς Κερκυόνος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος· ὡς δὲ Ἑλλάνικος (*FGrHist* 4 F99), Μειλανίωνος τοῦ 'Αμφιδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐπόχου τοῦ †αργηπου† τοῦ Κηφέως τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, μητρὸς δε 'Αταλάντης τῆς Ἰάσου.

Schol. Vet. Aeschyl. *Sept.* 547a (2.249 Smith): 'Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς'· 'Αντίμαχός φησιν 'Αργεῖον αὐτόν, οὐκ 'Αρκάδα,

Commentary

These two scholia provide two related pieces of information concerning Antimachus' view of the nationality and family of Parthenopaeus, firstly that he was an Argive, not an Arcadian, and secondly he was the son of Talaus and Lysimache, and thus a brother of Adrastus (*cf.* F31.1). To this may be compared Schol. Soph. *OC* 1320: ἔνιοι οὐ τὸν 'Αταλάντης Παρθενοπαῖόν φασι στρατεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ταλαοῦ ... καθάπερ 'Αρίσταρχος ὁ Τεγεάτης (*TGF* 14F5) καὶ Φιλοκλῆς (*TGF* 24F3) ἱστοροῦσι, συγγραφέων δὲ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος (*FGrHist* 1 F32).

Clearly ancient opinion was deeply divided over whether Parthenopaeus was an Argive or an Arcadian. Hellanicus by making him

[90] Callimachus (F407, xxx and F413 Pf.) reports this tradition, also drawing on Theophrastus (F213B Fortenbaugh et al.).

[91] On F250 *SH*, from a papyrus commentary on Callimachus (*P. Mich.* 3688.15), see A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 4(1969), 28. *Cf.* Hollis (314) on F140 (*Suda s.v.* Νωνακρίνη).

a son of Atalanta depicted him as an Arcadian (*cf. FGrHist* 4 F37, where Hellanicus mentioned Cepheus in his Περὶ 'Αρκαδίας and F162, the Arcadian mountain Maenalus on which Atalanta lived). Euripides says of Parthenopaeus ὁ δ' 'Αρκάς, οὐκ 'Αργεῖος 'Αταλάντης γόνος (*Phoen.* 1153)[92], and also in *Suppl.* 888 ff. he tells that he was the son of Atalanta and an Arcadian, but was reared in Argos and joined the army like a born Argive. Aeschylus gave a similar version (*Sept.* 547-8), as did Sophocles (*OC* 1320-1322). The Arcadian origin is also told (with minor variations as to the name of Parthenopaeus' father) by later mythographers (*cf.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.3; Diod. 4.65; Hyg. *Fab.* 70; 99; 270)[93].

However, the Argive origin, that Parthenopaeus was a son of Talaus, is apparently the older version, occurring, it would seem, in the Cyclic *Thebaid* (F4 Davies = Paus. 9.18.6)[94]. This story is also attested by Hecataeus (1 F32), by the obscure fifth-century tragedians Aristarchus and Philocles, and again by Apollodorus, who presents the fullest account (*Bibl.* 1.9.13). He presents a patrilinear descent identical to that of Antimachus, i.e. Talaus-Bias-Amythaon-Cretheus-Aeolus-Hellen-Zeus (*cf.* 1.9.13; 1.9.11; 1.7.3). But on the mother's side, Apollodorus differs from Antimachus, giving Lysimache as a daughter of Abas, son of Melampus (and thus back through Amythaon to Zeus), while Antimachus makes her a daughter of Cercyon, son of Poseidon. This Cercyon, son of Poseidon, was mentioned by the early Athenian tragedian Choerilus in his *Alope* (*TGF* 2F1 = Paus. 1.14.3; *cf.* 1.5.2 and 1.39.3), where Alope is a daughter of Cercyon. Presumably the Cercyon, father of Alope, in Euripides' *Alope/Cercyon* (see Nauck[2] 389) and Carcinus' *Alope* (*TGF* 70F1b) is also son of Poseidon.

As Jacoby notes, it is remarkable that the Argive dedication made at Delphi from the spoils of the victory at Oenoe (fought 456), consisting of statues of the commanders who marched with Polynices, does not include Parthenopaeus, but instead Halitherses (Paus. 10.10.2)[95]. As Jacoby suggests, the version adopted by the three great

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[92] Not, as Vessey (*Philol.* 114, 132) writes, v. 150, which reads ὅδ' ἐστὶ Παρθενοπαῖος, 'Αταλάντης γόνος.

[93] See Jacoby, *FGrHist* Ia *Komm.* 327-8.

[94] *Cf.* Vessey, 132; M. Dewar (ed.) *Statius: Thebaid IX* (Oxford 1991), 175: 186. Presumably the *Thebaid* differed from the Theban story recorded by Pausanias only in that it was Periclymenus not Asphodicus who killed Parthenopaeus, and not in the detail that he was a son of Talaus.

[95] *FGrHist* Ia *Komm.* 328.

tragedians must have damaged the story of Parthenopaeus' Argive origin, leading to his exclusion, the only non-Argive besides Polynices being Tydeus, who is preserved thanks to his prominence in Homer. This suggestion is supported by the fact that Pausanias tells us (2.20.4), in describing dedications representing the Seven at Argos itself, that the Argives followed the poetry of Aeschylus in setting up their statues.

Statius followed the more common tradition of the Arcadian origin (*cf. Theb.* 4.246ff; 6.561; 9.858) and clearly was not influenced by Antimachus in his depiction of Parthenopaeus[96].

18 (18 Wyss)

Athen. 11.459a (3.1 Kaibel): παρὰ μὲν τῷ 'Αδράστῳ ... καθίσαντες οἱ ἀριστεῖς δειπνοῦσιν.

Commentary

Wyss justifiably takes this statement by Athenaeus that the heroes sat down παρὰ ... τῷ 'Αδράστῳ and had dinner as a reference to Antimachus' *Thebaid*, since there are six quotations from banquet scenes from the *Thebaid* in that same book of Athenaeus (F19-24).[97]

In view of ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσι (F19.11) and οἷσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροις (F22.3), we can understand παρὰ ... τῷ 'Αδράστῳ as 'in the palace of Adrastus' rather than simply 'in the presence of Adrastus.'

The banquet in question probably took place at Argos before the expedition set out for Thebes, in which case ἀριστεῖς probably refers to its assembled leaders.

F19 (19 Wyss)

P.Berol. 21127 (saec. ii p. C.) ed. H. Maehler, *Atti del* XVII *Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Napoli 1984), 289-296.

. . . .

Fi]. α . [
]λικιαδ.[

[96] See Vessey, 132-133.

[97] On the context and re-ordering of fragments 19-24 see Appendix B.

]ε̣π̣οιχομε . [
]τασια.λων[
. . .] . α̣μεν̣ο̣υσγλα[
....]εσαρχαίο[.].[Fii
. . .] . σ̣αυγαισιφα̣[. . . . .
. .] . . ταπρ[ ]πολισ[
. .]οισβουφ[ ] .σ̣οπλω[
ἄλλ⸥οι δὲ κρ⸤ητῆρα πανάργυρον ἠδὲ δ⸥έπασ̣τρα
οἰ⸥σό⸤ν⸥των̣⸤ χρύσεια, τά τ᾽ ἐν μεγάροισιν⸥ ἐμο⸤ῖσι
κε⸥ι̣α̣⸤τ⸥αι αψα̣[ ]σ̣ερα[
]ι̣μ̣΄ . [ ]τ.[
] . [ ] . [

3 πάντας] ε̣π̣οιχομέν[ους Maehler 5 στεψ]α̣μέν̣ο̣υς γλα[υκ-? Maehler 6 ἀνέρ]ες ἀρχαίο[υ]] . [λ vel μ Maehler, unde μ̣[εμνημένοι -- ⏑⏑ ὅρκου coniecit 7 αὐγαῖσι vel potius . . . . αυγαῖσι Maehler 9 πα]οῖς βουφ[ονίης μελέτω coni. Maehler θύματο]ς ὅπλω[ν Maehler 10-12 Athen. 11.468a-b (3.28-9 Kaibel): δέπαστρον. Σιληνὸς καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐν Γλώσσαις παρὰ Κλειτορίοις τὰ ποτήρια καλεῖσθαι. Ἀντίμαχος δ᾽ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν πέμπτῳ Θηβαίδος φησι· 'πάντα ... προχόῳ' (F21=20 Wyss), καὶ πάλιν· 'ἄλλοι ... κείαται.' κἀν τοῖς ἑξῆς δέ φησι· 'καὶ χρύσεια ... εἴη' (F23=23Wyss) 10 ἄλλος A corr. Schellenberg 12 ἀψά[μενοι fort. Maehler νίκη]ς ἐρα[τεινῆς fort. Maehler

Commentary

Someone, probably Adrastus (*cf.* F21) makes a request that a group of servants fetch a silver bowl and golden drinking cups which lie in his palace (vv.10-12). The context and structure are paralleled by *Od.* 8.254-5:

> Δημοδόκῳ δέ τις αἶψα κιὼν φόρμιγγα λίγειαν
> οἰσέτω, ἥ που κεῖται ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισιν.

Much of the language too is Homeric, e.g. κρητῆρα πανάργυρον (same *sedes*) *Od.* 9.203; 24.275; οἰσέτω *Il.* 19.173 and *Od.* 8.255 (same *sedes*)[98]; ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσι *Od.* 16.269; *cf.* ἐνι μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσι (same *sedes*) *Od.* 4.587; 19.94; κείατο *Il.* 11.162; *Od.* 21.418; 23.47 (all same *sedes*). For the present tense *cf.* κατακείαται *Il.* 24.527.

The most unusual word in the fragment and indeed the reason for Athenaeus' preservation of Fs 19, 21, and 23 is δέπαστρον, found apart from Antimachus (*cf.* F25) only in *Carm. Pop.* 848.8 Page *PMG* (Rhodian Swallow Song) and more recently in a lexicon partially

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[98] For these mixed aorist forms *cf.* second person sing.imperative οἶσε (*Od.*22.106; 481) and the infinitive οἰσέμεν (*Od.*3.429). For their use by Callimachus and Theocritus see A. W. Bulloch (ed.) *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge 1985), 125.

preserved on a papyrus of the mid-3rd century B.C. (*Pap. Hib.* II. 175. Fl.ll, 15-16). Since Silenus and Clitarchus report that the word was used by the Clitorii of Arcadia, we may suspect that it is an ancient survival from Achaean Greek.[99] The Homeric version δέπας (used by Antimachus at F86.1) is found in the form *di-pa* both at Knossos and at Pylos.[100] Eustathius (*Od.* 1914.45) writes that δέπαστρον is found in Lycophron for δέπας, but this may only be an inference from δεπαστραίων ποτῶν (*Alex.* 489). Chantraine refers to the word's formation with 'le suffixe d' instrument -τρον'.[101] Similar formations are κάναστρον, -(α)υστρον (κάνεον) and ζύγαστρον.

Little can be gleaned from the sparse remains of *P. Berol.* In v.3 ἐ̣π̣οιχομέν[ους or -[οι is likely (*cf.* F21.1; 24.1), as is αὐγαῖσι or a compound form thereof in v.7. Maehler's suggestion of a context of sacrifice in v.9 is possible, but his conjectures must remain speculation.[102] Perhaps a form of the verb βουφονεῖν (*cf. Il.* 7.466) is just as likely as the noun βουφονιή (*cf. Callim.* F67.6 Pf).

F20 (24 Wyss)

P. Berol. 21127

Fiii

.....
]. τ̣ . [
...]ι̣σαν[.]ων̣ ⸤ἀτὰρ ἀμφίθετον κελέβειον ἑλόντες
ἔμ⸥πλειον μέ̣λ̣⸤ιτος τὸ ῥά οἱ προφερέστερον ἦεν
..]ον αειρα̣ν̣τ̣[ες
]π̣[ ]ιν̣[ ]σ[
. . . .

2-3 Athen. 11.475 c-e (3.45-6 Kaibel): κελέβη·....ἄδηλον δὲ πότερον εἶδός ἐστι ποτηρίου ἢ πᾶν ποτήριον κελέβη καλεῖται ... Σιληνὸς δὲ καὶ Κλείταρχος τοὺς Αἰολεῖς φασιν οὕτω καλεῖν τὸ ποτήριον. Πάμφιλος δὲ τὸ [ποτήριον] θερμοποτίδα καλούμενον τὴν κελέβην εἶναι. Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις (F138 Schn.) ποιμενικὸν ἀγγεῖον μελιτηρὸν τὴν κελέβην εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ Ἀντίμαχος Κολοφώνιος ἐν

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[99] *Cf.* Wyss 10; C.M. Bowra, *On Greek Margins* (Oxford 1970), 40. For other unusual words at Clitor see Bowra, 28.

[100] Knossos: *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (2nd ed. by John Chadwick, Cambridge 1973), No. 232, 330-331; Pylos: *DMG*² No. 236, 336-337.

[101] P. Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I. 264.

[102] Maehler, 294-5.

πέμπτῳ Θηβαΐδος φησί· 'κήρυκας ... πεπληθός' (F22). καὶ πάλιν· 'ἀτὰρ ... ἧεν.' ἀλλαχοῦ δέ φησιν 'καὶ χρύσεια ... εἴη' (F23)

3 προφερέστερον codd. -έστατον Stoll 4 ἀείραντ[ες Maehler

Commentary

This fragment seems to refer to servants carrying out instructions and is very similar in language to F23.

Worth noting in v.2 is the epithet ἀμφίθετον, a Homeric gloss, ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον (*Il.* 23.270) and ἀμφίθετος φιάλη (616). Athenaeus, in a discussion of the word at 11.501a,[103] shows that the ancients had several opinions about its meaning: 1) a vessel without a base; 2) a vessel which could not be placed and supported on its base, but on its top; 3) a vessel able to be carried by two handles; 4) a vessel that could be positioned on either side (the view of Aristarchus).[104]

Antimachus uses the word to describe a *kelebeion* of honey, a substance that would require a container with a definite base and an obvious right way up. He may well have done so to make clear what must have been his own understanding of ἀμφίθετος, namely 'with two handles'.

The word κελέβειον (also in F22.2 and 23.5), but not attested elsewhere,[105] is a diminutive form of κελέβη which is found three times in the fragments of Anacreon (F356[11](a).2; 383[38].2; 409[64] *PMG*) as a container for wine. Among Hellenistic writers, we find it in Theocr. 2.2; Euphorion F8 and 131 Powell (= 10 and 132 v. Groningen); and Callimachus *Hecale* F34 Hollis (= F246 Pf). It can indicate either a drinking vessel (clearly so in Euph. F8, from a poem called *Arae* or *Poteriocleptes*) or a larger bowl or basin (likely in Callimachus and Euph. F131).[106] It is unclear which of these meanings it bears in Theocritus.[107]

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[103] 3.105 Kaibel; *cf.* the similar discussion of ἀμφικύπελλον at 11.783 b-c (3.21-2 Kaibel).

[104] This explanation is also given by Apoll. Soph. (25 Bekker).

[105] See R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes*, Second Series (*Hypomnemata*, Heft 74, Göttingen 1982), 86 who rightly questions the LSJ[9] citation of an Ionic form in -ήϊον, since in all three passages of Antimachus κελέβειον is guaranteed by the metre.

[106] For Euphorion see van Groningen, *ad loc.*; for Callimachus, see Hollis and Pfeiffer *ad loc.*

[107] See Gow's note, II. 36.

Antimachus' use of κελέβειον as a container for honey is similar to his townsman Nicander's definition of κελέβην (F138 Sch.): ποιμενικὸν ἀγγεῖον μελιτηρόν. The fact that a two-handled vase with a bee above it appears on a coin of Anaphe[108] is no good reason for Wyss to suggest (13 on F24) that the words κελέβη and κελέβειον could have been used by the inhabitants of the island.

Antimachus' preference for κελέβειον over κελέβη may be compared to that for δέπαστρον over δέπας.

The use of a participle, here ἑλόντες, referring to the taking up of the vessel, is a regular feature in libations, e.g. ἔλοισα Sappho F.2.13 Voigt; ἔλων F141.3 Voigt; ἑλών Pind. *O.* 7.1.[109]

For ἔμπλειον as a metrically different form for ἐνίπλειον *cf.* ἐμπλείην κνίσης τε καὶ αἵματος (*Od.* 18.119 and 20.26).

Stoll emended Athenaeus' προφερέστερον both here and in F23 to προφερέστατον in view of φέριστον (F22.2). Homeric usage is not of much assistance since τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐμέ φημι πολὺ προφερέστερον εἶναι (*Od.* 8.221) has a variant προφερέστατον.[110] Conversely ἅλματι δ' Ἀμφίαλος πάντων προφερέστατος ἦεν (8.128) has a variant προφερέστερος (Ludwich, I.168). At *Od.* 12.134, οἵ περ ἐμεῖο βίῃ προφερέστεροί ἐστε, we have a true comparative, as is the case at *Il.* 10.352, ἡμιόνων. αἱ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέσταί εἰσιν. In extant Hesiod, the superlative occurs twice (*Theog,* 79; 361), the comparative never. Emendation is unnecessary since there are many examples in epic from Homer to Nonnus of the use of the comparative in place of the superlative.[111] But it is worth noting that the papyrus seems to read the superlative at F23.6.

21 (20 Wyss)

Athen. 11.468a (3.28-9 Kaibel) (locus = F19)

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[108] See Head, *Hist. Num.*, 482.

[109] *Cf.* C. Brown, in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy* ed. D.E. Gerber (Chico CA, 1984), 39.

[110] See Ludwich, *Homeri Odyssea* I. 173.

[111] See H. White, *Studies in Late Greek Epic Poetry* (Amsterdam 1987), 44, on Quintus Smyrnaeus 12.275. *Cf.* G. Giangrande, *Scr. Min. Alex.* I.12 n.5; T. Keydell, *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca* (Berlin 1959) I.54; M. Campbell fails to notice the many examples, stating that the only instance of the comparative known to him is [Orphic] *Hymn* pr.2 προφερεστέρη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων, adding 'leg. -άτη?' (*Comm. on Q.S. Posthom.* XII, 94).

πάντα μάλ', ὅσσ' Ἄδρηστος ἐποιχομένους ἐκέλευσε
ῥεξέμεν· ἐν μὲν ὕδωρ, ἐν δ' ἀσκηθὲς μέλι χεῦαν
ἀργυρέῳ κρητῆρι, περιφραδέως κερόωντες·
νώμησαν δὲ δέπαστρα θοῶς βασιλεῦσιν Ἀχαιῶν
ἐνσχερὼ ἑστηῶσι, καὶ ἐς λοιβὴν χέον εἶθαρ
χρυσείῃ προχόῳ

1 Ἄδρηστος Stoll -αστος codd. 2 ῥεξέμεν Musurus ῥέξαιμεν codd. χεῦαν Schellenberg χεῦε codd. 5 ἐνσχερὼ Jacobs ἐνχερως codd. ἑστηῶσι Hermann ἑστιῶσι codd.

Commentary

In this fragment, as Wyss (11) suggests, servants follow up on the instructions given by Adrastus in F19 and prepare and serve a drink of water and honey.

In v.2 ῥεξέμεν must be the correct reading. The form is a mixed aorist infinitive, similar to ἀξέμεν (*Il.* 23.111; 668; 24.663 same *sedes*) and οἰσέμεν (*Il.* 18.191; *Od.* 3.429). Such infinitive forms -εμεν(αι) are frequent in the first foot of the hexameter (e.g. δωσέμεν, A.R. 3.367).[112] Schellenberg's χεῦαν is surely correct for the MSS χεῦε.

At v.5, for ἐνχερως ἑστιῶσι (codd.), we should read ἐνσχερὼ ἑστηῶσι as Wyss does. The form ἐνσχερώ occurs in the same *sedes* at A.R. 1.912 (ἐνσχερὼ ἑζόμενοι) and is a metrically convenient alternative to the Homeric ἐπισχερώ (*Il.* 11.668; 18.68; 23.125; *cf.* A.R. 1.330 ἐπισχερὼ ἑδριόωντο), meaning 'in a row', 'one after another'. The word perhaps originated from the Pindaric phrase ἐν σχερῷ (*I.* 5.22).

The participial form ἑστηώς occurs earliest in Hesiod (*Theog.* 519 = 747). Homer uses forms as if from a nominative ἑσταώς. Callimachus in his *Hymn to Artemis* uses both forms, ἑσταότας (v.49, first foot) and ἑστηῶτας (v.134, same *sedes* as Antimachus). Apollonius always uses forms from ἑστηώς.[113]

As Wyss remarks, Antimachus seems to use the phrase as an equivalent to the Homeric ἐπισταδόν, which Apollonius Sophista explains as ἐφεστῶτες.[114] Perhaps in Ap. Soph. we should read

[112] See P. Wahrmann, "Zur Frage des Aoristus mixtus im Griechischen," *Festschrift für Hofrat Dr. Paul Kretschmer* (Berlin /Wien/Leipzig/New York 1926), 311. But Callimachus employs such infinitives only when the metre demands it, *cf.* McLennan, *Callimachus: Hymn to Zeus*, 118 in v.81.

[113] *Cf.* Mooney on A.R. 1.517.

[114] *Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon Homericum*, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin 1833, repr. Hildesheim 1967), 74.

ἐφεστῶτες ἐπὶ στίχου (Tollius), transferring ἐπὶ στίχου from the following line, ἐπιστάμενος, ἐπὶ στίχου ἐν τῇ Ξ Ὀδυσσείας, since it is clear that in the only instance in *Od.* 14, at v.359, ἐπισταμένου cannot possibly mean ἐπὶ στίχου. This change gives us a phrase very near indeed to that of Antimachus. Since Antimachus' phrase so closely resembles a lexical explanation for ἐπισταδόν, it may well be that he is indicating how he understood that Homeric word. But if so, he was probably in error, because the Homeric term is always found referring to the subject of the sentence, meaning 'standing over', e.g. νείκεον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλον ἐπισταδόν (*Od.* 12.392), νώμησεν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπισταδόν (13.54 = 18.425), οἱ δ' ἄρα δόρπον ἐπισταδὸν ὁπλίζοντο (16.453). While the first three examples might also permit a reference to the object or indirect object, in the fourth, the word can only refer to the subject, 'they prepared the meal, standing over it'.[115] All three instances of the word in Apollonius (1.293; 2.84; 4.1687) show it referring to the subject, with the basic meaning of 'standing', although with slightly varied application.

For people standing to pour libations *cf.* *Il.* 16.231; Eurip. *Orestes* 116; A.R. 1.517 (ἑστηῶτες *coni.* Mooney).

In v.1, the participle ἐποιχομένους is used absolutely, in the sense of doing something busily, as at *Il.* 5.720 (*cf.* F24.1, ἐποιχόμενοι).

In v.2, there seems no reason to change ἀσκηθές to ἄκρητον (Stoll, 47-8). Whereas in Homer the word is used of people, usually meaning 'unscathed', here it is used of honey, presumably meaning 'pure', 'untouched' (*cf.* Schellenberg, 59). Wyss cites *IG* 5.2.35 (Tegea 4th c. B.C.), where the word apparently means 'unblemished'.[116]

For ἀργυρέῳ κρητῆρι (v.3) *cf.* ἀργύρεον κρητῆρα (*Il.* 23.741, same *sedes*) and κρητῆρι .../... ἐν ἀργυρέῳ (*Od.* 10.356-7).

The adverb περιφραδέως, 'carefully', is found in Homer curiously only with the verb ὤπτησαν (*Il.* 1.466 = 2.49 = 7.318 = 24.624 = *Od.*14.431; *Od.*19.423), the usual verse being ὤπτησαν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα. The only Hesiodic example is a close variation, ὤπτησαν μὲν πρῶτα, περιφραδέως δ' ἐρύσαντο (F316 M-W, same *sedes* as Antimachus). All of these contexts refer to the preparation of

[115] W.W. Merry (*Homer: Odyssey, Books I-XII* [Oxford 1899], 138 on 12.392) explains the word "the adv. contains the idea of walking from one to another and standing facing him, ..." Stanford (II. 279 on 16.453) suggests "standing close to it", i.e. attentively. Hoekstra agrees with this, but shows how the poet might have thought that the old adverb could mean ἐπισταμένως, as the Schol. suggest (in A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II [Oxford 1989], 285).

[116] *Cf.* L. Leurini in *Tradizione e Innovazione nella Cultura greca da Omero all' Età ellenististica* I (Roma 1993), 155-6.

meat. Antimachus has retained the banquet context, but has transferred the word to the preparation of drink. The adverb is not common in later poetry (e.g. A.R. 1.394; 3.947; Q.S. 11.64), but is used in a wider range of activities.[117]

κερόωντες is an unusual participial form, selected for metrical convenience (*cf.* imperfect κερόωντο *Od.* 8.470; 20.253). The Homeric participial form is κερῶν (*Od.* 24.364).

As Wyss notes, v.4 resembles νώμησεν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενος δεπάεσσιν (*Od.* 7.183). Even closer is the plural version (*Il.* 1.471 = 9.176 = *Od.*3.340 = 21.272). Also worth noting in view of our discussion of ἐνσχερὼ ἑστηῶσι as an equivalent to ἐπισταδόν is νώμησεν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπισταδόν (*Od.*13.54 = 18.425). In all these Homeric contexts, the distribution of cups is followed by libations, as in Antimachus.

To βασιλεῦσιν Ἀχαιῶν we may compare βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 7.106; 23.36; 24.404) and βασιλεύσει Ἀχαιῶν (*Od.* 1.401), all in the same *sedes.*

The word λοιβή, a drink-offering, is found in the singular at *Il.* 4.49; 9.500; 24.70; *Od.* 9.349. For χέον in the sense of pouring *cf.* οἶνον δ' ἐκ δεπάων χαμάδις χέον (*Il.* 7.480). In the *Odyssey* the verb is used only for shedding tears.

Wyss points out that, unlike Antimachus here, Homer always has the last syllable of εἶθαρ in arsis. But one need not go as late as Quintus Smyrnaeus (7.50) to find a writer who follows Antimachus' example. *Cf.* e.g. A.R. 2.408; 3.1313; Callim. F31b Pf.(II.108).

For χρυσείῃ προχόῳ *cf.* προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέροισα/καλῇ χρυσείῃ (*Od.* 1.136-37 = 4.52-53 = 7.172-73 = 10.368-69 = 15.135-36 = 17.91-92).

22 (21 Wyss)

Athen. 11.475c-e (3.45-6 Kaibel) (locus = F20):

κήρυκας ἀθανάτοισι φέρειν μέλανος οἴνοιο
ἀσκὸν ἐνίπλειον κελέβειόν <θ'> ὅττι φέριστον
οἷσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροις κεῖται μέλιτος πεπληθός.

[117] A.R. 3.947 is a very deliberate use, picking up on εὖ φράσσασθαι (918), φράσσασθαι (933), and κακαφραδές (936). *Cf.* H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (München 1968) 407.

1 κήρυκας ἀθανάτοισι codd. κήρῦκας Debrunner κήρυκ' (= κήρυκε) Wyss (=κήρυκα) dubitanter Matthews κήρυκάς θ' ἅμα τοῖσι Jacobs, Stoll 2 θ' ins. Schweighaeuser 3 κεῖται codd. κεῖτο Bergk

Commentary

A herald (or heralds) is requested to offer to the gods a skin full of dark wine and a container filled with honey, the best which lies in the halls (presumably of Adrastus).[118]

The easiest emendation of the unmetrical κήρυκας ἀθανάτοισι of the codices is κήρυκ' ἀθανάτοισι as printed by Wyss. But I fail to see why Wyss writes 'κήρυκ', *id est* κήρυκε *scripsi*'. The plural κήρυκες in F24 is hardly reason for supposing a dual here, rather than a singular. The dual form κήρυκε is very rare, occurring in Homer only at *Il.* 1.321 and 9.685, accompanied in each instance by other dual forms. Here we have no hint of a dual elsewhere in the fragment. We could surely read κήρυκ' for κήρυκα (accusative singular) and understand Adrastus to have instructed a herald to offer to the immortals a skin full of dark wine and a container filled with honey.

But emendation is unnecessary if we scan κήρυκας – ⏑⏑ on the analogy of κήρυκι (– ⏑⏑) Ἠπυτίδῃ (*Il.* 17.324).[119] If this phrase was in fact Antimachus' model, he was probably misled by the practice in early texts of writing out elided vowels (*scriptio plena*), i.e. the proper reading should be κήρῦκ' Ἠπυτίδῃ.[120] The dactylic scansion is defended by Schol. bT *Il.* 17.324 (IV.386 Erbse) and Schol. A *Il.* 10. 258e (III. 53 Erbse), as well as by Herodian (II. 9.19ff. Lentz) and Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* I.2.91.14ff. Hilgard). Antimachus, in his eagerness to exploit unique Homericisms, may have seized upon this phantom κήρῠκ- and reproduced it in his own poem. He may in turn have been the model for the metrical shortenings in Βέβρῠκες (A.R. 2.98) and Βεβρῠκα (Euphorion F77 Powell).[121]

The objection of Stoll (47) that ἀθανάτοισι '*sensus spernit*' is not valid, as Wyss has seen. Gods need not have been present at the

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[118] For heralds given the tasks of mixing wine and pouring libations *cf.* *Il.* 3.248ff; *Od.* 7.163-5; 18.423-6. So too Hermes, the divine herald, at Sappho F141 Voigt/Campbell/L-P. *Cf.* C. Brown in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury* ed. D.E. Gerber (Chico, CA, 1984), 40.

[119] As suggested by A. Debrunner, *Ind. Forsch.* 45 (1927), 180.

[120] *Cf.* R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV, 33; M.W. Edwards, *The Iliad: A Commentary* V, 94.

[121] *Cf.* Leurini, 159.

banquet. The verb φέρειν is equivalent to *offerre* (Wyss), and is used as such by Homer, *cf. Il.* 24.119 (= 147 = 176 = 196) δῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῆι φέρεμεν, τά κε θυμὸν ἰήνῃ. There are also numerous examples in tragedy of such offerings to the dead, e.g. παιδὸς πατρὶ πρευμενεῖς χοὰς / φέρουσ' (Aeschylus *Pers.* 609 ff, *cf. Choeph.* 15 χοὰς φερούσας). In the *Persae*, the libation offerings consist of milk, honey mixed with water, and wine. Euripides at *Iph. Taur.* 162-165 writes of milk, wine, and honey offered to the shade of Agamemnon and at *Orest.* 115 of a mixture of honey and milk and wine offered at the tomb of Clytemnestra. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is instructed to pour libations to the dead, firstly of milk and honey, secondly of wine, and thirdly of water (10.519 = 11.27). For the offering of a container of wine to a deity *cf.* Athen. 11.494f οἱ ... ἔφηβοι εἰσφέρουσι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μέγα ποτήριον πληρώσαντες οἴνου, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἰνιστηρίαν.

It seems clear that μέλανος οἴνοιο/ἀσκὸν ἐνίπλειον and κελέβειον ... / ... μέλιτος πεπληθός must refer to two distinct containers and thus we should accept the insertion of θ' despite the breach of Wernicke's Law, as does Wyss, who supplies two Homeric examples (*Il.* 2.842; 11.83).

To μέλανος οἴνοιο / ἀσκόν we can compare ἀσκὸν ... μέλανος οἴνοιο (*Od.* 5.265; 9.196) and κισσύβιον ... μέλανος οἴνοιο (9.346). It is notable that the phrase shows an awareness of the lost digamma of the early epic.[122] Also Homeric is ἐνίπλειον *cf.* σκύφον/οἴνου ἐνίπλειον (*Od.* 14.112-113).

For the relative ὅττι in this position *cf. Il.* 22.73 and *Od.* 10.44. The superlative φέριστος is rare in Homer compared with φέρτατος, occurring only once in the accusative (*Il.* 9.110) and elsewhere only in the vocative. At *Il.* 23.409 the vocative plural φέριστοι is found at line-end. Closer to Antimachus' usage is that of Apollonius, εἴ τι φέριστον (3.347, line-end).

To ἐνὶ μεγάροις κεῖται we can compare κεῖται ἐνὶ μεγάροις (*Il.* 18.435, ἐνὶ μεγάροις in same *sedes*).

The perfect tense of πλήθω, an intransitive form of πίμπλημι, does not occur in Homer or Hesiod. The earliest attestation is πέπληθα (Pherecrat. F34 Kassel-Austin) i.e. not much earlier than Antimachus. For the participle *cf.* κρήνην ... /ὕδατι πεπληθυῖαν (Theocr. 22.37-38) and πεπληθότα λύθρῳ (Maiistas, p. 70, v.25 Powell).

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[122] *Cf.* M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making," *HSCP* 41 (1930), 93 (= *MHV* 282, *cf.* 399).

F23 (23 Wyss)

P. Berol. 21127

```
F iv
            . . . . . .
            ] . . [                                F vi
            ] . . [                F v
            ] . . [
                                   . . . . .
            ] λ̣ [                  ] . . [              ]εν· [
        καὶ χρύσεια⌋ δέπα⌊στρα καὶ ἀσκηθὲ⌋ς κ⌊ελέβ⌋ειο⌊ν
        ἔμπλειο⌋ν μέλιτ̣⌊ος τὸ ῥά οἱ προφ⌋ερ⌊έστα⌋τον ⌊εἴη
            ]ọịνọ[                 ]ώ̣κ[               ]εν.[
                                      . . . . . .      ς·[
                                                      ] . . [
```

5-6 Athen. 11.468b (3.29 Kaibel) (locus=F19) et 475c-e (3.45-6 Kaibel) (locus=F20) 'καὶ ... εἰή ' 5 ἀσκηθές codd. ἀσκηθὲος Kaibel 6 προφερέστατον pap. Stoll -έστερον codd. Athen. 7 fort.]ọịνọ[Maehler

Commentary

The papyrus adds little to the text as given by Athenaeus other than that wine seems to have been mentioned in v.7. Thus this fragment may follow upon the reference to the offering of a skin full of wine and a container of honey in F22. The lines probably refer to servants carrying out instructions to bring gold cups, a *kelebeion* filled with honey, and a skin of wine.

There is no reason to emend ἀσκηθές (codd.) to ἀσκηθέος to conform to ἀσκηθές μέλι (F21.2). We can understand the phrase as 'an unbroached jar of honey' or 'a jar of untouched honey', an instance of transfered epithet, as Wyss (13) saw.

Verse 6 is almost identical to F20.3, but it is notable that the papyrus seems to support Stoll's emendation of the comparative form to the superlative. Antimachus may very well have used a comparative at F20.3 and a superlative here, to indicate his awareness of the variability of these forms in Homer.

F23A

P. Berol. 21127

F vii

margo .....
]...[ ]..[
]ιστ̣ [.....]οινα[
]. ομ .[..]οσπ̣[
ο]ρ̣νι̣θ[..]ι̣ν̣[
]ε̣ιδ̣υξ[
]ν̣.. βασιλευ̣[
] . π̣ α̣ιαν̣ [
]ι̣α̣φυσσο̣μ̣[
] . ηυτε̣[
] . ρο̣χ[

F viii

......
]δ̣μ[
] . ο̣ [
]ι̣ε̣[
]εδο̣[
] . [
]ο̣[
...

F ix

.....
]...[
]α̣ωνο[
]ο̣υ̣σοιλ̣[
]νηπι[
]ω[.]έσα[
]ναυτ[
]ς δανα[
].. ταρ[
] . μα̣ [
] . ντ[
]ειο̣[
.....

F x

.....
] . [
]ινο. δ. [
]...... οιο̣[
] . οτεκε. [
]αχαιο̣[
]α̣πο̣[
]ῆιο̣ικ̣[
....

F xi

]ροδο̣[
]σαν[
]εγεσκ̣[
]ην[
] . υειν[
]ς αισαν[
] [
]ων[
]στ[
]ο̣κε[
]ευ̣ [
.....

F xii

.....
]..ν̣[
]ω̣γαρ[
] . αυ̣τ̣[
]ιαων̣[
] . στ[
]σφ[
]μφ[
]αω[
]εμ[
]..[
.....

F xiii

....
] . [
] ά̣[
]ατε[
]αχ[
]σω̣[
]αφυ̣[
]΄ρ[
.....

F xiv

.....
]οιδε[
]ρεγω[
]νακ[
]τ̣α̣π̣ε̣[
....

Fxv

]λοι̣[
]γα̣θ[
......

Fxvi

]χεον[
] λάθε̣τ̣[
]. φ. [
.....

Fxvii

]σ̣α[
]σῆι[
]έν[

Fxviii
....
]δρ[
]αμφ[
]νται [
margo

Fxix
....
] . [
]ιλο[
]εκπ[
] ... [

Fxx
....
]αι[
]αγα[
]οσ[
]η[

Fxxi
] α[
] . υ[
] κ . [
] . [

Fxxii
]ηδ[
]τα[ ]ιο[
]αν. . [
]θη̃[
]δε[
] . . [
....

Fxxiii
] . τ[
] . α [
] . . [
] . ενε[
] . ά . [

Fxxiv
] . . [
] . τ [
]αλλ[
margo

Fxxv
] ω[
]γα [
]ο[
] . ε[
....

Fxxvi
...
]η[
]ε[
]θ. . [
......

Fxxvii ....
]απ[
]οι[
]λ[
...

Fxxviii
]ν[
]ε[
]μο[
] . [
....

Fxxix
] . [
]σι[
]α [
] . . ιτο[
]εδ[
....

vii. 4 ?ο]ρνιθ[Maehler 6 fort. βασιλεῦ[σι(ν) Matthews fort. ἀφυσσόμ[ενος (-οι) Matthews 9 prob. ἠύτε Matthews 10 fort.]προχόωι[Matthews ix. 4]νηπι[ος? Maehler xi. 6 fort. λητ̃δο]ς αἶσαν Matthews (cf. *Il.* 18.327, *Od.* 5.40=13.138) xv. 1 et xvi.1 comparat Maehler verbis ἐς λοιβὴν χέον εἶθαρ (F21).
Nomen Amphiarai in xii.7 et xviii.2 coniecit Maehler

Commentary

Little can be made of the remaining scraps of the Berlin papyrus and we can hardly even be sure that they are from Antimachus, although]λοι[(F xv.1) and]χεον[(F xvi.1) do remind one of λοιβὴν χέον in F21.5. Maehler's suggestion that a form of νήπιος (F ix.4) may point to an admonitory response to those making the boastful threats in F27-28 is possible, but unprovable, although my own supplement ληΐδο]ς αἶσαν (F xi.6) could also come from such a context. The presence of]αμφ[(F xviii.2) is too slender a basis to support the suggestion that the speaker is Amphiaraus.

24 (22 Wyss)

Athen. 11. 482f (3.63 Kaibel): κύπελλον ... Ἀντίμαχος δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Θηβαΐδος·

> πᾶσιν δ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἐποιχόμενοι κήρυκες
> χρύσεα καλὰ κύπελλα τετυγμένα νωμήσαντο.

Commentary

Heralds go around to all the leaders and distribute beautiful golden cups, perhaps for the drinking of the wine and honey mentioned in F22..

In v.1 πᾶσιν δ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν is paralleled by πᾶσιν Κυκλώπεσσι (*Od.* 1.71) and πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν (Hes. *Theog.* 1016). The participal ἐποιχομένος is found in the singular in the same *sedes* at *Il.* 10.171; 17.215; 24.759 (= *Od.* 3.280 = 15.411). The feminine ἐποιχόμενη is similarly positioned at *Od.* 5.124 (= 11.173 = 11.199); 6.282; 10.226; 254. For the plural ἐποιχομένοι in the same position *cf.* A.R. 2.455.

Very unusual is κήρυκες at line-end, producing a spondaic fifth foot. Never in Homer, Hesiod, Callimachus or Apollonius is a trisyllabic form of κῆρυξ so positioned.

In v.2 χρύσεα καλὰ κύπελλα recalls a number of traditional epic phrases. While the usual Homeric word order is καλὸς χρύσειος (nine times in the *Odyssey*, twice in the *Iliad*), we do find χρύσεον καλὸν δέπας (*Il.* 24.101) and χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν (*Il.* 5.730). We may cite also μῆλα ... /χρύσεα καλά (Hes. *Theog.* 215-216) and μῆλά τε χρύσεια καλά (Orph. F34.2). For χρύσεα ... κύπελλα *cf.* χρύσεια κύπελλα (*Il.* 3.248; *Od.* 1.142; 4.58; 10.357); χρυσέοισι κύπελλοις (*Il.* 9.666). For χρύσεα ... κύπελλα τετυγμένα *cf.* ἀργύρεον κρητῆρα τετυγμένον (*Il.* 23.741); χρύσεα δῶρα τετυγμένα (*Od.* 16.185); δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα τετυγμένα (20.153).

For such a combination of descriptive terms there are several examples in Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*, e.g. θώρηκα ... /καλόν, χρύσειον, πολυδαίδαλον (*Scutum* 124-125); πέπλον ... /καλόν, χρύσειον, παμποίκιλον (*Hy. Aphr.* 86-89, misplaced in codd.); στεφάνην εὔτυκτον ... /καλήν, χρυσείην (*Hymn* 6. 7-8).

The middle form νωμήσαντο is probably used for metrical reasons as Wyss suggests, but it may also be viewed as an example of *variatio.* The middle voice is found nowhere else in the meaning 'distribute', but Quintus Smyrnaeus does employ the infinitive νωμήσασθαι twice at line-end in the sense of 'brandishing' or 'using' a weapon (σάκος 3.439; τρίαιναν 11.65).

25 (25 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. (*Etym. Magn.* 443.52): θαύμακτρον· παρὰ τὸ θαυμάζω ... Σώφρων· (F120 Kai.) 'φέρε τὸ θαύμακτρον, κἀπιθυσιῶμες' (ita codd. θύμακτρον, κῆπιθ. Kai.). καὶ τὸ ζύγαστρον ἐξενήνεκται παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ (Soph. *Tr.* 692), ὡς καὶ παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ <παρὰ> (inser. Wyss) τὸ δεπάζω δέπαστρον· οἷον·

πλῆσεν δ' ἄρ' ἐπιστέψασ<α> δέπαστρον

[οὐχ ὑγιῶς δὲ ἐχρήσατο τῷ σημαινομένῳ. ἐθήκαμεν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τὴν λέξιν, τὸ δεπαζόμενον: αὐτὸς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ δεπάζοντος, ὡς εἰ πινόμενον εἰρήκει ἀντὶ τοῦ πίνοντος.](interpolatoris verba)

πλῆσεν V -σσεν A -σε B ἐπιστέψασα Blomfield -στρέψας AB -στράψας V -στέψας τὸ Jacobs

Commentary

Wyss is probably correct in seeing this fragment as the end of a hexameter. If this is so, πλῆσεν occurs in the same metrical position at *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 189.

For the ἐπιστρέψας /-στράψας of the MSS, clearly some form of ἐπιστέφειν is required, when we consider κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρες ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο (*Il.* 1.470; *cf.* 9.175; *Od.* 1.148; 3.339; 21.271). For a similar corruption *cf.* Athen. 1.13d ἐπιστρέφονται (cod. E) for ἐπιστέφονται. For στέφειν meaning 'to fill' *cf.* Athen. *ibid.* and 15.674f.[123]

The comments of the interpolator, which Wyss rightly dismisses as absurd, are perhaps to be explained by his misunderstanding of ἐπιστέφειν. If he thought that δέπαστρον meant not the drinking vessel but the drinker, he must have imagined that the verb meant 'to crown' or 'to garland'. His confusion also suggests that Jacob's ἐπιστέψας τὸ δέπαστρον cannot be correct. It is best to accept Blomfield's ἐπιστέψασα, as Wyss does.

If this fragment too belongs to Bk. 5, it is tempting to imagine one of the daughters of Adrastus, Deipyle or Argeia, pouring the wine for her future husband (Tydeus or Polynices respectively). But other contexts or occasions may be possible, *cf.* *Il.* 4.2, where Hebe pours for the assembled gods.

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[123] *Cf.* Stephanie West's note on ἐπεστέψαντο (*Od.* 1.148) in *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, I. ed. Alfred Heubeck, Stephanie West, and J.B. Hainsworth (Oxford 1988), 95.

26 (26 Wyss)

Athen 11.486a (3.70 Kaibel): λοιβάσιον· κύλιξ, ὥς φησι Κλείταρχος (Κλέαρχος codd.) καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Θυατειρηνός * * * (lac. ind. Kaibel) ᾧ τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπισπένδουσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, σπονδεῖον δὲ ᾧ τὸν οἶνον, καλεῖσθαι λέγων λοιβίδας καὶ (ita codd. καὶ λοιβίδας Kaibel) τὰ σπονδεῖα ὑπὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Κολοφωνίου.

Commentary

Antimachus is said to have used the word λοιβίδας, presumably from a nominative singular λοιβίς, to describe drinking vessels for wine which were usually called σπονδεῖα. The word is clearly related to the better attested λοιβάσιον and λοιβεῖον and is another example of Antimachus using an unusual form instead of a more common one, *cf.* δέπαστρον / δέπας, κελέβειον/κελέβη, βασιλεύτωρ / βασιλεύς. Antimachus also innovates in applying a word that normally denoted a vessel used for libations of olive oil to a cup for drinking wine. The gloss in Hesychius λοιβίδες· σπονδεῖα (II.606 Latte) would appear to be taken from Antimachus, but the word is also attested at Eleusis in the 4th century B.C. (*I.G.*2^2.1541.12).

Since Antimachus is said to have used the word for a cup for drinking wine, it is best to group the fragment with those previous ones related to the drinking of the mixture of wine and honey.

27 (27 Wyss)

Tzetzes in Lycophr. 590 (2.202.20 Scheer): μέμνηται δὲ (Dymae) ... καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Θηβαΐδι·

ὡς ἐπαπειλήτην ὥσπερ Καυκωνίδα Δύμην
ἐπραθέτην παίδεσσιν Ἐπειῶν ἀρχεύοντες.

Strabo 8.7.5 (*cf.* Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F190-1): τοῦ δ' Ἀντιμάχου Καυκωνίδα τὴν Δύμην εἰπόντος, οἱ μὲν ἐδέξαντο ἀπὸ τῶν Καυκώνων ἐπιθέτως εἰρῆσθαι αὐτὸ μέχρι δεῦρο καθηκόντων, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προείπομεν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Καύκωνος ποταμοῦ τινος, ὡς αἱ Θῆβαι Διρκαῖαι καὶ Ἀσωπίδες, Ἄργος δ' Ἰνάχειον, Τροία δὲ Σιμουντίς. Id. 8.3.11: λεγομένης δὲ καὶ τῆς Δύμης Καυκωνίδος ὑπό τίνων.

Steph. Byz. 241.19 Meineke: Ἀντίμαχος δὲ Καυκωνίδα φησὶν αὐτὴν (Dymam) ἀπὸ Καύκωνος ποταμοῦ.

Strabo 8.3.17: οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅλην τὴν νῦν Ἠλείαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσσηνίας μέχρι Δύμης Καυκωνίαν λεχθῆναί φασιν. Ἀντίμαχος γοῦν καὶ Ἠλείους (ita Wyss: Ἐπειοὺς codd.) καὶ Καύκωνας ἅπαντας προσαγορεύει.

1 ὡς codd. ὥς Stoll ὦ δ' vel ὤ δ' Dübner

Commentary

As Wyss points out, there is no need to emend ἀρχεύοντες (codd.) since in Homer a plural participle is used where one would expect a dual.[124] It seems safe to assume that ἐπαπειλήτην and ἐπραθέτην are third person duals, not second person.[125]

With ὡς ἐπαπειλήτην *cf.* ὥς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησεν (*Il.* 14.45), of the threats of Hector. Wyss is probably right in assuming that two guests of Adrastus threaten to act at Thebes as they did when they sacked Dyme. The correlative combination ὥς ... ὥσπερ ... , 'thus ...even as ...' is not found in Homer; indeed ὥσπερ seldom has an antecedent expressed, e.g. *Il.* 24.487, *cf.* LSJ⁹. But there is an epic parallel in ὣς δ' αὔτως πάντεσσι διαμπερές, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη, / ἐξετέλεσσ' (Hesiod, *Theog.* 402). In the dramatists and Attic prose, ὥσπερ is frequent with demonstratives (both before and after) e.g. ὥσπερ ... ὧδ' ... (Soph. *OT* 276); οὕτως ὥσπερ (*Tr.* 475).

The second aorist form from πέρθω is not as common as the first aorist, but we do find ἔπραθον (third plural *Il.* 18.454, first singular *Od.* 9.40; ἔπραθεν Hesiod F43a. 62 M-W).

The epic-sounding periphrasis παίδεσσιν Ἐπειῶν is analogous to the Homeric υἷες Ἀχαιῶν, but the latter always occurs at line-end (i.e. after bucolic diaeresis). The only examples in the Homeric corpus of παῖδες in such a phrase are παῖδες δὲ Τρώων (*Od.* 11.547) and παῖδες Ἐλευσινίων (*Hymn Dem.* 266). But here, rather than meaning simply 'Eleusinians', as Wyss suggests, the phrase probably means 'the young men (or boys) of Eleusis'.[126] So if Antimachus is imitating Homeric usage, he is perhaps also influenced by more recent predecessors such as οἱ Λυδῶν παῖδες (Hdt. 1.27); Ἰώνων παῖδας (5.49); παῖδες Ἑλλήνων (Aesch. *Pers.* 402); παῖδες Ἑλλάνων (Eurip. *Hec.* 930); παισὶν ... Αἰτναίων (Pind. *N.* 9.30); παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων (*I.*

[124] E.g. *Il.* 11.127, 16.219; *cf.* Monro, *GHD*, 162, §173.2.
[125] *Cf.* Monro, *GHD*, 6.
[126] *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, ed. N. J. Richardson (Oxford 1974), 248.

3.54, also F118 Snell-Maehler); παῖδες 'Αθαναίων (F77 Snell-Maehler).[127]

In using ἀρχεύειν with the dative, Antimachus follows Homer, *cf.* ἄρχευ' Ἀργείοισι (*Il.* 2.348) and ἀρχεύειν Τρώεσσι (5.200). Apollonius, on the other hand, uses the genitive (1.347). It is noteworthy that these two lines both exhibit spondees in the fourth foot and the second line also in the fifth, a very unusual occurrence.[128]

Wyss states that no other testimony exists concerning the sack of Dyme, but a fragment of Euphorion invokes the tutelary goddess of the city: ἥτις ἔχεις κληῖδας ἐπιζεφύριοιο Δυμαίης (F121 Powell = 125 v. Groningen).[129]

In this fragment, as in others concerning Amphigenia (F182) and Parthenopaeus (F17), Antimachus presents a version apparently at variance with common tradition. Dyme is, of course, well-known as an Achaean city, e.g. Steph. Byz. 240.16 Meineke: Δύμη· πόλις 'Αχαίας, ἐσχάτη πρὸς δύσιν, ὅθεν καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασιν (F395 Pf.) 'εἰς Δύμην ἀπιόντα τὴν 'Αχαι[ῶν]'; Strabo 8.3.4: Δύμης, 'Αχαϊκῆς πόλεως.[130] Yet Antimachus calls it Cauconian, apparently without explaining whether it was so called from the Caucones who dwelt there, or from a river Caucon (*cf.* Strabo 8.7.5).[131] The statement of Stephanus that Antimachus called Dyme Cauconian from the river Caucon is merely a faulty excerpt on his part from Strabo and proves nothing. In fact, Strabo's οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δ' ... may imply that these unnamed sources were simply guessing.

The discussion of Strabo (8.3.17) presents two opinions on where the Caucones lived: a) the whole area in the geographer's time called Elis, from Messenia to Dyme, was once called Cauconia and, he says, Antimachus called all the inhabitants both Elean and Cauconian,[132] b) the Caucones did not occupy all of the later Elea,

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[127] It is hard to agree with Renehan that the origin of this idiom is to be seen in δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀντιόωσιν (*Il.*6.127 = 21.151), since the sense is that the impending death of the sons would make the fathers or parents δυστήνων (*cf.* Renehan, *Gk. Lex. Notes* [*Hypomn.*45], 156).

[128] *Cf.* West, *Greek Metre*, 154 n.47.

[129] The goddess is probably Athena, *cf.* Paus. 7.17.9 on her temple and statue at Dyme.

[130] *Cf.* Paus. 7.17.6; *RE* v.2.1877 (Philippson).

[131] The suggestions and conclusions which I present here I have stated at greater length and in detail in *Eranos* 85(1987), 91-97.

[132] The reading 'Ηλείους adopted by Wyss for Ἐπειούς (codd.) is probably correct, since in Antimachus the Epeans are clearly different from and indeed enemies of the Caucones. Bölte (*RE* xi. 1.66) is in error in assuming that the two fragments of

but lived there in two divisions, one in Triphylia near Messenia, the other near Dyme in Bouprasis and Hollow Elis. Strabo states that Aristotle knew of Caucones in Hollow Elis particularly (F493 Rose), but unfortunately there is no mention of Caucones in extant Aristotle.

The ubiquitous presence of Dyme in Strabo's discussion (8.3.11 ff.) of where these Caucones lived is probably due to the fact that Antimachus called the city Cauconian.[133] But in fact it is possible that Antimachus is not referring to Achaean Dyme at all, i.e. by 'Cauconian Dyme' he means a place quite distinct from the well-known town in Achaea.

I believe that Antimachus' reference to Cauconian Dyme indicates that in his own edition of Homer he retained *Od.* 15.295, reading βὰν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ παρὰ Δύμην.[134] This line is missing from all manuscripts of the *Odyssey* and is recorded only by Strabo, who gives both Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεθρον (8.3.26) and Χαλκίδα πετρήεσσαν (10.1.9).[135] The line was either rejected outright or emended as in the versions of Strabo because καὶ παρὰ Δύμην created a problem in that the passage apparently placed Dyme south of Elis.[136]

Antimachus' solution was different and novel. If the town lay north of Cruni and Chalcis yet south of Elis where the Epeans rule, then it could not be Achaean Dyme, but a Dyme in Triphylia in a location similar to that of Homer's Caucones (*Od.* 3.366), hence 'Cauconian' Dyme.[137]

If my suggestion is correct, Antimachus' treatment of the problem of Homeric Dyme stands in interesting contrast to that of later Homeric scholars. While they tended to reject problematical lines or

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Antimachus are contradictory. For a similar confusion *cf.* 'Ηλείους for 'Επειούς at Strabo 8.3.8.

[133] For discussion see Matthews, *Eranos* 85(1987), 92-3.

[134] I.e. apart from βάν for βῆ the line is identical to *Hom. Hy. Ap.* 425.

[135] Chalcis is the name of both a river and a settlement nearby (Strabo 8.3.13), hence the variants, one suiting a river, the other a place; *cf. Eranos* 85, 94.

[136] For the passage *Od.* 15.295-8, I suggest the verse order 296, 295, 298, 297 despite the geographical errors thereby created (for discussion see *Eranos* 85, 95). Homer's knowledge of geography was not infallible, *cf.* van der Valk, *Textual Criticism of the Odyssey* (Leiden 1949), 90; Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), 208.

[137] For Caucones in Triphylia *cf.* Hdt. 1.147; 4.148; at Lepreum, Callim. *Hymn* 1.39; Zenodotus *ap.* Athen. 10.412a; Strabo 8.3.11; 8.3.16 (a tomb of Caucon at Lepreum, *cf.* Caucon father of Lepreus, Aelian *VH* 1.24).

to emend troublesome phrases, Antimachus in this instance preferred to preserve the Homeric text by inventing another place of the same name to fit the geographical context. He then, like the Hellenistic scholar-poets whose predecessor he was, revealed how he thought Homer should be understood by mentioning this Cauconian Dyme in his own epic. We already possess a number of Antimachean Homeric readings that are apparent from his own poetic usage,[138] and I would argue that καὶ παρὰ Δύμην in *Od.* 15.295 should be added. Since Homeric Dyme is close by 'goodly Elis where the Epeans rule,' (15.298) it is not surprising that Antimachus should tell of Epeans attacking it in F27-28.[139]

Clearly however, Antimachus' ingenious attempt to vindicate Homer's geography did not succeed, as can be seen from the absence of v.295 from the codices. and the emended version quoted by Strabo. In fact, Antimachus' reference to Cauconian Dyme was misunderstood by posterity. Later writers, not surprisingly since there was no other evidence for the non-existent place, simply supposed that Antimachus called the Achaean Dyme Cauconian.[140] This led to the erroneous belief that there were Caucones in N. Elis and W. Achaea, as well as in Triphylia, or alternatively, that they inhabited the whole area from Messenia to Achaea.[141]

Callimachus, often in dispute with Antimachus,[142] mentions both Caucones (*Hymn* 1.39) and Dyme (F395 Pf.), but it is difficult to determine what his views were on their relationship. McLennan has suggested that his reference to Καυκώνων πτολίεθρον, ὃ Λέπρειον πεφάτισται may be a part of a literary polemic.[143] When this refer-

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[138] *Cf.* F57; 68; 74; 149; 156; Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* 94.

[139] *Cf.* Wyss, 15-16. D.W.T.C. Vessey (*Philologus* 114 [1970], 136) says rather misleadingly 'According to Antimachus, Dyme was in the territory of the Epeans.' His further statement 'it is not unlikely that Antimachus is referring to the same campaign' which Nestor mentions at *Il.* 11.709 ff. (Pylians versus Epeans) is not convincing. Antimachus is clearly referring to a conflict between Epeans and Caucones.

[140] But Hecataeus too must have read καὶ παρὰ Δύμην in his text of Homer. Certainly that would seem the best explanation for *FGrHist* 1F121 (= Strabo 8.3.9) φησὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Δύμην Ἐπεΐδα καὶ Ἀχαΐδα, i.e. Hecataeus said that Dyme was both Epean and Achaean, or that there was an Epean and an Achaean Dyme. Presumably he read καὶ παρὰ Δύμην at *Od.* 15.295 and was also influenced by the phrase ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί (15.298).

[141] The two opinions are discussed by Strabo (8.3.17) and the belief is perpetuated in *RE* xi. 1.66 *s.v.* Kaukones (Bölte).

[142] F398 and 589 Pf., with commentary; Wyss xlvi; V.J. Matthews, *Mnemosyne* XXXII (1980), 133.

[143] G.R. McLennan, *Callimachus: Hymn to Zeus* (Rome 1977), 71 on v.39.

ence is coupled with ἐς Δύμην ἀπιόντα τὴν Ἀχαι[ῶν] (F395 Pf.), it is tempting to sum up Callimachus' position as a correction to Antimachus, i.e. 'the Cauconian city was called Lepreum, Dyme was an Achaean city.' But it is possible that F395 may mean 'Dyme, the Achaean city (to be distinguished from any other Dyme)' and the reference to Lepreum as a city of the Caucones hardly precludes the existence of other Cauconian cities.

28 (28 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 242.1 Meineke: Δύμη ... λέγεται καὶ Δύμιος ὡς Βοίβη Βοίβιος. Ἀντίμαχος ἐν πέμπτῳ Θηβαΐδος·

> ἐν δέ νυ τοῖσι μάλα πρόφρων ἐπίκουρος ἀμορβέων
> ὠμίλησ', εἵως διεπέρσατε Δύμιον ἄστυ.

1 δέ νυ Meineke δὲ σὺ codd. ἐπίκουρος ἀμορβέων codd. ἐπίουρος ἀμορβῶν Jacobs 2 ὠμίλησ' εἵως Meineke ωμιλησιεως codd. (ιε in rasura R) ὠμίλησα τέως διέπερσά τε Bergk ὠμίλησας, ἕως Jacobs (servato σὺ v.1)

Commentary

The situation appears to be that someone at the banquet follows up the speech of one of the two Epean leaders who sacked Dyme by stating that he too took part in those events. Presumably he was fighting on the other side, on behalf of the defenders of Dyme. The use of νυ denotes his emphasis or surprise when he realised the circumstances. Wyss aptly compares the words of Diomedes when he hears the story of Glaucus, ἦ ῥά νύ μοι ξεῖνος πατρώϊός ἐσσι παλαιός (*Il.* 6.215).

Antimachus' two lines are reminiscent of Homer in both form and language. A good parallel is found in Priam's words:

> καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπίκουρος ἐὼν μετὰ τοῖσιν ἐλέχθην
> ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε τ' ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι (*Il.* 3.188-9).

For ἐν ... τοῖσι ... /ὠμίλησ(α), *cf.* ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ (*Il.* 18.194); ἐν δ' Ἔρις, ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς ὁμίλεον, ἐν δ' ὀλοὴ Κήρ (18.535).

The phrase μάλα πρόφρων is paralleled by μάλα πρόφρασσα (*Il.* 21.500; *Od.* 5.161). The word ἐπίκουρος is common in Homer, although only once in this *sedes* (ἐπίκουροι ἔνειμεν *Il.* 5.477). It occurs with a participle in the phrase ἐπίκουρος ἐών (*Il.* 3.188; 5.478).

But the most interesting word in the fragment is ἀμορβέων which occurs only here. As Stoll (50) noted, Antimachus seems to use it more as an epithet than as a participle, 'quo significaret auxiliatorem eos, quibus auxilio venerit, fideliter sequentem.' After Antimachus, words from the stem ἀμορβ- are frequent in Hellenistic writers.[144] It is just possible, however, that the noun ἀμορβοί was used by Homer. At *Il.* 13.793, οἵ ῥ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης ἐριβώλακος ἦλθον ἀμοιβοί, Nauck conjectured ἀμορβοί, which does make good sense in the context, but it is seldom sound practice to replace one Homeric *hapax* with another.[145] In any case, in view of the presence of ἐπίκουρος in the fragment, Antimachus could have created ἀμορβέω on the analogy of ἐπικουρέω, a verb used only once in Homer (all that would be necessary for Antimachus) in a participial form, ἑ μοῖρα/ἦγ' ἐπικουρήσοντα μετὰ Πρίαμον (*Il.* 5.613-4).

In v.2 for διεπέρσατε *cf.* εἰς ὅ κέ περ Τροίην διαπέρσομεν (same *sedes*, *Il.* 9.46). For the verb with ἄστυ *cf.* πέρσας ἄστεα (*Il.* 2.660), διαπραθέειν τόδε ἄστυ (7.32), ἄστυ διαπραθέειν (11.732). But the type of phrase -ιον (ethnic) ἄστυ, instead of the name of a city, although quite common and early, is not Homeric. Examples prior to Antimachus include Σιδώνιον ἄστυ (Phryn. Trag. 3F9.1 *TGF*, also Eurip. F819.1 Nauck[2]), Κορίνθιον ἄστυ (Simon. F10.3 West), Τιρύνθιον ἄστυ (Bacch. 11.57), Φεραῖον ἄστυ (Eurip. *Alc.* 480).[146]

Quintus Smyrnaeus twice echoes the Antimachean phrasing, with Τρώιον ἄστυ/περσέμεν (12.19-20) and ὡς Δαναοὶ πέρσαντες ὑπαὶ πυρὶ Τρώιον ἄστυ (14.9).[147]

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[144] E.g. ἀμορβός (Callim. *Hy.* 3.45; *Hecale* F117 Hollis = F301 Pf.; Nic. *Ther.* 49; [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.132; possibly Euphor. 415 *SH* col. ii 15, ἀμο[ρβοί Maas, ἀμο[ρβήν vel ἀμο[ιβήν LJ-P); ἀμορβεύς ([Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.295); ἀμορβάς (A.R. 3.881); ἀμορβαῖος (Nic. *Ther.* 28; 489); ἀμορβεύω (Nic. F90; middle, *Ther.* 349); ἀμορβεύεσκεν (Callim. *Hecale* F76 Hollis = F271 Pf.). The etymology is unknown, *cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I. 77. On these words see R. Arena, *RIL* 111 (1977), 285-302, Hollis on *Hecale* F76, 260-61, W. J. Slater, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (Berlin/New York 1986), 110 on F330, and N. Krevans, *Hell. Groning.* I, 153.

[145] A. Nauck, *Mel. gr.-rom.* II. 429; see Ludwich's *apparatus* II. 58; *LfgrE* 4.

[146] See Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* I. 83 on F75.74; M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomerica* XII (Leiden 1981), 11 on v.19.

[147] Wyss' citation of Q.S. 4.478 διέπραθε Τρώιον ἄστυ is unfortunate in that ὄλβιον is the better reading; see F. Vian's *apparatus ad loc.*

29 (30 Wyss)

Schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* 242a (*Scholia Platonica*, 78 Greene): ('μεσημβρία ... σταθερά ') σταθερὸν τὸ σφόδρα θερμόν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ θέρει μεσημεριας (sic)· καὶ Ἀντίμαχος

θέρεος σταθεροῖο

καὶ τὸ ἑστὼς δὲ καὶ ἠρεμοῦν σταθερὸν λέγουσιν.

Suda (IV.423.9 Adler) et Phot. *Lex.* (II.173 Naber): σταθερόν· ... Ἀντίμαχος 'θέρεος σταθεροῖο'.

Commentary

The ancient scholiasts seem to have believed that Antimachus used the adjective σταθερός in the sense of 'hot'.

Wyss is probably correct in assuming that Antimachus took the word from Attic usage, but the early attested examples, i.e. σταθεροῦ χεύματος (Aesch. F276 Radt) and σταθερὰ κάλυξ ἥβης (Aristoph. F483 Kassel-Austin) do not show it in a similar context or meaning. The word is found in a similar meaning in Plato *Phaedrus* 242a: ἦ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὡς σχεδὸν ἤδη μεσημβρία ἵσταται ἡ δὴ καλουμένη σταθερά; But the phrase ἡ δὴ καλουμένη σταθερά looks very much like a gloss by a commentator who derived σταθερά from ἵστημι.[148] This derivation suggests that the epithet refers to high noon, when the sun appears to be standing still. On the other hand, if we believe that the phrase ἡ δὴ καλουμένη σταθερά is genuinely Platonic, we can perhaps clear the philosopher of the charge of tautology by supposing that he derived the word from σταθεύω, i.e. 'scorching' or 'hot'[149].

The earliest undisputed use of σταθερός in a similar context is by Heraclides Ponticus, ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ σταθερᾷ.[150] The only other known epic example is σταθερὸν ... ἦμαρ (A.R. 1.450). Apollonius writes of the sun passing this time of day and sloping toward the evening darkness, δειελινὸν ... ζόφον (452). This suggests that σταθερὸν ... ἦμαρ denotes a period similar to Homer's μέσον ἦμαρ (*Il.* 21.111), which is distinguished from both ἠώς and δείλη, and presum-

[148] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 110; W.H. Thompson, *The Phaedrus of Plato* (1868; repr. New York 1973), 35.

[149] *Cf.* Thompson, *ibid.*

[150] Proclus in Plat. *Repub.* 2.119 Kroll = F93 Wehrli.

ably means the part of the day just before and after noon, when the sun's slow motion might appear stationary. Apollonius' σταθερὸν ... ἦμαρ is very close to Heraclides' μεσημβρίᾳ σταθερᾷ which suggests that Wyss is mistaken in saying that Apollonius imitated Antimachus. Apollonius has merely created an epic version of a phrase found in Attic prose. Antimachus on the other hand, more than a century earlier than the Rhodian, has boldly applied the use of σταθερός referring to the 'stationary' mid-part of the day to the mid-part of summer[151]. This is of course also the hot season, but, despite the scholiasts, it is unlikely that Antimachus intended the word to mean 'hot'. As Wyss suggests, the context of the fragment is possibly the occasion when the Argive army on the way to Thebes was afflicted with drought. The fullest account of this story is that of Statius (4.680ff).[152]

30 (31 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. ex Oro (*Etym. Magn.* 710.21): σειραίνω· σημαίνει τὸ ξηραίνω, ὡς λέγει Ὦρος ὁ Μιλήσιος· παρὰ τὸν σείριον τὸν ἀστέρα ... ἔνιοι δὲ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα σείρια καλοῦσι, τείρια ὄντα (*Od.* 18.485 τείρεα) καὶ σημεῖα τῶν πλεόντων. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος σειρῆνα τὸν Δία ἔφη, διὰ τὸ ἄστρον.

σειρῆνα Blomfield σείρινα codd.

Commentary

The correct form of the word used by Antimachus is not certain. The form σειρῆνα was suggested by Blomfield from Eust. *in Od.* 1709.54 Σειρῆνες, τὰ ἄστρα. σείρια γὰρ καλοῦνται παρὰ τὸ σειριᾶν, ὅ ἐστιν ἀστράπτειν.[153] He also put forward as possibilities σείριον τὸν Διὸς ἔφη Διὸς (or Δία) τὸ ἄστρον or σείριον τὸ Διὸς ἔφη ἄστρον. It is also possible that for διὰ τὸ ἄστρον we might read Δία· τὸ ἄστρον, an explanation by the compiler of *Etym. Gen.* or a gloss by a copyist.[154]

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[151] *Cf.* Thompson, *ibid.*, who suggests that Antimachus' use refers to 'mid-summer' or the summer solstice.

[152] *Cf.* Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid*, 170.

[153] C.I. Blomfield, *Class. Journ.* VII (1811), 234.

[154] For the name Zeus by itself meaning the planet Jupiter *cf. Placit. Philos.* 2.32.1

According to this fragment, Antimachus called Zeus σειρῆνα. The ἄστρον in question is most likely the planet Jupiter as Wendel suggests.[155] Wyss, who would relate this fragment to the previous one, understands Δία σειρῆνα as *Iovem torrentem*,[156] perhaps a fairly natural assumption in view of the numerous references linking the star Sirius with great heat.[157] We are told, however, that some called all the stars σείρια (*Etym. Gen.*; *Etym. Magn.*), a particular case being Ibycus (F314 *PMGF*) σείρια παμφανόωντα.[158] Schol. A.R. 2.498-527q tells that οἱ ἀστρολόγοι called τοὺς ἐν κινήσει ὄντας ἀστέρας λαμπρούς (*v.l.* στίλβοντας) by this name. This must surely refer to the planets as distinct from the fixed stars.

The fact that σείρια can refer to the planets or indeed to all stars suggests that the idea of 'searing', 'scorching' associated with the star Sirius need not apply to all uses of the word and its cognates. West has suggested (following Frisk *s.v.*) that the word σείριος is probably adjectival in origin, meaning 'sparkling'.[159] Such a meaning for σειρῆνα referring to the planet Jupiter is in keeping with the name Phaethon sometimes used for the planet.[160]

I fail to see by what *simili ratione* (Wyss) Apollonius can be said to attribute the opposite epithet Ἰκμαῖος to Zeus at 2.522. The context in Apollonius is that of Aristaeus building an altar to Zeus Icmaeus and sacrificing to Sirius and to Zeus for respite from great heat. Far from being *torrens*, Zeus in fact, the bringer of rain, sends the Etesian winds to cool the land.[161] Nor does the planet Jupiter appear to be associated with scorching heat elsewhere, but rather with clear air and moderate warmth.[162]

(*Dox. Graec.* ed. H. Diels [Berlin 1879] 363); Nonn. *Dionys.* 38.230; 384; Cleomedes Astron. 2.7 (ed. H. Ziegler [Leipzig 1891]).

155 Schol. A.R. 2.498-527q (*apparatus*, 171).

156 *Cf.* Stoll, 90.

157 See West's note to Hesiod *Op.* 417.

158 = Theon Smyrn. 146 Hiller; *cf.* Phot. *Lex.* (II.156 Naber); Hesych. *s.v.* σείριος; *Suda s.v.* σείριον (IV.347 Adler).

159 West, on Hes. *Op.* 417.

160 E.g. Arist. *de Mundo* 392 a 24; Alex. Eph. F21.7 and 14 *SH*; Plut. *Mor.* 1029B; Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 2.20.52.

161 *Cf.* the very similar accounts of Callim. F75.32-7, Euphorion F443 *SH* and Nonnus, *Dionys.* 5.269-279, with the discussion of A.S. Hollis, *CQ* XXVI (1976), 146-7.

162 E.g. *Sub Jove temperies et numquam turbidus aer* (Lucan 10.207); *his interiecta* (i.e. between Saturn and Mars) *Iovis inlustret et temperet* (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 2.46.119).

31 (32 Wyss)

Pausan. 8.25.7 (2.273-4 Rocha-Pereira): τὴν δὲ Δήμητρα τεκεῖν φασιν (Thelpusii) ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θυγατέρα, ἧς τὸ ὄνομα ἐς ἀτελέστους λέγειν οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ ἵππον τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀρκάδων πρώτοις Ἵππιον Ποσειδῶνα ὀνομασθῆναι. ἐπάγονται δὲ ἐξ Ἰλιάδος ἔπη καὶ ἐκ Θηβαΐδος μαρτύριά σφισιν εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἐν μὲν Ἰλιάδι ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀρίονα πεποιῆσθαι· 'οὐδ' εἴ κεν μετόπισθεν Ἀρίονα δῖον ἐλαύνοι, Ἀδρήστου ταχὺν ἵππον, ὃς ἐκ θεόφιν γένος ἦεν' (*Il.* 23.346-7). ἐν δὲ τῇ Θηβαΐδι ὡς Ἄδραστος ἔφευγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν 'εἵματα λυγρὰ φέρων (ita codd. fort. φορῶν Davies) σὺν Ἀρίονι κυανοχαίτῃ' (F6 Davies *EGF*). αἰνίσσεσθαι οὖν ἐθέλουσι τὰ ἔπη Ποσειδῶνα Ἀρίονι εἶναι πατέρα, Ἀντίμαχος δὲ παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς φησιν·

Ἄδρηστος Ταλαῶ υἱὸς Κρηθηιάδαο
πρώτιστος Δαναῶν εὐαινέτω ἤλασεν ἵππω,
Καιρόν τε κραιπνὸν καὶ Ἀρίονα Θελπουσαῖον,
τόν ῥά τ' Ἀπόλλωνος σχεδὸν ἄλσεος Ὀγκαίοιο
αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέδωκε, σέβας θνητοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι.

Choerobosc. in Theod. 1.375.1 Hilg.: τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀττικῶν γενικῶν κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ο γινόμενα, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ ὀξυτόνων γενικῶν Ἀττικῶν ὦσι, προπερισπῶνται, οἷον Πετεώ Πετεῶο (*Il.* 2.552; 4.338) ... Ταλαώ Ταλαῶο, ὡς παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ.

1 Ἄδρηστος Stoll -αστος codd. Ταλαῶ Stoll et al. Ταλαῷ codd. Ταλαῶ' Siebelis, Dübner, Wyss (e Choerobosco, sed fortasse ad F189.2 pertinens) 2 εὐαινέτω Hermann ἑῶ αἰνέτω codd. 3 Καιρόν codd. Κραιρόν Valckenaer Ἀρίονα codd. Ἀρείονα Stoll (Eustath. auctore ad *Il.* 23.346), Siebelis (ubique in Paus.)

Commentary

This fragment appears to belong to a description of a chariot race, probably from a funeral games, most likely those for Opheltes/Archemorus, established at Nemea by Adrastus.[163] Adrastus himself drives a two-horse team, which includes the famous divine horse Arion.

Apollodorus (*Bibl.*3.6.4) tells that Adrastus was the winner of the horse race at Nemea (ἵππῳ... ἐνίκησεν Ἄδραστος), perhaps meaning

[163] Prior to Antimachus, the story had been the subject of a lost play of Aeschylus (apparently titled *Nemea*, F149a Radt) and was also treated by Bacchylides (8.10ff.) and, probably at some length, in Euripides' *Hypsipyle*. See the edition of G. W. Bond (Oxford 1963), especially the papyrus hypothesis (195) on page 21 and F60.102ff. (page 43), with the editor's discussion, 18-19.

the chariot race. Statius included funeral games for Archemorus in his *Thebaid*, featuring a four-horse chariot race (*cf.*6.503), in which Arion took part (6.296ff.), although with Polynices as his driver (316). Polynices was thrown from the chariot and Arion denied the victory.[164]

The language of v. 1, with υἱός accompanied by a father's name in the genitive coupled with a patronymic, has several parallels in early epic, especially υἱός τ' Ἰφίκλοιο Ποδάρκης Φυλακίδαο (Hes. F199.5 M-W); *cf.* Ἰφίκλου υἱὸς πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο (*Il.*2.705); Μηκιστέος υἱὸς Ταλαϊονίδαο ἄνακτος (2.566 = 23.678); υἱὸς Ἀγασθένεος Αὐγηιάδαο ἄνακτος (2.624); υἱὸς Πολυνήου Τεκτονίδαο (line-end, *Od.*8.114); Νίσου φαίδιμος υἱός, Ἀρητιάδαο ἄνακτος (16.395 = 18.413); υἱὸς Ἀφείδαντος Πολυπημονίδαο ἄνακτος (24.305).

The emendation Ταλαῷ' (Ταλαῶο) is accepted by Wyss because Choeroboscus reports that Antimachus employed that form. The form is analogous to the Homeric Πετεῶο (*Il.* 2.552; 4.327; 338; 12.331; 13.690; Hes. F200.3, 6 M-W). But Ταλαῶο has also turned up in F189.2 (*P. Oxy.* 6.859), which may be a genuine fragment of Antimachus, creating the possibility that Choeroboscus may be referring to that example. If so, Ταλαῷ (Stoll 51, *cf.* 54) may stand, since we need not assume that Antimachus always used the form Ταλαῶο. Wyss (XXXIX) objects that Antimachus avoids hiatus, but cites exceptions modelled on Homeric examples, i.e. ἀγακλυμένη Ἐρύθεια (F86); *cf.* καλυψαμένη ὀθόνῃσιν (*Il.* 3.141); ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει (6.388); ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη (7.340); ἀλειψαμένη, ἰδὲ χαίτας (14.175) and ἐμπάζεσθαι ἀλεείνων (F147); *cf.* ἀλεξέμεναι ἀλέεινεν (*Il.* 13.356). There are frequent Homeric examples of hiatus before forms of υἱός, from which we can cite the following which also present names for which Homer exhibits two genitive forms: Ἰφίκλου υἱόν (*Il.* 2.705) / Ἰφίκλοιο παῖς (13.398) and Πειριθόου υἱός (12.182) / υἱὸς Πειριθόοιο (2.741). Thus Antimachus could well have read Ταλαῷ υἱός here, but Ταλαῶο in F189.2. Talaus was actually the great-grandson of Cretheus, as can be seen from F17.

Adrastus presumably was the first of the heroes to come forward for the race. The only example of πρώτιστος accompanied by a genitive signifying a people in Homer or Hesiod is πολὺ πρώτιστον Ἀχαιῶν (of Protesilaus, *Il.*2.702). Antimachus' phrase clearly

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[164] Statius' account clearly owes little or nothing to Antimachus. *Cf.* V. J. Matthews, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 5; Vessey, *Philol.* 114 (1970), 138-40.

resembles the Homeric, the change to Δαναῶν being made necessary by the different metrical position of the two phrases. There are no similar phrases in either Apollonius or Callimachus.

For ἤλασεν ἵππω at line-end *cf.* ἤλασεν ἵππους (*Il.* 11.488; 15.352; 17.614; 23.514) The dual ἵππω, which clearly indicates a two-horse team here, occurs as last word in the hexameter eight times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*.[165]

The epithet εὐαινέτω, assuredly the correct reading, is untraditional, attested in earlier literature only in Pindar, εὐαίνητος Ὀρφεός (*P.*4.177), and Bacchylides, εὐαίνετε Κηΐα μέριμνα (19.11). Antimachus himself (F34) has Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος, πόδας αἰνετώ. Very similar is Βαλίος πόδας αἰνετός (one of the dogs of Actaeon, *Epic. Adesp.* 1.4 Powell, from Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3.4). The form αἰνετός is also used, of Oedipus, by Alcaeus of Messana (*AP* 7.429.9 = XVI.9, *Epig. Graec.* 3264 Page) and by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1402b 11) of Pittacus. Euaenetus as a proper name is well-attested for fifth and fourth century Attica.[166]

There is no reason to be suspicious of the reading Καιρόν for the horse's name in v.3. Indeed Statius calls one of Amphiaraus' horses Caerus (6.524). The meaning 'Opportunity', 'Right Moment' is a fitting one for a race-horse. The epithet κραιπνόν is also appropriate, 'swift', 'rushing'. It is frequently used in Homer of feet (*Il.* 6.505; 17.190; 21.247; 22.138; 23.749; *Od.*14.33) and of winds (*Od.* 5.358, Boreas; 6.171; *cf.Hy. Ap.* 408, Notus). Here it is effectively alliterative with Καιρόν (for the sound *cf. increpitans Caerumque* Stat. *Theb.*6.524). Kretschmer and Maass have demonstrated that the proper form of the horse Arion's name is Ἀρίων, not Ἀρείων.[167]

In v.4 σχεδόν with a genitive is paralleled by Τρῶας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν (*Il.*4.247); Φαιήκων γαίης σχεδόν (*Od.* 5.288); γαίης Κυκλώπων οὔτε σχεδόν (9.117), and particularly by σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτοιο ῥοάων (same *sedes Hom.Hy.* 34.9).

The word ἄλσος is particularly associated with Apollo in epic. In the *Hymn to Apollo* it is used with reference to the god five times (76,

[165] *Il.*5.230; 237; 356; 8.41; 13.23; 17.501; 504; 23.545; *Od.* 4.20.

[166] *Cf.* Meiggs-Lewis, 145,No. 53, a demarch at Rhamnus *ca.* 450-40; *Erecth.* 338 No. xl col. ii, 21 and 28(J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* [Oxford 1971], 72 and No. 5243), a carpenter working on the Erectheum; also possibly two men from Erchia in the fourth century (Davies, 187, No. 5247).

[167] P. Kretschmer, *Zeitschr.f. vergleich. Sprachforsch.* (*Kuhns Zeitschr.*) 29 (1888), 164; E. Maass, *Indogerm. Forsch.* 1 (1891) 166; *cf.* W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae* (Gütersloh 1892), 528; Bernabé on Cyclic *Thebaid* F7 (= 6^A Davies), *PEG* 26.

143, 221, 245, and 384), the last a grove by the stream of Telphusa in Boeotia.[168] Other examples are *Od.* 20.278 and A.R. 4.1714-5. Pausanias (8.25.11) mentions the shrine of Oncaean Apollo on the left bank of the river Ladon downstream from the sanctuary of Demeter Erinys, near Thelpusa in Arcadia.

The language of v.5 echoes the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 8-11: (Narcissus) ὃν φῦσε ... / Γαῖα ... / ... σέβας τό γε πᾶσιν ἰδέσθαι / ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.[169] Also similar is (*draco*) ὃν αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέφυσεν (line-end instead of beginning, A.R. 2.1209).

The word σέβας is not particularly common with ἰδέσθαι, being more often seen in phrases with ἔχειν, e.g. σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα, -ωσαν (five times in the *Odyssey*, 3.123; 4.75; 142; 6.161; 8.384); *cf.* σ' δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντας (*Hy.* 28.6). As Richardson aptly says, in Homer the word is always used of the sense of awe which takes hold of the viewer. In Antimachus here, as in *Hy. Dem.*10, it is transferred to the object.[170] With ἰδέσθαι, σέβας is equivalent to θαῦμα, especially frequent in the phrase θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι at line-end in Homer.[171] Also worth noting are θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν (*Od.* 11.287) and μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις (*Hy.Dem* 403). Callimachus also uses σέβας as an equivalent to θαῦμα (F367 Pf. = *Sud. s.v.* σέβας).

Of greatest interest in this fragment is the question of the parentage of the horse Arion.[172] Antimachus says of him Ἀριόνα Θελπουσαῖον/τόν... /αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέδωκε, near the grove of Oncaean Apollo.

Pausanias presents the quotation from Antimachus in opposition to the story told by the priests at Thelpusa that Arion was the offspring of Poseidon and Demeter, conceived when the goddess, disguised as a mare in her attempt to escape Poseidon's lust, was

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[168] At vv.230 and 235, the word refers to the grove of Poseidon at Onchestus.

[169] See *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, ed. N.J. Richardson (Oxford 1974), 69.

[170] Richardson, 145 on v.10.

[171] *Il.* 5.725; 10.439; 18.83; 377; *Od.* 6.306; 7.45; 8.366; 13.108; *Hy.Aphr.*90; *Hy.Dem.* 427. Conversely, θαῦμα is used only once with ἔχειν in Homer, θαῦμα μ' ἔχει (*Od.* 10.326).

[172] I have discussed this question in *Eranos* 85 (1987), 1-7 and repeat some of the argumentation here. The following versions of the horse's birth may be noted: Arion was: 1) ἐκ θεόφιν γένος (*Il.* 23.347); 2) the offspring of Poseidon and a Harpy(the Neoteri, *ap.* Schol. T *Il.*23.347 [V.424 Erbse]; *Thebaid* F6[B] Davies); 3) born of Poseidon and Erinys (the Cyclici, *ap.* Schol. ABD Gen. *Il.* 23.346; Schol. T *Il.* 23.347; *Theb.* 6[B] and 6[C] Davies; Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀρίων); 4) born of Poseidon and Demeter Erinys (Thelpusan story reported by Pausanias, 8.25); *cf.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.8. See W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London 1979),127-8.

impregnated by the god in the form of a stallion.

There are several interesting points to be noted here: 1) Pausanias, in discussing the ***paternity*** of Arion, quotes Antimachus who speaks only of the ***maternity*** of the horse; 2) according to Antimachus, his mother was not Erinys or Demeter Erinys, but Gaia;[173] 3) despite making no mention of Erinys or Demeter, Antimachus still calls Arion Thelpusan.

As for the paternity of the horse, can it be that Pausanias did not know or could not find a line in Antimachus referring to Arion's father? It is true that Pausanias goes on to say (8.25.10) that, even if the horse grew out of the earth, he could still be of the blood of Poseidon. But the very fact that Pausanias makes this suggestion surely indicates that it was not readily apparent from the text of Antimachus.

This leads us to consideration of the second point. Antimachus says τόν ... /αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέδωκε, clearly rejecting the Poseidon-Demeter/Erinys parentage and depicting Arion as γηγενής. Wyss (on his F36 = F50) takes a view similar to that of Pausanias and suggests that, although Antimachus said that Gaia herself produced Arion, he could easily have indicated elsewhere that Arion was born 'non sine Neptuni interventu'. Wyss makes this suggestion because he wishes to interpret F50, πατρί τε κυανοχαῖτα Ποσειδάωνι πεποιθώς, as a reference to Arion. This is admittedly tempting, especially since Arion himself is called κυανοχαίτης in the Cyclic *Thebaid* (F6[A] Davies). In making this suggestion, Wyss is following the earlier editor, Stoll, but the first editor of Antimachus, Schellenberg, may be right in saying that Gaia gave birth to Arion 'sine alicuius interventu'.[174] For αὐτὴ in the sense of 'by herself', 'alone', we can cite αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ' (*Il.* 5.880), τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο ... Ζεύς (*Hom. Hymn* 28.4), and αὐτὸς... γείνατ' Ἀθήνην (Hesiod *Theog.* 924), all of Zeus giving birth to Athena.[175] Moreover the verb ἀνέδωκε is generally used of earth giving up or yielding a crop, usually unassisted, e.g. ὁκόσα αὐτὴ ἡ γῆ ἀναδιδοῖ φυτά (Hipp. *Aër.* 12); ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνε-

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[173] L. Malten, *Jahrb. des Kaiserlich deutschen Archaologischen Instituts* 29 (1914),202, carelessly writes that Antimachus made Erion (Arion) the offspring of Poseidon and Erinys.

[174] Stoll, 55; Schellenberg, 67.

[175] *Cf.* West's note (412) on *Theog.* 924. On the other hand, *cf.* τοὺς δὲ πατὴρ Τιτῆνας ἐπίκλησιν καλέεσκε / παῖδας νεικείων μέγας Οὐρανός, οὓς τέκεν αὐτός (207-8). *Theog.* 132ff. tells that the Titans were all born of Gaia.

δίδου ὡραῖα (*Thuc.* 3.58.4); γῆν, ἣ τοιοῦτον καρπὸν ἀναδίδωσι (Plut. *Cam.* 15.2).[176] It seems likely that αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέδωκε should be understood to mean that Gaia produced Arion unassisted.[177]

The third point arising from F31, the fact that Antimachus still calls Arion Thelpusan, is surprising since he rejects the Thelpusan version of the horse's parentage. The added detail that the birth was near the grove of Apollo Oncaeus may be part of Antimachus' effort to dissociate Arion from Poseidon, but the connection with Thelpusa would seem to have been too strongly established to be denied.

32 (33 Wyss)

Pausan. 8.25.10 (2.274 Rocha-Pereira): λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιάδε, Ἡρακλέα πολεμοῦντα Ἠλείοις αἰτῆσαι παρ' Ὄγκου τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἑλεῖν τὴν Ἦλιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρίονι ὀχούμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας, δοθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὕστερον Ἀδράστῳ τὸν ἵππον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐποίησεν Ἀντίμαχος·

ὅς ῥά τότ' Ἀδρήστῳ τριτάτῳ δέδμηθ' ὑπ' ἄνακτι.

τότ' Schellenberg ποτ' codd.

Commentary

Clearly Antimachus must have presented the same series of owners of Arion as Pausanias, i.e. Oncus, son of Apollo, then Heracles, and thirdly Adrastus.[178]

Schellenberg's tentative suggestion 'pro ποτ' in versu f. leg. τοτ' (68) should be adopted, since as Stoll remarks (55, followed by Wyss, 18) Antimachus is talking about that time when Adrastus had the horse.

For ὅς ῥα τότ' *cf.* ὅς ῥα τόθ' Hes. *Scutum* 77; αἵ ῥα τότ' F26.18 M-W. For forms of τρίτατος with proper names in the same *sedes cf.*

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[176] Only at Eurip. F484 Nauck[2] do we find a father mentioned: τίκτουσι (i.e. οὐρανός τε γαῖά τε) πάντα κ' ἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος. But note that ἀνέδωκαν here is not used absolutely with a simple accusative as in the other examples cited and as in Antimachus.

[177] S. I. Johnston suggests that Antimachus' version may be a confusion with the story of Poseidon siring Scyphius on Gaia or a reflection of Erinys' own role as an earth goddess (*TAPA* 122 [1992], 97). My reasons for disagreeing may be seen in my discussion of F33.

[178] See Matthews, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 4-5.

Εὐρύαλος τρίτατος (*Il.* 2.565) and Ἑλένη τριτάτη (24.761). For δέδμηθ' *cf.* δέδμητο φίλον κῆρ (*Od.* 5.454, same *sedes*); δέδμητο δὲ λαὸς ὑπ' αὐτῷ (*Od.* 3.305).

The dative ἄνακτι is almost exclusively at line-end in both Homer and Hesiod. But there is only one instance where it follows a preposition, σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι (*v.l.* Ἀπόλλωνι ξὺν ἄνακτι Hes. *Theog.* 347). For the sense of 'master' or 'owner' *cf.* ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα κύνες (*Od.* 10.216) and the Cyclops as owner of flocks (*Od.* 9.440).

After telling of the horse's birth near the grove of Oncaean Apollo, Antimachus may have told of him coming under the control of Oncus. Antimachus obviously followed the Arcadian version of the story rather than the Boeotian account preserved by the Cyclic *Thebaid* (F6^{C} Davies *EGF*) that Adrastus was the fourth owner after Poseidon, Copreus, and Heracles.[179]

The Roman poet Statius writes (*Theb.* 6.303-4) that Neptunus was the first to tame him and goes on to list Heracles (311-13) and Adrastus (314-5) as his subsequent owners. Vessey, in discussing this passage, says that it is known from F32-36 (Wyss) that Antimachus stated that Adrastus was Arion's third master and that the horse was the offspring of Poseidon.[180] He writes that Statius mentions that Neptunus fathered the horse *si certa priorum/fama* (302-3) and made Adrastus the third owner, adding 'In these details there is a general agreement with Antimachus and the earlier editors took it as evidence that he (i.e. Statius) was following the Greek poet.' Vessey says that this is possible, but not necessary, because Arion's place had been assured in the legend since the Cyclic *Thebaid.* He suggests that Statius' words *certa priorum fama* indicate that the facts were common knowledge. But the fact that Statius' sequence of three owners differs from that of Antimachus argues that the Roman poet was definitely not following the Greek. Also, the phrase *si certa priorum fama*, rather than indicating that the facts were common knowledge (Vessey omits and disregards the conditional), surely implies that some source(s) differed from the accepted version. I suggest that one such source was Antimachus.

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[179] *Cf.* A. Severyns, *Le Cycle Épique dans L'École d'Aristarque* (Liége/Paris 1928), 220f; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979), 127 and 205 n. 8.

[180] Vessey, *Philol.* 114 (1970), 138.

33 (34 + 35 Wyss)

Theodos. π. κλίσεως τῶν εἰς -ων βαρυτόνων: *Excerpta ex libris Herodiani technici* (= *Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Heidelb. Gymnas. für das Schuljahr* 1886/7 Lips. 1887 Progr. Nr 565) 18.20 Hilgard: τὸ Λάδων ὑπὸ Ἀντιμάχου διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται· 'ἐγγύθι ... ἔασιν' (F34 Wyss). ὡσαύτως καὶ ὑπὸ Ἐρατοσθένους (F6 Powell) ἐκλίθη 'Λάδωνος περὶ χεῦμα'· ἡ μέντοι Κόριννα (F684 [31] *PMG*) διὰ τοῦ ντ τὴν κλίσιν ἐποιήσατο τῷ λόγῳ τῶν μετοχικῶν, οἷον 'Λάδοντος δονακοτρόφω'.

Choerobosc. *Anecd. Gr.* Bekk. 3.1393 (= Herodian. 2.729.19 Lentz): τὸ Λάδων (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα ποταμοῦ) ὑπὸ Ἀντιμάχου διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται ἀναλόγως, οἷον Λάδωνος.

Pausan. 8.25.4 (2.272 Rocha-Pereira): μετὰ δὲ Θέλπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ὁ Λάδων κάτεισι τὸ ἐν Ὀγκείῳ· καλοῦσι δὲ Ἐρινὺν οἱ Θελπούσιοι τὴν θεόν, ὁμολογεῖ δέ σφισι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐπιστρατείαν Ἀργείων ποιήσας ἐς Θήβας· καί οἱ τὸ ἔπος ἔχει· 'Δήμητρος ... ἔδεθλον' (F35 Wyss).

ἐγγύθι δὲ προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ Λάδωνος ἔασιν
Δήμητρος τόθι φασὶν Ἐρινύος εἶναι ἔδεθλον.

1 Λάδωνος Dind. Λάδονος codd. ἔασιν Meineke, Stoll (*Philol.* 4 [1849], 171) ἦσαν codd. ἴασιν Stoll (in editione [1845]) Hos versus coniungendos coni. Meineke (*Philol.* 1 [1846], 647)

Commentary

If, as seems likely, these two fragments should be combined, προχοαί cannot mean 'mouth' of the Ladon (i.e. where it flows into the Alpheus). Since the shrine in question is at Thelpusa, the word must mean 'waters,' 'streams'. In fact, it sometimes has this meaning in Homer, e.g. *Od.* 11.242; 20.65, and frequently in later poetry, *cf.* Hesiod *Op.* 757, with West's note.[181] Apollonius employs the word in this sense several times, e.g. 1.11; 4.132; 271.[182]

Frazer, describing the Ladon below Thelpusa, where Pausanias (8.25.4) states that the sanctuary of Demeter at Oncium was, writes 'the stream runs in several channels, which enclose small gravelly

[181] Hesiod: *Works and Days*, ed. West, 338.
[182] *Cf.* Mosch. *Eur.* 31; Colluth. 105; Theocr. Chius F738 v.4 *SH* (= Page *FGE* 93); Posidippus of Pella F700.2; Eratosth. F7 Powell; Antag. F3.2 Powell (*AP* 9.147.2).

and sandy islands, on some of which bushes grow';[183] *cf.* on the site of Thelpusa itself 'low hills ... between which the river winds in several channels over a broad stony bed'.[184] These descriptions might suggest that προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ Λάδωνος could mean 'the streams of the river Ladon', in the sense of these separate channels of the river around the small islands.

The grammarians preserve this fragment because of Antimachus' use of the genitive Λάδωνος. The same form was used by Eratosthenes, Λάδωνος περὶ χεῦμα (F6 Powell), perhaps drawing on Antimachus[185] and by Lycophron 1041, Λάδωνος ἀμφὶ ῥεῖθρα. But, as Wyss points out, Antimachus was merely following the declension of Hesiod (*Theog.* 344) μέγαν Λάδωνα.

If it is correct to combine the two fragments, then τόθι must be regarded as equivalent to ὅθι, just as in F3.2 τόφρα is used for ὄφρα. In the *Homeric Hymns* there is a parallel at 19.25 and possibly also *Hy. Ap.* 244. Another early example is Mimnermus F11.5 Allen (11a.1 West = F10.5 Gentili-Prato), while also prior to Antimachus are Pindar, *N.* 4.52 and Bacchylides 3.19. Post-Antimachean examples are numerous, e.g. A.R. 4.1475; Theocr. 22.199; 24.28; *Ep.* 4.1; Nic. *Ther.* 462; 634; *Alex.* 9; 14; 590; [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.173.

Wyss states that he did not find the word ἔδεθλον in writers earlier than Antimachus. But it is the generally accepted emendation at Aesch. *Agam.* 776, meaning 'buildings' or 'mansions'.[186] Antimachus seems to have been the first to use the word in the sense of 'shrine' or 'precinct' of a deity, a meaning taken up by later writers, including Callimachus(*Hy. Ap.* 72 and restored by Lobel in *Aet.* F162.1); Apollonius (4.331); *Epig. Graec.* 978.9 Kaibel (all in the same *sedes* as here) and also found in an inscription from Ephesus (*SIG* 364.21, third century B.C.).[187] This latter occurrence may suggest that it is an Ionian word.

It is rather surprising in view of the fact that Antimachus makes Gaia the mother of Arion that he should even mention Demeter

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[183] Frazer, *Pausanias* IV, 290.

[184] Frazer, *op. cit.*, 286.

[185] *Cf.* F7 Powell 'Αρύαντος ἐπὶ προχοαῖς ποταμοῖο, interestingly of another Arcadian river.

[186] ἔδεθλα (Auratus) for ἐσθλά (codd.) *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* 314.

[187] *Cf.* Wyss; F. Williams, *Callimachus: Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford 1978), 68 on v. 72. The article in LSJ[9] is faulty. See also A.S. Hollis (ed.), *Callimachus, Hecale* (Oxford 1990), Appendix V, 359; N. Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 153.

Erinys. This fragment would seem to come either from the general context of Arion's birth at Thelpusa or possibly from an *ecphrasis* in the story of the mustering of the Peloponnesian host. Wyss compares the combination of the two lines with Quint. Smyrn. 2. 587-589: πὰρ ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα βαθυρρόου Αἰσήποιο, /ἧχι τε Νυμφάων καλλιπλοκάμων πέλει ἄλσος/καλόν κ.τ.λ.[188] But more apt comparisons are the combinations of προχοαί with ἔνθα or a relative in Apollonius: τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ προχοὰς Φυλληίδας, ἔνθα πάροιθεν κ.τ.λ. (2.652); ἔνθα δὲ καὶ προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ 'Αχέροντος ἔασιν, /ὅς τε κ.τ.λ.(743-4); παρὰ προχοὰς ποταμοῖο ἤλυθον, /ἔνθ' κ.τ.λ. (904-5); ῥόον 'Ηριδανοῖο /ἔνθα ... / ... /λίμνης ἐς προχοὰς πολυβενθέος(4.596-9). The latter two of these examples are *aitia* and it is possible that the lines of Antimachus introduced an *aition* for the name Erinys which did not involve the horse Arion. But perhaps more likely is that, in using φασί, Antimachus is referring to an earlier story only to reject it.[189] The word order suggests that 'Ερινύος is the emphatic element, i.e. 'where there is a shrine of Demeter, (with the name) they say, Erinys.' Indeed Antimachus may be specifically rejecting the Thelpusan story of Demeter Erinys, which Frazer calls 'one of the most savage of all the stories of ancient Greece'.[190] It is unfortunate that the only two references by Callimachus to Arion or Erinys are both inconclusive. In calling Arion 'Αρκὰς ἵππος (F223.2 Pf.), Callimachus clearly rejects the Boeotian version. But, in simply calling the horse Arcadian, was he accepting the Thelpusan story of the parentage or was he following Antimachus (*cf.* Thelpusan Arion F31.3)? In τὴν μὲν ὅ γ' ἐσπέρμηνεν 'Ερινύι Τιλφωσαίῃ (F652 Pf.), Callimachus refers to the daughter born of Erinys and Poseidon. Did he accept the Thelpusan story that Arion too came of that union or did he mention only the daughter and follow Antimachus on the birth of Arion? Note how subtly Callimachus shows his awareness of the Boeotian story by using the Boeotian form Τιλφωσαίῃ in the Arcadian context. Antimachus' rejection of such a story would be fitting for a poet who met with the approval of Plato.[191] One of the

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[188] Quintus' lines appear to be modelled rather on Antim. F131.3-4, ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσήποιο/ἔνθα κ.τ.λ.

[189] For this use of φασί *cf.* Callimachus *Hymn* 1.6, with the commentary of G.R. McLennan, *Callimachus: Hymn to Zeus* (Rome 1977), 34.

[190] Apollodorus: *The Library* 1.372, n.1 on 3.6.8.

[191] *Cf.*Wyss, XLI 'ob mores, non ob artem Antimacho palmam tulisse Platonem'; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung* (Berlin 1924, repr. 1973), 1.102.

philosopher's strongest complaints against poets was their inclusion of stories which he deemed unsuitable, particularly those depicting the gods in a bad light (*cf. Rep.* 378 a-e, 380c). Plato also disapproved of poets showing gods appearing in different forms and shapes (380d, 381d-382a).[192] In repudiating the story of the violent union of a lustful Poseidon and an unwilling Demeter, with both deities being transformed into horses, Antimachus would be displaying appropriately Platonic σωφροσύνη.[193]

The idea that Antimachus presented the Thelpusan story of Demeter Erinys only to reject it and offer his own explanation may receive support from the fact that Philodemus' Stoic opponent (Ariston?) cites Antimachus as an example of a poet who provides explanations of his own, showing what is morally correct (T32A).[194]

The appearance of Thelpusan coins from 400-370 and later, bearing the head of Demeter Erinys and, on the obverse, a horse and the name ΕΡΙΩΝ,[195] may be propaganda designed to counter Antimachus' rejection of the relationship between Arion and Demeter Erinys at Thelpusa. The peculiar spelling of the horse's name may be intended to suggest an actual derivation from Erinys.[196] Certainly the coincidence of date between the coins and the poet is very satisfactory.

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[192] Plato asks whether any transformation by a deity is for the better or the worse (ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιόν τε καὶ κάλλιον ... ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ αἴσχιον *Rep.* 381b). The answer of course is the worse, since a deity is already perfect in κάλλος or ἀρετῇ (*Rep.* 381c). Plato's vocabulary here is very similar to the remark of Agatharchides of Cnidus on the transformation of Demeter, τὸ δὲ Δήμητρος κάλλος εἰς τὴν αἰσχίστην μεταστασθῆναι διάθεσιν (*de Mari Erythaeo* 11, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. K. Müller [Paris 1855, repr. Hildesheim 1965], 1.116). Can it be merely coincidence that Agatharchides too was an admirer of Antimachus and made an epitome of his elegiac poem, the *Lyde* (T17)?

[193] *Cf. Rep.* 389d; σώφρων Ἀντίμαχος, Posidippus *AP* 12.168.2 = T14.

[194] *Cf.* E. Asmis, *Apeiron* 23(1990), 169-70.

[195] See B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (1911, repr. Chicago 1967), 456; I. Krauskopf, 'Areion' *LIMC* II.1.477 and *LIMC* II.2.358).

[196] *Cf.* B.C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods* (London 1965), 136 with n. 7; E. Wüst, *RE* Suppl. VIII, 97-8 *s.v.* Erinys. It is more attractive to interpret the Ἀρι-, Ἐρι- variants as the intensifying prefixes ἀρι-, ἐρι- (*cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I-II.370) and accept the etymology suggested by Maass from Ἀρι- ἰων, 'sehr schnell', given by W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae* (Gütersloh 1892), 528.

34 (37 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 4.439-40 (I.522 Erbse): 'ὦρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄρης, <τοὺς δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα>' αἱ διπλαῖ, ὅτι διὰ μέσου τῶν Τρωϊκῶν θεῶν τέταχε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, καὶ ὅτι Δεῖμος καὶ Φόβος Ἄρεως υἱοί. πλανηθεὶς δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἵππων Ἄρεως ὀνόματα ἀποδέδωκεν·

Δεῖμος τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος πόδας αἰνετώ , υἷε Θυέλλης.

Schol. T Hom. *Il.* 13.299b (III.455 Erbse): 'τῷ δὲ Φόβος. φίλος υἱός' πῶς οὖν Ἀντίμαχος τὸν Φόβον ἵππον Ἀρεός φησι; 'καί ῥ' ἵππους κέλετο Δεῖμόν τε Φόβον τε/ζευγνύμεν' (*Il.* 15.119-20).

Eustathius 932.62 (III.473 van der Valk): ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀντίμαχος ἵππους Ἄρεος τὸν Δεῖμον καὶ τὸν Φόβον νοεῖ.

Commentary

It is clear from the remarks of the Homeric scholiasts that Antimachus, by misinterpreting *Il.* 15.199, thought that Deimos and Phobos were the names of Ares' team of horses, rather than of his attendants or assistants.[197] The pair can also be seen in this latter role in Hes. *Scutum* 191-96, and more clearly in 463-66. At *Il.* 13.299, Phobos is called a son of Ares (*cf.* 2.767). Hesiod (*Theog.* 933-34) depicts Phobos and Deimos as the offspring of Ares and Aphrodite. Antimachus too may have considered the pair to be sons of Ares, but his candidate for the role of mother, Thyelle, is clearly selected because she is a suitable parent for swift horses.[198]

I think that Wyss is probably right in seeing the context as a chariot-race and not as part of a battle involving deities. As he suggests, perhaps the team of one of the Seven was compared with that of Ares. But a mention of the team of Ares (*Martisque iugum*) by Statius (6.501) suggests another possibility. The occasion in Statius is the creation by Phoebus of a terrifying apparition to frighten the horse

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[197] *Cf.* R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV (Cambridge 1992), 241 on 15.115-19.

[198] For winds as the parents of horses, *cf.* Achilles' horses Xanthus and Balius, whom the Harpy Podarge bore to Zephyrus (*Il.* 16.150) and the horses begotten by Boreas from the mares of Erichthonius (*Il.* 20.221-29). Also in Nonnus (*Dionys.* 37) the horses of Erechtheus, Xanthus and Podarce, are the offspring of Boreas and a Harpy (155-59), while Scelmis' horse, Balius, is of the blood of Zephyrus (335). *Cf.* the epithet θυελλοπόδων for horses at 441.

Arion and thus help Amphiaraus to win the race. We are told that nothing could have looked on it without terror, not the guardian of Lethe, not the Eumenides. It would have terrified the horses of the Sun and the team of Mars. The context suggests that Statius may well have had in mind the team described by Antimachus. Even Dread and Fear themselves would have been frightened by Phoebus' apparition.

The first part of the verse is borrowed directly from *Il.* 4.440. In the Homeric model τ' is copulative, linking Δεῖμος with the preceding verse ὦρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν (the Trojans) Ἄρης, τοὺς δὲ (the Achaeans) γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. But in Antimachus here it is likely that τ' ἠδέ links only the two names. Homeric precedents joining only two items are common e.g. Ἥρη τ' ἠδὲ Ποσειδάων καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθηνη (*Il.* 1.400); χλαῖναν τ' ἠδὲ χιτῶνα (2.262); Τρῶές τε ... ἠδ' ἐπίκοροι (2.815); σκῆπτρον τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας (9.99) etc. But Hesiodic examples are few: Κόττος τ' ἠδὲ Γύγης (*Theog.* 817); ἀνέρι τ' ἠδὲ γυναικί (*Op.* 813); ἔργα τ' ἐποπτεύειν ἠδ' ἁρμαλιὴν δατέασθαι (*Op.* 767).[199]

The form αἰνετώ recalls the εὐαινέτω (also of a chariot team) in F31.2, while the phrase πόδας αἰνετώ is echoed in πόδας αἰνετός, referring to one of Actaeon's dogs (*Epic. Adesp.* 1.4 Powell).

It is interesting that neither Schol. T nor Eustathius quote the verse of Antimachus which is presented by Schol. A. The possibility that they drew their information not from Antimachus' poetry but from his Homeric criticism has been suggested in the discussion of his Studia Homerica in the introduction.

35 (38 Wyss)

Schol. A Pind. *O.* 6.21a (1.158 Drachmann): κατεπόθη δὲ Ἀμφιάραος, οἱ μὲν περὶ Ὠρωπόν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Κλεωνάς· τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἀντίμαχος εἶναι Ἀσβωτίους, οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλούς· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτῶν Θόας καὶ Δίας· ὁ δὲ ἡνίοχος αὐτοῦ Βάτων ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ Σχοίνικος, συγκαταποθεὶς αὐτῷ.

Ἀσβωτίους Unger (qui tamen scholiastam nominasse Antimachum pro Euphorione arbitratus est) ἀσυστάτους codd. Ἀμυκλαίους Stoll Ἀσβυστίους Drachmann Ἀτρακίους Matthews (sed Ἀσβωτίους malit) Ἀστυρικούς (-αίους) Ellis

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[199] See Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 287; West, *Hes. Theog.* 379 on v. 817, where he also points out that at *Theog.* 618, Κόττῳ τ' ἠδὲ Γύγῃ, the τ' is copulative (linking with Ὀβριάρεῳ in 617).

Commentary

There have been several attempts to supply an appropriate geographical epithet in place of the obviously corrupt ἀσυστάτους.

Stoll suggested Ἀμυκλαίους, since Statius (6.326-29) tells that the horses of Amphiaraus were descended from Cyllarus, the horse of Castor, begotten when Castor was busy on the Pontus, exchanging *Amyclaeas* ... *habenas* for an oar.

Drachmann conjectured Ἀσβυστίους, meaning 'Libyan', *cf.* Callim. F384.5 Pf. Ἀσβύστης ἵππος. Wyss questions whether Antimachus would have permitted such an anachronism as having Amphiaraus driving African horses, but Sophocles (*Electra* 701ff.) in an anachronistic account of a chariot-race at the Pythian Games, includes two Libyans, presumably driving teams from their home country. While Sophocles gives a native city for all the drivers, the only horses whose origins he states are those of Orestes. Although an Argive, he drives Thessalian horses (Θεσσαλὰς ... ἵππους, 703-04). It remains unlikely that Antimachus could have depicted Amphiaraus driving African horses.

A much better suggestion is Unger's Ἀσβωτίους, from Ἄσβωτος, a town in Thessaly.[200] Wyss objects that 'Asbotian' horses would not be a suitable contrast to 'Thessalian' horses.[201] I think, however, that this objection can be overruled. In the first place, whereas 'Thessalian' horses would be commonplace and general,[202] 'Asbotian' would be learned and particular, and as such a typically Antimachean choice. Another possibility is that the scholiast did not understand that 'Asbotian' was equivalent to 'Thessalian'.

Unger himself would invalidate the Antimachean fragment by suggesting that the Pindaric scholiast carelessly named Antimachus instead of Euphorion, who clearly called Amphiaraus' horses Asbotian (F23 Powell):

> τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐκ φλοίσβου Ἀσβώτιοι ὦκα φέροντες
> ὑστάτιον ῥώσαντο κονισαλέῃσιν ἐθείραις
> ἵπποι καλὰ νάουσαν ἐπορνύμενοι Φυσάδειαν·

This fragment, however, displays aspects which indicate that Euphorion may have been indebted to Antimachus, especially the epithet

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[200] *Cf.* Steph. Byz. 130.8 Meineke.

[201] His opinion is shared by B.A. v. Groningen, ***Euphorion*** (Amsterdam 1977) 88, on F25.1 (=F23.1 Powell).

[202] *Cf.* Soph. *loc. cit.*; *Il.* 2.763 etc.

κονισαλέῃσιν, *cf.* κονισάλεον ... δίφρον (F36). *Cf.* also Φυσαδειόθ[εν (F104.1).

As Wyss notes, Antimachus could have described the team of Amphiaraus either in the description of the games in honour of Archemorus or when he told how the hero and his team vanished into the earth. Euphorion's text clearly belongs to a description of his flight from Thebes.

It may, however, be pointed out that Ἀσβωτίους is not the only possible specific epithet for Thessalian horses. Another such is Ἀτρακίους, *cf.* Callim. F488 Pf. Ἀτράκιον δήπειτα λυκοσπάδα πῶλον ἐλαύνει and Steph. Byz. 143.5 Meineke: Ἄτραξ καὶ Ἀτρακία ... τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀτράκιος. Callimachus may have used the word simply as an equivalent to Thessalian.[203]

The conjecture of Ellis, Ἀστυρικούς or Ἀστυραίους, referring to Asturia in Spain seems most unlikely.[204]

It would be unwise to assume that any of the names mentioned by the scholiast for the horses and the charioteer are to be traced to Antimachus.[205]

36 (39 Wyss)

Herodian. π. μον. λέξ. 2.909.4 Lentz: καὶ παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ κονισάλεος·

τὼ δ' αὖτ' ἀμφὶ κονισάλεον πεπονήατο δίφρον.

ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κονισάλειος κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ι.

Etym. Gen. s.v. δειμαλέος (*cf. Etym. Magn.* 261.54). ἔστι καὶ κονισάλεος, 'κονισάλεον δίφρον', ὡς παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κονισάλειος, ἀποβολῇ τῷ ι.

τὼ Welcker τῷ codd. αὖτ' Herodian om. *Etym. Gen.* πεπονήατο Herodian πεπονήσατο *Etym. Gen.*

[203] See Pfeiffer; *cf.* Lyc. 1309, where the poet calls the Argonauts Ἄτρακας λύκους, also the Roman poets, Prop. 1.8.25 (if sound); Stat. *Theb.* 1.106; Val. Flacc. 6.447.

[204] Robinson Ellis, *Journ. of Phil.* XXVIII, 16.

[205] Vessey, *Philologus* 114 (1970), 139, writes incredibly "But it is known that in Antimachus, the horses of Amphiaraus were Thessalian, called Thoas and Dias."

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because of the rare epithet κονισάλεος, which appears to have been first used by Antimachus. Homer has the noun form κονίσαλος, 'raised dust', 'a cloud of dust' (*Il.* 3.13; 5.503; 22.401). Antimachus' use of the epithet was taken up by Euphorion κονισαλέῃσιν ἐθείραις/ ἵπποι κ.τ.λ. (F23.2-3 Powell) and by Nonnus ἵππος ἀνῃώρητο κονισαλέην τρίχα σείων (36.227). It is striking that all contexts with κονίσαλος, κονισάλεος, except for *Il.* 3.13, involve horses and/or chariots.

Our understanding of the fragment depends on how we interpret the verb πεπονήατο. As Wyss notes, the sole Homeric instance of the pluperfect of πονέομαι is ὁ μὲν πεπόνητο καθ' ἵππους (*Il.* 15.447). The sense there seems to be 'he was busy with, had his hands full with his horses' *vel sim.* Thus in Antimachus, we might render 'The pair were busy with the dusty chariot'. The dual subject could be a hero and his driver (most likely Amphiaraus?) or, as Wyss suggests, possibly a two-horse team.[206] In either case, the line could come from a description of a chariot-race or a battle-scene.

But the line may be understood in other ways. For instance, πονεῖσθαι can mean simply μάχεσθαι in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 4.374; 13.288), which would yield the sense 'the pair fought around the dusty chariot', possibly used of two opposing heroes.

Apollonius clearly echoes Antimachus' words at 1.752, ἐν δὲ δύω δίφροι πεπονήατο δηριόωντες, referring to two chariots depicted on Jason's cloak. Wyss suggests that Apollonius' words reflect the sound of Antimachus rather than the sense, but it is not impossible that Antimachus too is referring to an art work of some kind '(On it) the pair were busy with (fighting around?) the dusty chariot'. If the context involves an art work, Apollonius may have wrongly interpreted Antimachus' verb as 'were depicted', taking it as a passive.

Giangrande, however, sees Apollonius making a double reversal, inverting Antimachus' word-order and changing πεπονήατο, 'a transitive middle as in Homer', to a passive.[207] The presence in Apollonius' description of the apparently parallel phrases ἑξείης δ' ἤσκητο (742) and ἐν καὶ ... ἐτέτυκτο (759) seems to confirm that ἐν δὲ ...πεπόνηατο means 'were depicted.'[208]

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[206] *Cf.* Quint. Smyrn. 4.509, ἵπποι δ' ἐγχριμφθέντες ἐν ἅρμασι ποιπνύεσκον.

[207] "Aspects of Apollonius Rhodius' Language", *Arca* 2 (1976), 278 (= *Script. Min. Alex.* I, 296).

[208] In addition to Apollonius, *cf.* Quint. Smyrn. 5.39; 6.212; 14. 454. This meaning is not attested in LSJ[9].

37 (40 Wyss)

Plutarch. *Quaest. conv.* 5.8.3, 683e-f (IV.176 Hubert): γραμματικοί τινες ἔφασαν ὑπέρφλοια (Empedocl. 31B80 D-K) λελέχθαι τὰ μῆλα διὰ τὰν ἀκμήν· τὸ γὰρ ἄγαν ἀκμάζειν καὶ τεθηλέναι φλοίειν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λέγεσθαι. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίμαχον οὕτω πως

φλείουσαν ὀπώραις

εἰρηκέναι τὴν τῶν Καδμείων πόλιν.

Ibid. 8.10.3, 735d (IV.302 Hubert): τὸ γὰρ θέρος αὐτοῖς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον, ὅτε μάλιστα χλωρὰν καὶ φλείουσαν, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος ἔφη, τὴν ὀπώραν, γεννωμένην ἄρτι ...

φλείουσαν Hubert, Barrett φλοίουσαν Ald. φλιουσαν codd. Plut. 683f φλειοῦσαν codd. 735d

Commentary

This fragment is preserved by Plutarch in a discussion of why Empedocles called apples ὑπέρφλοια. He tells that some scholars present suggested that apples were called ὑπέρφλοια because they were at their prime (διὰ τὴν ἀκμήν), for the poets used the word φλοίειν to mean τὸ ... ἄγαν ἀκμάζειν καὶ τεθηλέναι, 'to be at the peak and flourish'. Antimachus, they said, in a similar way described the city of the Cadmeans as φλείουσαν ὀπώραις, 'flourishing with fruit'. Likewise, when Aratus writes of Sirius καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔρρωσεν, τῶν δὲ φλόον ὤλεσε πάντα, (335), 'some (trees) he strengthens, but of others he utterly destroys the φλόον', he was calling τὴν χλωρότητα καὶ τὸ ἄνθος τῶν καρπῶν 'φλόον'. Thus Aratus used the word to mean something like 'bloom' or 'blossom'.[209]

For the form of the word in Antimachus, Barrett argues that the MSS readings in Plutarch (φλιουσαν [accent?] *Mor.* 683 and φλειοῦσαν 735) point to φλείουσαν from φλέω(-ει- *metr. grat.*).[210]

The opinion of the ancient scholars was that since apples retain their freshness and bloom better than any other fruit, Empedocles by describing them as ὑπέρφλοια meant 'unusually luxuriant'. But Plutarch adds that his grandfather Lamprias preferred to understand ὑπέρ as 'outside' or 'on top', saying that whereas other fruits were

[209] Not 'bark' as G.R. Mair translates (Loeb edition p. 233).

[210] W.S. Barrett in *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. R. Carden (Berlin/New York 1974), 182; Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* IV.2 s.v. φλέω.

encased by a φλοιός on the outside (i.e. a rind or shell) the apple had its φλοιός on the inside, to which the seed is attached, wherefore the edible part on the outside could well be called ὑπέρφλοιον.

Modern scholars on Empedocles are also divided in their opinions. Bollack prefers Plutarch's first explanation for ὑπέρφλοια.[211] Wright inclines towards the second interpretation that ὑπέρ refers to the outside, i.e. the edible part of the fruit outside the husk.[212] He cites a second Empedoclean fragment F67 (81 D-K) οἶνος ἀπὸ φλοιοῦ πέλεται σαπὲν ἐν ξύλῳ ὕδωρ in which he takes φλοιοῦ to be the part of the grape surrounding the seeds. Bollack understands Empedocles' φλοιοῦ here as 'la sève',[213] a meaning which is both in keeping with his perception of ὑπέρφλοια and suitable to the context in Aratus. We cannot however be altogether certain that Empedocles considered ὑπέρφλοια and φλοιός to be related words. The latter word in F67 Wright (= 595 Bollack = 81 D-K) could be thought to mean 'skin' or 'rind'.[214]

But whether or not Empedocles' ὑπέρφλοια and φλοιός are related to Antimachus' φλείουσαν, it is obvious that Antimachus used the participle to mean 'flourishing', 'blooming' *vel sim.*[215] As Wyss indicates, the poet uses the word in place of θάλλειν, *cf.* with dative τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις (Hesiod *Op.* 227); θάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι (236); ἀγλαΐῃ τεθαλυῖαι[δμῳαί] (*Scutum* 276). *Cf.* φλεόντων (Aesch. *Ag.* 377; 1416).[216]

The second Plutarch reference (8.10.735d) does appear, as Wyss suggests, to be an inaccurate recollection of the same fragment.

38 (41 Wyss)

Schol. Vet. Aeschyl. *Sept.* 164 (2.87 Smith):῎Ογκα· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Θηβαίοις ... Ὀγκαία Ἀθηνᾶ τιμᾶται παρὰ Θηβαίοις, ῎Ογκα δὲ παρὰ

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[211] J. Bollack, *Empédocle* 3.2 (Paris 1969),523 on F591 (80 D-K).

[212] M.R. Wright, *Empedocles: The Extant Fragments* (New Haven/ London 1981), 225 on F66 (80 D-K).

[213] 525 on F595 (81B).

[214] *Cf.* W.E. Leonard, *The Fragments of Empedocles* (London 1908), 41.

[215] Dionys. Halic, *De Comp.* 22 (= T22) couples Antimachus and Empedocles as examples of the austere style in epic.

[216] *Aeschylus: Agamemnon* ed. J.D. Denniston and D. Page (Oxford 1957), 103 on 377, 'very rare, probably old-fashioned'. *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* IV.2 *s.v.* φλέω, 'verbe rarement atteste.'

τοῖς Φοίνιξι. καὶ Ὀγκαῖαι πύλαι (cf. *Sept.* 486f). μέμνηται καὶ Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Ῥιανός (F8 Powell).

Commentary

It is clear from the scholiast that Antimachus and Rhianus mentioned the Oncaean gates at Thebes. It is surely probable that Antimachus also mentioned Athena Onca, as Wyss suggests. Aeschylus calls the goddess Onca three times (*Sept.* 164; 487; 501), on the latter two occasions linking her with the gates where Hippomedon leads the Argive challenge. Whether Antimachus claimed that the title was Phoenician cannot be known, but that was by far the more popular tradition.[217] That Antimachus did in fact know of it may be reasonably deduced from the fact that it was alluded to by Euphorion (F28 Powell, from Steph. Byz. 482.20 Meineke: ΔὈγκαῖαι). Euphorion mentioned the Oncaean gates in his *Thrax* and Stephanus' comment implies that Euphorion knew that Onca was a Phoenician name for Athena. Since Euphorion exhibits other clear borrowings from Antimachus (e.g. F35 and 36), we may with reason suggest another one here. The supposed Phoenician origin of the name indicates that Athena Onca was part of the Cadmus story.[218]

But Nonnus (5.69-73) presents a local derivation, from the honking of cattle (ὀγκηθμός). He tells that the gate was dedicated to the Moon, who herself, bull-formed, horned, the driver of cattle, triformed, was in fact Athena Tritonis. Perhaps the real origin of this explanation is to be found in the story of the cow which was sacrificed to Athena. Such a derivation, rather than the Phoenician one, may have appealed to Antimachus (*cf.* his derivation of Teumessus F3).

The context for the mention of the Oncaean gates in Antimachus is most likely that of the attack of the Argives on Thebes, but we have no evidence as to which Argive champion was at these gates in his version.

[217] *Cf.* Schol. *Sept.* 164; Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1062; Paus. 9.12.2; Steph Byz. *s.v.* Ὀγκαῖαι (= Euphorion F28 Powell). Only Schol. *Sept.* 486 says that the word was Egyptian.

[218] *Cf.* Apollod. 3.4.1, where we are told that Cadmus wanted to sacrifice the cow to Athena and that on her advice he sowed the dragon's teeth. After his servitude to Ares, she procured for him the kingdom. Pausanias (9.12.2) mentions an altar and image of Athena, said to have been dedicated by Cadmus. On the Phoenician origin of Cadmus, see Ruth B. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician* (Amsterdam 1979), especially Ch. III, and the sources cited therein.

39 (42 Wyss)

Porphyr. ex Aretade π. συνεμπτώσεως ex Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 10.3.20-22, 467a-c (1.368-9 Mras): ὁ δ' Ἀντίμαχος τὰ Ὁμήρου κλέπτων παραδιορθοῖ. Ὁμήρου γὰρ εἰπόντος 'Ἴδεώ θ' ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν' (*Il.*9.558) Ἀντίμαχος λέγει 'Ἴδεώ θ' ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων ἦν ἀνδρῶν' (F88). καὶ Λυκόφρων ἐπαινεῖ τὴν μετάθεσιν ὡς δι' αὐτῆς ἐστ<ηρ>ιγμένου τοῦ στίχου. τὸ γὰρ 'τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης' (F90) σιγῶ, Ὁμήρου κωμῳδηθέντος ὑπὸ Κρατίνου (F355 Kassel-Austin *PCG*) διὰ τὸ πλεονάσαι ἐν τῷ 'τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος', ὅπερ οὕτω πεπατημένον οὐκ ὤκνησεν Ἀντίμαχος μεταθεῖναι. τοῦ δὲ 'λαῶν, οἷσιν ἄνασσε, πατὴρ δ' ὣς ἤπιος ἦεν' (*Od.* 2.234) Ὁμηρικοῦ ὄντος καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ που λεγομένου 'οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας' (*Il.* 16.563), ὁ Ἀντίμαχος μεταθεὶς ἡμιστίχια πεποίηκε·

λαῶν οἷσιν ἄνασσον ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας.

Commentary

This fragment is one of three (also F88 and 90) preserved from Porphyrius in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* Antimachus is accused of plagiarising from Homer and making changes for the worse.[219]

This verse is a combination of two Homeric lines. The first half is taken from a line which occurs twice in the *Odyssey* (2.234 = 5.12) λαῶν, οἷσιν ἄνασσε, πατὴρ δ' ὣς ἤπιος ἦεν, while the latter part is actually the second half of two different verses in the *Iliad*, namely οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας (16.563) and Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας (11.215 = 12.415). The fragment is in fact an example of the literary device called *cento*.

Such formation of verses by conflating Homeric lines is quite acceptable practice. Wyss cites a fine example from early poetry, αἴθωνος δὲ λέοντος ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν (Tyrtaeus F13 West), a line which was created out of λέοντος/αἴθωνος (*Il.* 10.24-5) and ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔχων ... θυμόν (*Od.* 5.222). For a later example, *cf.* καδδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν (Callim. *Hecale* F74.22 Hollis), made up from καδδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον,

219 *Cf.* E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1912), 53-4.

... /αἶψα γὰρ 'Ηὼς ἦλθεν (*Od.* 15.494-5) and οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον· αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθε (12.407).[220]

Antimachus' use of λαῶν οἶσιν ἄνασσον is quite far removed from the Homeric context, as can be seen from the full Odyssean passage:

> ὡς οὔ τις μέμνηται 'Οδυσσῆος θείοιο
> λαῶν οἶσιν ἄνασσε, πατὴρ δ' ὡς ἤπιος ἦεν (2.233-34 = 5.11-12).

Here the genitive λαῶν is partitive, following οὔ τις, and the context is one of a king ruling peacefully among his people.[221] In Antimachus, the genitive is dependent on φάλαγγας and the context is one of war, similar to those of the Iliadic passages. This bringing together of Homeric lines belonging to the diverse contexts of peace and war may be designed to evoke the tragic situation of the Seven against Thebes. This war of theirs is not like the *Iliad* with Greek versus Trojan, it is Greek against Greek, and indeed, for Eteocles and Polynices, Theban against Theban. The leaders are strengthening phalanxes made up of men over whom they should have been ruling in peace.

Another feature which heightens this impression is the fact that Antimachus differs from Homer in not using a word corresponding to ἀμφοτέρωθεν or ἑτέρωθεν, the former referring to both sides in a conflict strengthening their ranks, the latter to one of the two opposing sides taking this action.[222] In Antimachus, the absence of such a word may indicate that the poet sees not really two sides at all in this conflict; they are all Greeks.

Rather than criticise Antimachus for 'stealing' this verse from Homer, one might commend the original, inventive way in which he has adapted Homeric phrasing and contexts to his own purpose. He is in fact practicing *imitatio cum variatione* and *arte allusiva.*

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[220] See Hollis, *Callimachus, Hecale*, 253.

[221] It is notable that there is but a single combination of λαῶν with ἄναξ / ἀνάσσειν in the *Iliad.* Nestor, appealing to Agamemnon to settle his dispute with Achilles, says πολλῶν / λαῶν ἐσσι ἄναξ καί τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε / σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνά σφισι βουλεύῃσθα (9.97-9). The reference is clearly to the civil functions of a king, which Nestor goes on to discuss.

[222] So too Hes. *Theog.* 676, Τιτῆνες δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας in their war with the Olympians.

40 (43 Wyss)

Eustath. *Il.* 205.8 (I.312.23 van der Valk): σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι Ὁμήρου δευτέρας συζυγίας εἰδότος τὸ κολῳῶ, καθὰ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐκολῴα ὅμοιον ὂν τῷ ἐβόα, φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ πρώτης αὐτὸ εἶναι παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ εἰπόντι·

ὥς ῥα τότ' Ἀργείων κολῴει στρατος (– ⏑⏑ – ⏑)

ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἐκολῴει ὡς τὸ ἐποίει.

κολῴει Buttmann ἐκολῴει codd. ad fin. <αἰχμηταών> coni. Wyss

Commentary

This fragment owes its preservation to Antimachus' use of the rare verb form κολῴει, an -έω type imperfect of the equally rare -άω verb κολῳάω, found only at *Il.* 2.212 (Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μοῦνος ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολῴα).

The verb is cognate with the noun κολῳός (*Il.* 1.575; A.R. 1.1284), said to be derived from κολοιός, 'a jackdaw'.[223] The noun is variously rendered: 'brawling, wrangling' (LSJ^9); 'uproar' (Mooney, *ad* A.R. 1.1284), 'unseemly noise, din, disturbance (R.J. Cunliffe, *Lex. Hom. Dial.* 232). Certainly the prime sense seems to be that of verbal, oral noise.[224] The contexts in both Homer and Apollonius are ones of noisy uproar, on the part of the gods and the Argonauts respectively. Thus Antimachus' line could mean that for some reason the Argive forces were engaging in noisy uproar.

The beginning of the line, however, indicates that it is the latter part of a simile, *cf.* ὥς ῥα τότ' (*Il.* 11.419), answering to ὡς δ' ὅτε (414). It so happens that there is in the *Iliad* a simile involving jackdaws:

> τῶν δ' ὥς τε ψαρῶν νέφος ἔρχεται ἠὲ κολοιῶν,
> οὖλον κεκλήγοντες, ὅτε προΐδωσιν ἰόντα
> κίρκον, ὅ τε σμικρῇσι φόνον φέρει ὀρνίθεσσιν,
> ὥς ἄρ' ὑπ' Αἰνείᾳ τε καὶ Ἕκτορι κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν
> οὖλον κεκλήγοντες ἴσαν, λήθοντο δὲ χάρμης (17.755-59).

Could it be that the conclusion of the simile in Antimachus is a reference not to a verbal uproar among the Argive forces, but rather to a flight in which they behave like a flock of jackdaws fleeing before

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223 *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I.556 *s.v.* κολοιός.

224 *Cf. Il.* 2.212 of Thersites, ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολῴα, "without moderation in his words, he continued making a noise"; also Hesychius: κολοιή· φωνή.

a predatory bird? But other Homeric comparisons with birds are chiefly related to their noisy clamour, e.g. the Achaean forces advancing to the Scamandrian plain are likened to geese, cranes, and swans (*Il.* 2.459-66), while the advance of the Trojans is compared to the noise of cranes (3.2-7). This fragment may be related to F156 if Bekker's conjecture φῆ γεράνοισιν be accepted there.

Wyss compares Antimachus' use of the -έω form to [Oppian]'s σκιρτεῦσιν (i.e. σκιρτέω rather than -άω, *Cyn.* 1.508; 4.342) and to Quintus Smyrnaeus' σπαργεῦσα (σπαργέω, not -άω, 14.283). There are no such examples in earlier poets. But the comparison is not very apt, because κολῳάω /-έω differs from σκιρτάω /-έω and σπαργάω /-έω in that both conjugations are equally rare. The -έω form seems to be just as valid as the -άω form.

Wyss' suggestion that Antimachus could point to Homeric precedents for -έω imperfect forms from -άω verbs, citing μενοίνεον (*Il.* 12.59), ἤντεον (7.423) and ὁμόκλεον (15.658), is open to the objection that these forms all occur where the ε is followed by an o-vowel.[225]

We find Ἀργείων ... στρατός /-όν in the same metrical position at *Od.* 24.81, Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητάων, and *Il.* 11.472, Ἀργείων πουλὺν στρατὸν αἰχμητάων. As Wyss suggests, perhaps this verse of Antimachus' also ended with αἰχμητάων.

41a (52 *SH* + 45 Wyss)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518 ed. Lobel (saec.ii p. C.)

F1

] [
]μ̣ακρα
]εσπεταλ̣[
]εμ[.]η βέβρυκε .[
]ν̣ι̣ τόθ[ι Κρον]ίδης Ἀϊδωνεὺς
]υ̣ει λεύσ[....... Τ]άρταρα γαίης
γηγενέας τε⌋ θεοὺς πρ⌊οτερηγ⌋ενέας Τιτῆνας
].ν περι τ[..... ἀ]μ̣φί τ' ἐραννήν
] . [ ]αντες Ὀλύμπου
].νο[...]ς τέκετο Ῥέα υἷας
]ν πεφοβημέναι ἔνθα καὶ ἔν[θα

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225 *Cf.* C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955), 125 §161.2; so too Herodotus' use of -έω forms of -άω verbs, e.g. ὁρέω, ἔοντες, εἰρώτεον, ἐφοίτεον, *cf.* Goodwin, *Gk. Gramm.* 171 §784.4.

]. ḳαταφθιμẹνων ἀν[θρ]ώπῳ[ν
]σως ὀξέα ṭẹṭ[ρ]ịγυ[ι
]ματ' ορıν[
]εκυλιν[
]εποτν[
]νηισιποσειδ̣[
]μολουσαδ[
] Πολυνικε[
]εαν μετα.[
]. Ἐτεοκλέϊ .[
]αμαδ' αδρη[
]γρην ὀδὸν [
].[

2 μακρά prob. 3 fort.]ες πεταλ[πετάλ̣[οισιν ? *SH* 4 Τ]έμ[π]η West βέβρυκε i.e. βέβρυχε ? [λ, μ, χ? e.g. λ[έων ὥς Lobel 5] ν̣ι̣ e.g. γαίης ἐν κευθμῶ]νι Lobel τόθ[ι Κρον]ίδης Lobel 6 e.g. ψυχαῖς ἀρχε]ύει λεύσ[σει δ' ἐπὶ Τ]άρταρα γαίης Lobel 7 Achill. Tat. *Introd. Arat.* 85.10 Maass (= Schol. in Arat. Vet. 16 [59 Martin]) = F45 Wyss: .... ὡς καὶ παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ· γηγενέας τε θεοὺς προτερηγενέας {τε} Τιτῆνας (τε² del. Schneidewin) 8]ην aut fort.]τιν supra τ[vestigium aut apostrophi aut litterae additae περί τ' ... ἀμφί τ' coni. Lobel 9] [:] νην[suprascr. manus secunda . in margine dextro vestigium, fort. adnotationis stichometricae (e.g. λ̄ = 1100) 10 fort. Ὄθρ]υν Lobel fort. ὅσ[ου]ς West 13 τετ[ρ]ιγυ[ι–Lobel, e.g. νυκτερίδες ... ὡς ὀξέα τετ[ρ]ιγυ[ῖαι 14 ματ' pap. κύ]ματ' ὀριν[- *SH* 15 (ἐ)κυλιν[δ- *SH* 16 πότν[ια Matthews 17 e.g. φραδμοσύ]νηισι Ποσειδ[άωνος Matthews 18 μολοῦσα, ἀγχι]- vel αὐτο]μόλου(ς),-μολοῦσα *SH* 22 prob. ἅμα δ' Ἄδρη[στ – ⏑⏑ – – *SH* 23 λ]υγρήν pot. quam ὑγρήν Lobel

Commentary

The identity of the seventh line of *P. Oxy.* 2518 Fl with F45 Wyss securely establishes the fragment as belonging to Antimachus and the mention of Polynices (v.19), Eteocles (21), and Adrastus (22) shows that it is part of the *Thebaid.*

The fullest section of the fragment (vv.5-13) describes a scene in Tartarus. Aidoneus rules <the dead> and sees the Titans who attacked the sons of Rhea. The souls of the dead in panic flee in different directions, uttering shrill cries. Little sense emerges from the remainder other than that Polynices goes against Eteocles (vv.19-21). The preceding lines (vv.14-17) seem to be about a raging sea and are probably part of a simile. *SH* may well be right in suggesting that the fragment is about the Argive army being drawn up and setting out.

In v.2 μακρά is probable. In view of πεταλ̣- in v.3, perhaps δένδρεα is the most likely noun to agree with μακρά.[226]

[226] Other nouns found with μακρά in Homer are δούρατα, κύματα, οὔρεα, and τείχεα *cf. SH.*

In v.3]ες πετάλ[οισιν is possible, *cf.* πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες (*Il.* 2.312); δρυὸς ἐν πετάλοισι (Hes. *Op.* 486). As *SH* suggests, the reference may be to the number of the Argive host, *cf.* λίην γὰρ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἢ ψαμάθοισιν/ἔρχονται πεδίοιο (*Il.* 2.800-1).

In v.4 the form βέβρυκε is probable (*cf.* Lobel). The usual spelling would be βέβρυχε, but *cf.* Schol. T *Il.* 16.486: βεβρυχώς. τινὲς διὰ τοῦ κ, κακῶς.[227] Perhaps Antimachus was among the τινές. The sense is 'roared'. In Homer, the word is used literally of the roar of a wounded hero (*Il.* 13.393 = 16.486; *cf.* A.R. 2.831) and therefore could here be part of a simile, *cf.* Lobel's suggestion λ[έων ὥς. But Homer also uses it metaphorically as e.g. βέβρυχεν μέγα κῦμα (*Il.* 17.264); ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα/βέβρυχεν ῥόθιον (*Od.* 5.411-2); ἀμφὶ δὲ πέτρη/δεινὸν βεβρύχει (12.241-2); *cf.* ὕδωρ/ ... βέβρυχε (A.R. 4.628-9).[228] Such a metaphorical use would suit West's suggested reading Τ]έμ[π]η which is also in keeping with the apparent mention of trees and leaves in vv.2-3.[229]

For]νι at the beginning of v.5, Lobel thinks of γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι (Hes. *Theog.* 158). τόθι is used as a relative, as in F33.2 (*cf.* Callim. F229.10 Pf.). The patronymic Κρονίδης used specifically of Hades is unusual. In Homer it is used only of Zeus (as is Κρονίων and Κρόνου παῖς),[230] which is how Antimachus himself employs it at F3.1. The extension of the word to the siblings of Zeus may also be seen in the use of the plural by Callimachus to denote Zeus, Hades, and Poseidon (*Hy.* 1.61).

In v.6, Lobel with some probability suggests e.g. ψυχαῖς ἀρχε]ύει, λεύσ[σει δ' ἐπὶ Τ]άρταρα γαίης. For the phrase Τάρταρα γαίης *cf.* Eurip. *Hipp.* 1290; Orph. F121 and 167b3; *P. Mag.* 5.405.[231]

With v.7 we come to the only previously attested line of this fragment. The context here, although scanty, at least shows us that Wyss' suggestion that the line might be part of the same description (perhaps on a shield) as F51 (= 44 Wyss) is unfounded. But the frag-

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[227] *Cf.* the converse situation with βρύκω, 'eat greedily'. Callimachus apparently used βρύχω (F649 Pf.).

[228] Note how Apollonius, in typical Hellenistic fashion, has a single example of each of the Homeric usages.

[229] West, *CR* 16 (1966), 23; *cf.* *SH* 859, ***Addenda et Corrigenda.*** For Tempe and trees *cf.* Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115F80 on the ***Daphnephoria*** to Delphi; Callim. F194.34-5 Pf.

[230] West (ed.), *Hes. Theog.* 6, suggests that Zeus may originally have had no siblings. Hades is of course attested as a son of Cronus at *Il.* 15.187 and Hes. *Theog.* 453-5.

[231] See West, 389 on *Theog.* 841.

ment does appear to belong to Antimachus' account of the attack on Thebes.

Antimachus describes the Titans as both γηγενέας and προτερηγενέας. As Wyss points out, the former word is not found earlier than the tragedians. In its literal sense, 'born of Gaia', as here, it is used of the Giants by Sophocles, ὁ γηγενὴς/στρατὸς Γιγάντων (*Trach.* 1058-9) and in the *Batrachomyomachia*, in a phrase reminiscent of Antimachus, γηγενέων (same *sedes*) ἀνδρῶν ... Γιγάντων (v.7). It is not surprising that Antimachus should use it to describe the Titans, the children of Gaia and Uranus (*cf.* Hes. *Theog.* 132ff.).

In combining the name Τιτῆνας with the word θεούς, Antimachus follows epic tradition, e.g. θεοὺς ... / ... οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται (*Il.* 14.278-9), *cf.* Hes. *Theog.* 630; 648; 668; 779; *Hom. Hy. Ap.* 335; also Aesch. *PV* 427; Soph. *OC* 56.

Antimachus' description of the Titans as the 'earlier-born' gods (i.e. earlier than the Olympians) is derived from the Hesiodic tradition, e.g. Τιτῆσι μέτα προτέροισι θεοῖσιν (*Theog.* 424); θεῶν προτέρων (thus West, -ῳ cod.) βασιλῆι (*Theog.* 486).[232] The same tradition is followed by Aeschylus, παλαιτέροις θεοῖς (*Eum.* 721) and is continued by the Hellenistic poets, e.g. θεῶν τοῖσι παλαιοτέροις (Callim. F177.8 Pf.); προτέρων ... / Τιτήνων (Pherenicus F671.3-4 *SH*); πρότεροι Τιτῆνες (Nonn. 24.232).[233]

As for their location in Tartarus (v.6), *cf.* θεοὺς ... /τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται (*Il.* 14.278-9); also *Theog.* 729ff.; 813-4; 851; *Hom. Hy. Ap.* 335-6.

Lines 8-10 bear some resemblance, noticed by the editors of *SH*, to Hesiod, *Theog.* 629ff: δηρὸν γὰρ μάρναντο ... / (632) οἱ μὲν ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς Ὄθρυος Τιτῆνες ἀγαυοί/οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων/οὓς τέκεν ἠύκομος Ῥείη Κρόνῳ εὐνηθεῖσα.

In v.8]ην or]τιν is likely. Above τ[there is trace of an apostrophe or additional letter.[234] The former seems more probable, giving περί τ' ... ἀμφί τ', i.e. around or in the neighbourhood of two places, apparently situated in the Thessalian plain between Mt. Othrys and Olympus, to judge from the Hesiodic model. The structure is also similar to that in *Il.* 2.750-1: οἳ περὶ Δωδώνην ... /οἵ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν

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232 *Cf.* West, 230 on v.133; 301 on v.486; G. Luck, *AJP* 97 (1976), 216-7.

233 Callimachus cleverly alludes to this tradition when he refers to the Celtic invaders of 280-79 as ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες, 'latter-day Titans' (*Hy.* 4.174); *cf.* Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* 153.

234 *Cf.* Lobel; *SH.*

Τιταρήσιον so that one might have περὶ τ–. The adjective ἐραννήν occurs at line-end in *Od.* 7.18 (also -ῆς at *Il.* 9.531; Hes. F70.37 M-W).

In vv.9-10, the sons whom Rhea bore perhaps come from Olympus to Othrys to oppose the Titans, *cf. Theog.* 632-4.[235] West's suggestion Ὄθρ]υν ὅσ[ου]ς is reasonable, especially ὅσ[ου]ς in view of οὓς τέκετο Ῥέα (*Il.* 15.187 line-end).[236] It is notable this latter phrase displays the same scansion τέκετō Ῥέᾱ as here, though not in the identical *sedes.*[237]

In the following three lines (11-13) it appears that the ghosts of the dead rush here and there uttering shrill cries. With πεφοβημέναι *cf.* πεφοβημένοι (*Il.* 15.4; 21.606, same *sedes*). The sense might be with ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, i.e. 'fleeing here and there, in different directions.' This is the only meaning of φοβέομαι (pass.) in Homer, e.g. πὰρ ποταμὸν πεφοβήατο (*Il.* 21.206); ἑτέρωσε ... φόβηθεν (*Od.* 16.163). But a verb such as ἤιξαν may be lost and πεφοβημέναι may thus mean 'in terror', 'in panic', a sense found earliest in Herodotus and the tragedians and later in epic writers such as Apollonius (*cf.* 2.176; 3.542; 4.149). For a similar context *cf. Od.* 11.605, where the ghosts of the dead scatter in panic at the sight of Heracles.

The phrase ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα is found in Homer most frequently at line-end as here. For the participle καταφθιμένων (v.12) referring particularly to the dead in the Underworld *cf.* πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν (*Od.* 11.491) and ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων (Hes. *Theog.* 850). At verse-end ἀν[θρ]ώπω[ν seems certain and presumably a word like ψυχαί preceded somewhere in v.11 or 12.

In v.13 Lobel tentatively suggests νυκτερίδες ... ὡς ὀξέα τετ[ρ]ιγυ[ῖαι, comparing ὡς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῷ ἄντρου θεσπεσίοιο/τρίζουσαι ποτέονται ... / ... /ὡς αἱ τετριγυῖαι ἅμ' ἤισαν (*Od.* 24.6-9).[238] But the participle τετριγυῖα is used directly with ψυχή without any simile at *Il.* 23.100-1; *cf.* ταὶ (i.e. ψυχαὶ) δὲ τρίζουσαι (*Od.* 24.5).

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[235] Opposite v.9, in the right-hand margin, is a trace which Lobel (31) suggests might be λ(= 1100, i.e. the line-number), relating to the lost column to its right. But this possibility, intriguing though it is regarding the length of Antimachean books, is, as Lobel admits (30), 'too speculative to linger over'.

[236] West, *CR* 16 (1966), 23.

[237] *Cf.* τέκετō Ζεύς (*Il.* 2.741; 14.434 = 21.1 = 24.693; *Hom. Epigr.* 1.5); τέκετō νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς (*Il.* 20.215); τέκετō Πολυφείδεα (*Od.* 15.249) and Janko's note on *Il.* 15.187 (*The Iliad: A Commentary* IV, 247). *Cf.* Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey II* [ix-xvi] (Oxford 1989), 248.

[238] For the verb τρίζειν and bats *cf.* Hdt. 3.110 (winged creatures, very like bats, that squeak shrilly); 4.183 (the Garamantes, in speech, squeak like bats).

Lines 14-18 seem to be a simile involving a sea-storm. Someone (female?) stirs up waves, possibly through the agency of Poseidon. For similar descriptions *cf.* *Il.* 9.4-7; 11.298; *Od.* 5.291-6 etc.

In v.14 κυ]ματ' ὀριν[- (-ε, -ει, ων?) is likely, and in v.15 (ἐ)κυλιν[δ- (-ει,-ετο?). In v.16 we can perhaps suppose]ε πότν[ι(α), followed by a proper name. At v.17, – ⏑⏑ φραδμοσύ]νῃσι Ποσειδ[άωνος is possible, with the person called πότνια in the previous line acting through the cunning of Poseidon. The word is Hesiodic rather than Homeric, *cf.* the dative plural at *Theog.* 626; 884; 891; *Op.* 245; *Hom. Hy. Ap.* 99 (all in the *sedes* suggested here). The dative singular φραδμοσύνῃ occurs as first word at A.R. 1.560 and 2.647. Another possibility is τέχ]νῃσι. At v.18 μολοῦσα (perhaps in a compound form) seems likely, but the passage is clearly not related to F56, ἔδρακε νῶε μολοῦσα.

Apart from the names Polynices, Eteocles, and Adrastus, no sense can be extracted from vv.19-22, although ἅμα δ' Ἄδρη[στ – ⏑⏑ – – is a probable restoration.

At v.23, λ]υγρὴν ὁδόν is more likely than]ὑγρὴν ὁδὸν, *cf.* στυγερὴν ὁδόν (*Od.* 3.288); ὁδὸν ἀργαλέην (4.393).

Of the eight lines whose endings we have (vv.5-12), three (7, 10, and 12) display a spondaic fifth foot.

41b (53 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F2

. . . . .
].ιαμ[
]ον.[
. . . . .

41b sub F41a.23 stetit, sed intervallo incerto Lobel

Commentary

This unintelligible scrap stood below the letters -νοδ- in v.23, but at an uncertain interval (*cf.* Lobel).

42 (54 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F3

].[
].[ ]τεοκλ̣[
].τερη̣ισιν.[
]εκ μεγα̣ρ̣ων ελα[
] ητις ἀνήρ γε καιο[
] ... βουλοιτοπα[
. . . . .

2 prob. Ἐ]τεοκλ[- Lobel 4 ἐκ, δι]ὲκ etc.; μεγάρων vel Μεγάρων; fort. ἐλα[σ-. *SH* 5 γε pot. quam τ̣ε. fort. -]η τις ἀνήρ γε καὶ ο[*SH* 6 prob. βούλοιτο

Commentary

Very little can be gleaned from these six verses. In v.2 Ἐ]τεοκλ̣[- is probable. In v.4 we might have ἐκ or δι]ὲκ μεγα̣ρ̣ων (rather than Μεγάρων), *cf.* ἐκ μεγάρων (*Il.* 8.507; 547; *Od.* 4.728; 15.91; 24.440); διὲκ μεγάρων (*Hom. Hy. Dem.* 281; 379). Following may be ἐλα[σ-, *cf.* ἐξελάσαι μεγάροιο (*Od.* 2.248).

In v.5 γε is read rather than τ̣ε. *SH* suggests -]η τις ἀνήρ γε καὶ ο[., comparing μῦθον ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἀνήρ γε διὰ στόμα πάμπαν ἄγοιτο (*Il.* 14.91); ὄφρα τις ἐρρίγῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων (*Il.* 3.353); ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ (*Od.* 1.302); καὶ κέ τις ὧδ' ἐρέει ... αἴθ' οὕτως κ.τ.λ. (*Il.* 4.176).

In v.6, βούλοιτο seems likely.

43 (55 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F4

. . . . .
].[
]κ̣ατιθη[
]ηνοις .[
]α̣λ̣ονωχρ̣[.].[
] εὔσκοπον α[
].εραυ̣[ ]π̣.[ ].τα̣[
].α[
].[
. . . . .

3 post]ηνοις spatium in pap. ̣[, κ pot. quam η Lobel 4 κα̣λ̣]ον? *SH* e.g. ωχρ̣η̣[, ωχρ̣[ο]ν̣[*SH* 5 εὐ- pap. (trema add. manus secunda Lobel)

Commentary

Out of the remains of eight lines, only a single word, ἐΰσκοπον (v.5), can be recognised. In epic it is usually found with Ἀργεϊφόντην, *cf. Il.* 24.24; 109; *Od.* 1.38; 7.137; *Hy. Ap.* 200; *Hy. Herm.* 73; *Hy. Aphr.* 262. But at *Od.* 11.198 it is used of Artemis, and at *AP* 6.8.1 (= Hdt. 5.61) of Apollo. It is impossible to tell to whom the word refers in this fragment.

In v.4, the letters can probably be divided]α̣λ̣ον ὠχρ̣[ ]. In the poems of Homer and Hesiod, only two forms begin ὠχρ-, namely ὦχρος τε μιν εἷλε παρειάς (*Il.* 3.35) and οὔτ' ὠχρήσαντα χρόα κάλλιμον (*Od.* 11.529). The idea of pallor suggests that κ]α̣λ̣ον is possible preceding ὠχρ̣[ο]ν̣.

44 (56 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F5 (a)

. . . . .
]νον[
] ̣οιω̣ ̣[
] ̣ιθεω̣ ̣[
]τ' ὀφθαλ[
]ημοσυ[
]ντενεκ[
]νυν μοι.[
]ε̣παντεπ̣[
] υἷος ἐοῖ̣[ο
] ̣ιγειαα̣ ̣[
]υ θυγατ[
. . . . .

(b)

. . . . .
][
] ̣αθυγατ̣[
]σ̣ικακηισ̣ι̣[
]κρηδεμν[
]ερσινεχε̣ι[
] ̣ν ἐκπαγλ[
]αποψυχη[
] ̣ε̣ ̣ ̣α̣θ̣ε̣λ̣ ̣[
]π̣ο̣σ̣[ ]ερν[
]ο̣[

(c)

]αιτ[
] ̣ν[
] ̣ον[

44(a) et (b) quanto intervallo inter se distent incertum. vid. Lobel.
(a) 4]τ' pap. κα]τ' ὀφθαλ[μῶν ? Matthews 5 ὑποθ]ημοσυ[ν- vel sim. *SH* 9]ῦϊος pap. ἐοῖ[ο West 10] ̣ α, δ, λ? ̣[λ, χ Lobel]λ̣ίγεια αχ[West 11 Πανδαρέο]υ ? West
(b) 1 e.g.]τ̣α θυγατ̣[*SH* 3 supra νδ, αζ[ ] add. manus secunda 4 prob. χ[ερσὶν ἐχ– cf. *SH* 8]π̣ γ aut τ suprascr. manus prima. fort. σ[τ]ερν[– Lobel ὑ[πὸ σ[τ]έρν[οιο ? Matthews

Commentary

The relative levels of fragments a) and b) are fixed by the cross-fibres of the papyrus, but the space between them cannot be determined.[239]

Not much can be discerned from a), but for v.11 West suggests Πανδαρέο]υ θυγατ[, which would introduce the story of Aedon, the daughter of Pandareus.[240] According to Schol. V *Od.* 19.518, she married Zethus, the brother of Amphion and had a son, Itylus (Itys, Schol. B). Out of envy of her sister-in-law Niobe, who had more children, she plotted to kill Niobe's eldest son, Amaleus, but accidentally in the darkness killed instead her own son, who was sleeping in the same room. She prayed to the gods and was changed into a bird, the nightingale.

West's suggestion gains support from his probable restorations υἷος ἑοῖ[ο (v.9) and]λιγεια (v.10), suitable to Aedon's cry of distress. This story from Theban myth is suitable for inclusion in the *Thebaid.* If we can read μοι in v.7 rather than μοιρ[, it may have been mentioned by a speaker rather than narrated by the poet, *cf.* ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη (*Od.* 19.518) ... ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ. (524).

In v.4 perhaps – ⏑ κα]τ' ὀφθαλ[μῶν may be read (*cf. Il.* 5.659; 13.580; 22.466; in different *sedes Il.* 20.321; *Od.* 22.88). But – ⏑⏑]τ' ὀφθαλ[μ- is also possible, *cf.* τ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν (*Od.* 16.32), as is – ⏑⏑]τ', ὀφθαλ[μ-, *cf.* τ', ὀφθαλμοί (*Il.* 17.387).

For v.5, *SH* suggests something like ὑποθ]ημοσυ[ν-, *cf.* ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν (*Il.* 15.412; *Od.* 16.233), but there are many other epic nouns in -ημοσύνη, e.g. ἀχρ-, εὐθ-, ἐφ-, κακοθ-, μεθ-, μν-, συν-, and τλ-.

For υἷος ἑοῖ[ο in v.9 *cf. Il.* 13.522; 14.9; 18.138. In v.10, there seems no alternative to]λιγεια ἀ[. For West's Πανδαρέο]υ θυγατ[in v.11, *cf.* Πανδαρέου κούρη (*Od.* 19.518); Παν. κούρας (20.66).

In support of the metrical placement suggested for v.4, – ⏑ κα]τ' ὀφθαλ[μῶν // ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑, it may be noted that the arrangement for v.5, v.9, and v.11:

– ὑποθ]ημοσύ[νῃσι // ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ (v.5)
– ⏑⏑] υἷος ἑοῖ[ο // ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ (v.9)
Πανδαρέο]υ θυγατ[– // ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ (v.11)

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239 *Cf.* Lobel, 34.
240 West, *CR* 16 (1966), 23.

is the only scheme which conforms both to the rules of the hexameter and to the vertical correspondence of the letters.

In fragment b) the only complete word discernable is κακῆισι (v.2). It is found in Homer a mere three times, ὀδύνῃσι κακῇσιν (*Od.* 9.440) and ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῇσιν (12.300; 24.458), all at line-end.

Some form of κρήδεμνον must stand in v.3. Over -ηδ- there is added by a second hand αζ[ ], but κραζεμν- is known nowhere else.[241]

In v.4 χ]ερσὶν ἐχ-[is certain. The combination of χερσὶν followed by a form in ἐχ- is common in epic.[242]

In v.6 do we have] ἀπὸ ψυχη[, (*cf.* ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχήν, *Il.* 22.467) or] ἀποψυχη[, (*cf.* ἀπεψύχοντο, *Il.* 11.620, 22.2; ἀποψυχθείς, 21.560; ἀποψύχοντα, *Od.* 24.348)?

If σ̣[τ̣]ερν[is read in v.8, as Lobel suggests, perhaps we can restore ὑ]π̣ὸ̣ σ̣[τ̣]έρν[οιο, *cf.* ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τυχήσας (*Il.* 4.106); ὑπὸ στέρνοιο λαβών (11.841); ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τανύσσαι (-εν) (*Od.* 5.346, 373); *cf.* also ἀπὸ στέρνοιο χαμᾶζε (*Il.* 23.508).

Again it may be possible to suggest a metrical placing for the fragment. As noticed above, κακῇσι is always at line-end in Homer, but with its accompanying noun, it could also stand either just before or after a caesura, i.e.:

1) – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ὀδύνῃσι (e.g.) κακῇσι.
2) – ὀδύνῃσι κακῇσι // ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑
3) – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – // ὀδύνῃσι κακῇσι ⏑ – ⏑

The numerous long syllables in the succeeding lines (κρηδεμν[–, ἐκπαγλ[–, ἀποψυχη[–,]π̣ọσ̣[τ̣]ερν[–) make it less than probable that we are dealing with the fifth and sixth feet of the hexameters. Hence arrangement 2) above looks the most likely. In support of it, we can suggest that v.4 began – ⏑⏑ χερσὶν ἐχ- (*cf. Il.* 12.422; 15.447; 20.426), while v.8 could have – ⏑ ὑπὸ στέρνοιο (*cf. Il.* 11.841).

Nothing can be made out of the scraps of fragment c).

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241 See Lobel, 35; *SH* 24.

242 Sixteen times in the *Iliad*, nine in the *Odyssey*, three in *Hom. Hymns*, five in Hesiod.

45 (57 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F6

. . . . .
].ειω̣[
]μη.[ ].[
].με . .λωσαν[
]ρ̣' ἴκματα .[
]τ̣ευχέ' ε.[
].ετερα.[
]κιτ' ελ̣[
]γεθος̣[
]υφι.[
. . . . .

2 [γ pot. quam π 3 μεγα̣[aut μεπ̣[ ] Lobel μεγάλως ἀν[Matthews 4]ρ' ἴκ pap. [fort. μ Lobel νοτέ]ρ' ἴκματα West 5 χέ' pap. νεο]τευχέ' vel sim. Lobel [fort. δ Lobel 7]κιτ' pap. 8 μέ]γεθος[Matthews

Commentary

This fragment is of interest because of the new word ἴκματα (v.4). The closest previously attested word is ἰκματώδης (Ach. Tat. Introd. 34, 69.7 Maass), meaning 'moist'.[243] The noun appears to mean 'moisture' and perhaps comes from a singular ἴκμαρ. It may be a neuter alternative for the feminine form ἰκμάς, -άδος, *cf.* Hesych. ι 478 ἴκμαρ νοτίς, 479 ἰκμάς· νοτίς κ.τ.λ.[244]

A connection with ἴχματα = ἴχνια (a possibility raised by Lobel) seems unlikely.[245] As Lobel himself notes, Antimachus generally prefers -χμ- forms, *cf.* λαχμόν (F97), ληχμόν (F147), so that we would expect him to have written ἴχματα for ἴκματα and not vice-versa.

West suggests νοτέ]ρ' ἴκματα which might seem tautological, but *cf.* νοτερὴ δρόσος (Simon. LXVI 9 Page *Ep. Gr.* [III Gow-Page]); νοτερὸν ὕδωρ (Eurip. *Ion*, 149).

In v. 3 perhaps μεγάλως should be read. In v. 5, Lobel (followed by *SH*) suggests a compound of τευχής, e.g. νεοτευχέ(α), which is necessitated by the presence in the papyrus of the accent on]τευχέ'. At v.8 μέ]γεθος[is possible.

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[243] *Cf.* West, *CR* n.s. 16 (1966), 23. ἰκμαρώδης Schol. Arat. 1064 (501.4 Martin) (ἰκμαδώδης Aldina).

[244] So Hesych. Latte (II. 357) writes ἴκμαρ· ἐγγύς, from Erotian (47.2 Nachmanson) ἴκταρ· ἐγγὺς κ.τ.λ. οἱ δὲ ... ἔγραψαν ἴκμαρ.

[245] *Cf.* Schol. *Il.* 13.71c; Hesych. ι 1151 *s.v.* ἴχματα (II.383 Latte).

46 (58 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F7

(a)]ποφθι. [
]. τεμ[
]ειονα[
]οδωκε[
(b)]νδρασι[
]. αν[
]νιρα . [
. . . . .

1 in marg. sup.]οπο[manus secunda. fort. α]ποφθιμ[εν – 3 Ἀρ]είονα West 4 π]οδώκε[- – ⏑⏑ – – West 5 de iunctura]νδ|ρασι[vid. Lobel 6]ι aut]ν

Commentary

This fragment is a combination of *P. Oxy.* 2518 7a and b. In v.1, we must have some case of ἀποφθίμενος. As West has seen, the form must stand either just before or just after the caesura.[246] When this fact is combined with the probability that v.4 contains π]ŏδώκĕ[, a metrical shape which almost always follows the third foot trochaic caesura, we can conclude that the fragment consists of parts of the fourth feet of the hexameters.

If π]οδώκε[α is correct in v.4, it is possible that West's Ἀρ]είονα may also be right in v.3.[247] Although Antimachus uses the form Ἀρίονα at F31.3 (*cf. Il.* 23.346), it would be quite in keeping with his poetic practice to employ a different form here. In v.5 perhaps ἀ]νδράσι can be read.

With an apparent reference to dead men in v.1 (ἀ]ποφθιμ[]), the context is perhaps that of Adrastus making his escape on his divine horse Arion (*cf.* F196 *dub.*).

[246] West, *Proc. XIV Int. Congr. Pap.* (London 1975), 343.
[247] West, *CR* 16 (1966), 23.

47 (59 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F8

(a)

. . . . .
]λεω[
]κ[.]ασ[
. . . . .

(b)

]εκφα . [
]αμφιδεκαστος[
]ημενο[ ] . . . ρ̣άρ[
]λαδ̣[ ]κα[
].[

quantum (b) ab (a) distet incertum
(b) 1 fort. φαο̣[, φαϲ̣[*SH* 2 fort. ἀμφὶ δ' ἕκαστος *SH* 3 άρ[pap.

Commentary

Lobel thinks that (a) stood to the left of (b), but the space between them cannot be determined.

Little can be made of the scraps. In (b) v.1, 'the left-hand arc of a circle' (Lobel) suggests φαο̣[or φαϲ̣[(*SH*). In v.2, ἀμφὶ δ' ἕκαστος seems likely.

48 (60 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F9

. . . . .
]κα̣ [
] . σ̣. . [
. . . . .

Commentary

Nothing can be said other than that Lobel thinks that the fragment 'comes from the neighbourhood' of F47(a) and (b).

49 (61 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2518

F10

. . . . .
]κρ̣ῖλ̣[
]αροσ̣ [
. . . . .

Commentary

For]κρῖλ[, Lobel (followed by *SH*), suggests κρῖ λ[ευκόν, (*cf. Il.* 5.196; 8.564; *Od.* 4.41; 604; 12.358; *Hy. Dem.* 309; 452). There does not appear to be any likely alternative.

* * *

P. Oxy. 2518 F11-20 (37-39 Lobel): These fragments are too mutilated to be of any use. In F20, where there are never more than two syllables preserved in any of its thirteen lines, West has tried to narrow down the possibilities for their metrical position, but the evidence enables him only to limit them to the first, second, or fifth foot.[248]

50 (36 Wyss)

Choerobosc. in Theod. 1.146.2 Hilgard: ἔστι γὰρ τῷ κυανοχαίτῃ καὶ γίνεται κατὰ μεταπλασμὸν τῷ κυανοχαῖτα (ita Lobeck: -χαίτα codd.), καὶ οὐκ ἔχει προσγεγραμμένον τὸ ι, οἷον ὡς παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ·

πατρί τε κυανοχαῖτα Ποσειδάωνι πεποιθώς

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because of the dative form κυανοχαῖτα without iota subscript.

In the Homeric poems there are two nominative forms for this epithet, each occurring twice. The -α form κυανοχαῖτα is found as an epithet in the phrase κ. Ποσειδάων beginning the line at *Il.* 13.563 and 14.390. The -ης form κυανοχαίτης occurs as a substantive at *Il.* 20.144 and *Od.* 9.536, ending the hexameter and without the name Ποσειδάων (*cf.* Hes. *Theog.* 278).[249]

In the vocative of course, the form κυανοχαῖτα could come from either nominative.[250] It occurs only thrice in the Homeric poems,

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[248] West, *Proc. XIV Intern. Congr. Pap.*, 344.

[249] On this epithet - substantive distinction see Monro, *GHD*, 81, §96.

[250] Monro in fact says that such -α forms are really vocatives which have been turned into nominatives. *Cf.* R. Janko, *The Iliad: a Commentary* IV, 115-6 on 13.562. But it is worth noting that no such word is found in the vocative with the name of a hero (despite ἱππότα Πηλεῦ cited by Monro). It may be of course that the names of heroes simply followed the analogy of those of deities (i.e. μητίετα Ζεῦ , *Il.* 1.508; εὐρύοπα Κρονίδη, *Hom. Hy.* 23.4; κυανοχαῖτα of Poseidon and Hades, cited in text).

Γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα (line-end *Il.* 15.174; 201) and Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα (*Od.* 9.528). This latter phrase is found once in the *Homeric Hymns* (22.6) and we also have the vocative Ἅιδη κυανοχαῖτα at *Hy. Dem.* 347 (in the same *sedes* as Antimachus).

In the dative case, we find only the -ης form, i.e. ἵππῳ ... κυανοχαίτῃ (*Il.* 20.224) and ἐνοσίχθονι κ. (*Od.* 3.6). The distinction between adjectival and substantive usage would appear to break down here, but at *Od.* 3.6 κυανοχαίτῃ could be the substantive and ἐνοσίχθονι the epithet.[251] In the Iliadic example, with ἵππῳ, κυανοχαίτῃ is indisputably an adjective. If, however, Antimachus was aware of the distinction between the adjectival and substantive forms,[252] he may have read ἵππῳ ... κυανοχαῖτα at *Il.* 20.224, although there is no sign of such a reading in the MSS.[253]

Antimachus may have used κυανοχαῖτα as a dative simply because it is the form always used with the name Ποσειδάων in Homer, whatever the case. He may have assumed that the word was indeclinable.

Wyss compares κυανοχαῖτα with such Homeric epithets of gods and heroes as εὐρύοπα, ἱππότα, and ἱππηλάτα, to which we may add μητίετα, νεφεληγερέτα, στεροπηγερέτα, Ἀκάκητα and αἰχμητά.[254] While most of these occur only as nominatives, exceptions are μητίετα (also voc. *Il.* 1.508), αἰχμητά (dual accus. 7.281), but especially εὐρύοπα (also voc. *Il.* 16.241; *Hy.* 23.4 and accus. six times in *Il.*). But for such a form in a dative one can look only to φιλῆτα (Archilochus F49.7 West).[255] Leurini suggests that Antimachus' example of κυανοχαῖτα as a dative may have influenced the appear-

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[251] Homeric usage is either ἐνοσίχθων as an epithet following Ποσειδάων or Ἐνοσίχθων as a substantive after an epithet (most frequently κρείων).

[252] The distinction seems to have escaped the authors of *Scutum* 120 (Ἀρίονα κυανοχαίτην) and *Theb.* F6[A] Davies = F7 Bernabé (Ἀρίονι κυανοχαίτῃ).

[253] But it is interesting that there is a reading which eliminates κυανοχαίτῃ altogether, i.e. μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ for παρελέξατο κυανοχαίτῃ. Another solution is to read nominative κυανοχαίτης (referring to Boreas) as Aretaeus did. The reading παρελέξατο κυανοχαίτης parallels Hes. *Theog.* 278 (Poseidon). Note that *Il.* 20.223(224)a is interpolated from *Theog.* 279. See Ludwich's *apparatus*, II.367.

[254] εὐρύοπα (Zeus, *Il.* 1.498; *Od.* 2.146); ἱππότα (usually of Nestor, *Il.* 2.336; *Od.* 3.68); ἱππηλάτα (*Il.* 4.387; never of Nestor in *Il.*, but only of him in *Od.* i.e. 3.436; 444); μητίετα (Zeus, *Il.* 1.175; *Od.* 14.243); νεφεληγερέτα (Zeus, *Il.* 1.511; *Od.* 1.63); στεροπηγερέτα (Zeus, only *Il.* 16.298); Ἀκάκητα (Hermes, *Il.* 16.175; *Od.* 24.10); αἰχμητά (Lycaon, *Il.* 5.197).

[255] Cited as vocative in LSJ^9, but see West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, 124 and in *IEG*^{2} I.22.

ance of ἱππότα φηρός as a genitive (Aratus *Phaen.* 664) and πολεμιστὰ σίδηρον as an accusative (*Orph. Lith.* 312)[256]

Wyss quotes a passage from Porphyrius, which he himself was unable to find, which reads Αἰολεῖς καὶ Βοιωτοὶ οὐχ ὑπέγραφον, ὅπερ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ φυλάττεται.[257] Wyss goes too far in writing '*ille scribendi modus ad A(ntimachu)m omnino non pertinet*', on the ground that Aeolic datives always end in long -α, for all that one could properly say is that the reference is not to this fragment. But in fact no credence should be placed on the statement at all since it actually comes from the *De Metris Poeticis* ascribed to Dracon of Stratonicea, a work shown to be a sixteenth century forgery.[258]

Other linguistic and metrical features in the line are quite traditional. For πατρί τε in the first foot *cf. Il.* 3.50; 8.283; *Hy.Dem.* 134; *Od.* 3.209; 18.140; A.R. 3.628. The dative Ποσειδάωνι is usually found in this *sedes* (of the three possible for a word of this shape).[259] Similarly πεποιθώς is almost exclusively the last word in the line in early epic.[260] But in none of these instances is the participle ever employed with a dative referring to people or divinities. The only close parallel in Homer is θεοῖσι πεποιθότες ἀθανάτοισιν (*Od.* 9.107).[261]

Wyss takes this line as a reference to the horse Arion, i.e. he suggests that Poseidon was the father of the horse. Wyss' comparison with *forsitan et victo prior isset Arione Cygnus, sed vetat aequoreus vinci pater* (Stat. *Theb.* 6.528) is not close. *Aequoreus* is hardly a Latin equivalent to κυανοχαίτης, which probably denotes 'dark-haired' rather than 'with hair the colour of the sea'.[262] For *aequoreus* referring to deities, Statius' models are his predecessors in Latin poetry.[263]

Nevertheless it is still tempting to see a reference to the horse,

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256 Leurini, *Tradiz. e Innovaz.* I, 161-2.

257 His source is C.A. Lobeck, *Paralip.* 1.184, who says that he himself took his information from Villoison, *Anecd.* 2.116.

258 *De Metris Poeticis*, 109 Hermann; see Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 2.2.892-3; L. Cohn, *RE* 5.1662-3.

259 E.g. three of five instances in *Il.*, twelve of thirteen in *Od.*, both of two in Hesiod (F43a.68; 136.17 M-W), two of five in A.R.

260 Always in *Il.* (fourteen instances, plus one *v.l.*), one of two in *Od.*; also *Cypria* F13.2 Davies (= F15.2 Bernabé).

261 But *cf.* ὅς δὲ γυναικὶ πέποιθε, πέποιθ' ὅ γε φιλήτῃσιν (φη-) Hes. *Op.* 375.

262 See E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto 1974) on κυάνεος, 79-110, especially 89-92.

263 E.g. *aequorei* ... *dei*, i.e. Neptunus (Ovid, *Met.* 12.197); *aequorei* ... *senis*, i.e. Proteus (*Fast.* 1.372); *aequoreae Nereo genitore puellae* (Propertius 3.7.67).

since Arion himself is called κυανοχαίτης in the Cyclic *Thebaid* (F6[A] Davies = F7 Bernabé). But, as I have suggested on F31, it appears that Antimachus depicted Arion to be the offspring of Gaia, without any sire.

It is striking, moreover, that Pausanias in discussing the paternity of Arion (8.25.8-10), quotes lines from Antimachus (F31) which mention only the horse's mother. Surely if this present fragment were a reference to Arion and his father, Pausanias would have quoted it instead of the verses which he presents. If he could have done so, he would not have found it necessary to make the suggestion (8.25.10) that even if the horse grew out of the earth he could still be the offspring of Poseidon. That Pausanias makes this suggestion surely indicates that the fact was not readily apparent from the text of Antimachus. In other words, Pausanias does not seem to have known a verse of Antimachus which told who Arion's father was. This is a strong argument against this fragment being a reference to the horse.

Moreover, κυανοχαίτης is quite commonly used of Poseidon, and in none of the eight instances of it as an epithet of or name for Poseidon in Homer is there any connection with horses.[264] Also, there were, of course, other figures in mythology and in the *Thebaid* who were children of Poseidon. For example, a verse not dissimilar to the present fragment is ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε κυανοχαίτης, (*Od.* 9.536) of Polyphemus and his father Poseidon. Another son of Poseidon, Periclymenus, appears in a *Thebaid* as the slayer of Parthenopaeus (Paus. 9.18.6). The *Thebaid* mentioned is usually taken to be the Cyclic poem.[265] but in the very next sentence Pausanias mentions Teumessus, 'where, they say, Europa was hidden by Zeus'. This obvious reference to a story told by Antimachus (F3) suggests that the anonymous *Thebaid,* mentioned immediately before, may be Antimachus' poem and not the Cyclic epic.[266] Indeed the Theban story that Parthenopaeus was killed by Asphodicus, told by Pausanias before he mentions Periclymenus, may be the version of the Cyclic *Thebaid.*[267] In any case, it is certain

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264 *Il.* 12.390, 13.563, 15.174, 201, 20.144; *Od.* 3.6, 9.528, 536.

265 *Thebaid* F4 Davies = F6 Bernabé; *cf.*e.g. Huxley, *GEP,* 45-46.

266 C.G. Heyne, *Observationes ad Apollodori Bibliothecam* (Göttingen 1803), 251 on 3.6.8.

267 Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.6.8) probably alludes to the same version although he gives the name as Amphidicus without attribution.

that Antimachus told of Parthenopaeus (F17) and he must have described his death. Euripides refers to it in *Phoen.* 1153ff., including the phrase ἐναλίου θεοῦ / Περικλύμενος παῖς (1156-57). Antimachus' line πατρί τε κυανοχαῖτα Ποσειδάωνι πεποιθώς could fit a similar context and can hardly be used as proof that Poseidon was Arion's father in Antimachus.

A further indication that Poseidon, in fact, was not involved comes from the sequence of Arion's owners which may be deduced from F32, i.e. that Adrastus was the third owner after Oncus and Heracles, whereas in the Cyclic *Thebaid* he was fourth owner after Poseidon, Copreus and Heracles.[268]

51 (44 Wyss)

Plutarch. *Aet.Rom.* 42, 275a (II.278 Bernardakis): 'Διὰ τί τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ναῷ χρῶνται ταμείῳ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ φυλακτηρίῳ τῶν συμβολαίων;' ... ἢ ὅτι καρπῶν εὑρετὴς καὶ γεωργίας ἡγεμὼν ὁ θεός; ἡ γὰρ ἅρπη τοῦτο σημαίνει καὶ οὐχ ὡς γέγραφεν Ἀντίμαχος Ἡσιόδῳ πειθόμενος·

> λέχρις δὲ δρεπάνῳ τέμνων ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρός
> Οὐρανοῦ Ἀκμονίδεω λάσιος Κρόνος ἀντιτέτυκτο·

λέχρις Xylander λέχριε codd.

Commentary

I suspect that Wyss is correct in suggesting that this fragment is part of a description of a painting or embossed work, a notion supported by the verb ἀντιτέτυκτο.[269] For the passive of τεύχω in the sense of being wrought in a work of art *cf.* A.R. 1.759 (the cloak of Jason) ἐν καὶ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ὀιστεύων ἐτέτυκτο.[270]

Wyss suggests that the verses may describe the shield of Tydeus or Capaneus, referring to the descriptions of their shields in Aeschylus. In fact, in the *Septem*, scenes on the shields of seven heroes are mentioned (one Theban and six of the Argives; only the

[268] See the commentary on F32.
[269] *Cf.* Stoll, 64.
[270] The verb is thus used six times by Quintus Smyrnaeus in his description of the shield of Eurypylus (6.208; 220; 256; 268; 273; 285).

shield of Amphiaraus is unadorned).[271] Similarly in Euripides' *Phoenissae*, the shields of six heroes (all Argives) are described.[272] Thus, without additional evidence, it is impossible to decide whose shield Antimachus is writing about, if indeed these lines do belong to such a description. If they do, the decorative device is clearly one which could be classified as 'terrible'.[273]

The adverb λέχρις is elsewhere found only in Apollonius, in three places: λ. ἐπιχριμφθείς (1.1235, of Hylas at the spring), 'leaning to one side'; λ. δ' αἰπύτεροι δόμοι ἕστασαν ἀμφοτερώθεν (3.238), 'on both sides higher buildings stood obliquely', i.e. transversely to the αἴθουσα of v. 237; λ. ἐρεισαμένη λαιῇ ἐπὶ χειρὶ παρείην (3.1160, of Medea in her chamber), 'leaning (sideways) her cheek on her left hand'. The fact that two of the three Apollonian examples show λέχρις with a participle suggests that the word should be construed with τέμνων in Antimachus (see LSJ[9] *s.v.* λέχρις), 'Cronus was depicted cutting off his father's genitals crosswise with a sickle', rather than with ἀντιτέτυκτο, as Wyss takes it.

If we were to take λέχρις with ἀντιτέτυκτο, it would have to be understood as 'obliquely', perhaps 'diagonally opposite'. The compound ἀντιτεύχω is not elsewhere attested. The similarity of the Homeric γυναικὸς ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο (*Il.* 8.163) is more apparent than real, *cf.* ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξεῖνός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκται (*Od.* 8.546). The force of ἀντί in ἀντιτεύχω would seem to be 'make in opposition', 'make opposite to', i.e. of a balancing or contrasting scene on the opposite side of some work.

One other textual matter is the form τέμνων rather than the usual epic τάμνων. Wyss remarks, perhaps rightly, that it smacks of *sermo communis*. Antimachus also has τεμνου** in F135. But in fact we find the 'unepic' τέμνειν at *Od.* 3.175 and τέμνον in the *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 383, possibly due to Attic transmission.[274] Apollonius has the ταμ(ν)- stem fourteen times and the τεμ(ν)- stem ten times.[275]

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[271] See G.H. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks in Art and Literature* (1902, repr. Chicago 1979), 12-13.

[272] *Cf.* Chase, 14-15.

[273] *Cf.* Chase, 8.

[274] Wackernagel, *Sprach. Unters.* 14; *cf.* Stephanie West, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I.170; N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974), 279; *cf.* τέμνειν (*v.l.* Hes. *Op.* 426); περιτεμνέμεν (*v.l. Op.* 570) (pp. 117 and 124 ed. M.L. West).

[275] τεμ(ν)- 1.1215; 2.333; 355; 794; 903; 1030; 1244; 3.865; 4.285; 771. *Cf.* τέμνοιεν (Callim. *Hymn* 3.176); τέμνειν (180); τέμνοντα (F22 Pf.); τέμνουσιν (F194.34); also Arat. *Phaen.* 50; 494; 502; 528; 543; Lyc. *Alex.* 1288; Opp. *Hal.* 1.224; 427; 626; Q.S.1.250; 6.217; 12.135.

The suggestion of Cazzaniga that we replace τέμνων with τμήγων, in view of the occurrences of that verb in the 'Antimachean' Nicander is both needless and groundless.[276]

As Plutarch remarks, Antimachus was following the story in Hesiod (*Theog.* 174ff.), which he acknowledges by adapting the phrase ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρός (180), using it at line-end as in his model. This could even be an indirect way of disclaiming responsibility for such a distasteful tale.[277]

Apollonius, when narrating the same story, echoes the words of both Hesiod and Antimachus, but includes a direct disclaimer: ᾗ ὕπο δὴ κεῖσθαι δρέπανον φάτις (ἵλατε Μοῦσαι,/οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος ᾧ ἀπὸ πατρὸς/μήδεα νηλειῶς ἔταμε Κρόνος (4.984-6).

The story also is echoed by Callimachus, *cf.* οἱ κτίσται δρέπανον θέντο πε[ρὶ Κρόνιο]ν, /-κεῖθι γὰρ ᾧ τὰ γονῆος ἀπέθρισε μήδε' ἐκεῖνος / κέκρυπται γύπῃ ζάγκλον ὑπὸ χθονίῃ- (*Aetia* F43.69-71).[278]

But despite the borrowing of the castration story, Antimachus' cosmogony is not identical to that of Hesiod. Neither the patronymic Acmonides nor the name Acmon occurs in Hesiod. That poet tells that Gaia gave birth to Uranus (*Theog.* 126-7), but does not mention any father.

The poet of the *Titanomachia* said that Uranus was the son of Aether,[279] but Aether may be another name for Acmon.[280]

The version given by Antimachus is earliest attested by Alcman (F61 *PMGF*= Eustath. *Il.* 1154.25). It seems to have been followed by Callimachus, τῷ περὶ δινήεντ' Ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν (F498), and by Simias of Rhodes, λεῦσσέ με τὸν Γᾶς τε βαθυστέρνου ἄνακτ', Ἀκμονίδαν τ' ἄλλυδις ἑδρασάντα (*Alae* 1, F24 Powell = *AP* 15.24). Most commentators and scholiasts who mention Acmon say that he was the father of Uranus,[281] but some say that he was Uranus himself.[282]

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[276] I. Cazzaniga, *La Parola del Passato* 22 (1967), 363-4. He would also needlessly read ἡμύου** for τέμνου** in F135 (F82 Wyss) (364-5).

[277] For other disclaimers *cf.* Plato *Rep.* 377e-378a; *Euthyphro* 5e-6a; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2.24 (63-4).

[278] H. Reinsch-Werner, *Callimachus Hesiodicus* (Berlin 1976), 340, compares Antimachus' treatment unfavourably with that of Callimachus. She mistakenly calls Antimachus "etwas ältere Zeitgenosse des Kallim.".

[279] F1[A] Davies *EGF*= Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* 1.75;F1[B] = Philodem. *de piet.* 1610 III 10ff. (61 Gomperz) with A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13(1972), 78 n. 32. *Cf.* Huxley, *GEP*, 24-5.

[280] *Cf.* *Etym. Gen.* B *v.* ἄκμων... οἱ δὲ Ἄκμονα τὸν Αἰθέρα, Αἰθέρος δὲ υἱὸς ὁ Οὐρανός.

[281] E.g. Eustath. 1154.25; *Etym. Gen.* B *v.* ἄκμων; Schol. in Sim. *Alas* 1 (a false

52 (46 Wyss)

Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* 472a (192 Crugnola): 'ἠὲ Σάου': καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν Σάον καὶ τὸ Μόσυχλον ὄρη εἰσὶ τῆς Σάμου. ... καὶ Μόσυχλον δὲ τὰ ὄρη τῆς Λήμνου, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος·

(-- --)' Ἡφαίστου φλογὶ εἴκελον, ἥν ῥα τιτύσκει
δαίμων ἀκροτάτης ὄρεος κορυφῇσι Μοσύχλου.

καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης φησί (F17 Powell)· 'ἔν τέ οἱ ὄσσε κανθοῖς παμφαίνεσκε Μοσυχλαίῃ φλογὶ ἶσον'.

φλογὶ Buttmann et Dübner πυρὶ codd. πυρὶ ... ὅ ῥα Schellenberg, Stoll

Commentary

As the early editors suggest, it is likely that some warrior's attack is being compared to 'the fire of Hephaestus which the god made on the top-most peaks of Mount Mosychlus'.[283]

The phrase φλογὶ εἴκελος (-ον) is frequent in such comparisons in both early and later epic, e.g. φλογὶ εἴκελος Ἡφαίστοιο/ἀσβέστῳ (*Il.* 17.88, same *sedes*), *cf.* 13.53 (same *sedes*); 330; 688 (same *sedes*); 18.154; 20.423 (same *sedes*); Hes. *Scutum* 451 (same *sedes*), and A.R. 1.544; 3.287, and 4.173 (all same *sedes*). This fact, along with the relative ἥν, may justify the conjecture φλογί over the MS πυρί. But the line Ἥφαιστος δὲ τιτύσκετο θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ (*Il.* 21.342) reminds one of Antimachus' wording and moreover πυρί also occurs in Homeric comparative phrases, e.g. ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐΐκτην (*Il.* 1.104 = *Od.* 4.662) and φῆ πυρὶ καιόμενος (*Il.* 21.361). If πυρί is retained, we must read ὅ ῥα.[284] Such lengthening of a short final syllable ending in a vowel is frequent in the *longa* in Homer.[285] In support of πυρί, one might notice that for the phrase 'Lemnian fire', πῦρ is used by Soph. *Phil.* 800; Aristoph. *Lys.* 299; and Lyc. 227.

In Homer, the verb is found only in the middle form τιτύσκομαι

Hesiodic fragment, F389M-W); Schol. Callim. F110.65ff; Cornut. *de Deor. Nat.* 1. *Cf.* Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV, 230.

282 E.g. Eustath. 1150-59; Eudoc. 26; Hesych. *s.vv.* ἄκμων;' Ακμωνίδης.

283 *Cf.* W. Burkert, *CQ* 20 (1970), 5. Lemnian fire was famous. Sophocles called it Ἡφαιστότευκτον (*Phil.* 986). J.M. Edmonds, *Greek Elegy and Iambus I* (Loeb), 508, following Bergk, prints the second line as a pentameter and assigns the fragment to the *Lyde*, perhaps referring to the fire-breathing bulls of Aeetes.

284 *Cf.* Schellenberg, 76; Stoll, 65.

285 *Cf.* P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, 79 § 128.

and *Il.* 21.342 is the only instance when it is used of making something (=τεύχω). There is but a single pre-Antimachean example of the active voice, namely Bacchylides 5.49 νίκαν ... τιτύσκων. There are however several examples in later authors e.g. σῆμα τιτύσκει/ Νύξ (Aratus 418-19); τιτύσκων ... φόβον (Lyc. 1403); τις ... πάγην ... τιτύσκων (Opp. *Hal.* 2.99); Maxim. 279.

The word δαίμων appears to be used here specifically of the god Hephaestus.[286] Such a particular usage is not common in Homer, but at *Il.* 3.420 we find the word so used referring to Aphrodite and at *Od.* 3.166 the context clearly shows that Zeus is meant.[287] Similar examples are *Hy. Herm.* 138 (Hermes) and *Hy.* 19.22 (Pan); 41 (Hermes).

Antimachus' wordy mention of 'the topmost peaks of Mount Mosychlus' is a combination of several Homeric usages. In Homer, the adjective ἀκροτάτη is linked with κορυφή in various cases, but in the dative only in a single phrase in the singular, namely ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο (*Il.* 1.499 = 5.754 = 8.3). Closest to this there are genitive singular examples, ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς Σάμου ὑληέσσης (*Il.* 13.12); ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς πολυπίδακος Ἴδης (14.157); and ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου (Hes. *Theog.* 62).

The fore-mentioned are the only other instances of forms of ἀκροτάτη κορυφή combined with the name of a mountain.[288] There are a few other examples of the combination of adjective and noun without any mountain name, i.e. ἀκροτάτας κορυφάς (*Il.* 14.228); ἀκροτάτην κορυφήν (*Hom. Hy.* 19.11). There are also several instances of the dative plural κορυφῇσι with a mountain name, but without the adjective, e.g. Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῇσι (*Il.* 11.183; 14.332; 15.5; 22.171; Hes. *Theog.* 1010; *Hom. Ep.* 10.2); Ταϋγέτου κορυφῆς (*Hom. Hy.* 17.3). But the only example of a combination of epithet and noun in the dative plural is later than Antimachus, namely ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃσι ... / ... κορυφῇσιν (A.R. 1.549-50).

Antimachus uniquely combines the phrase ἀκροτάτης ... κορυφῇσι with the Homeric ὄρεος κορυφῇσι, e.g. *Il.* 3.10; 16.757; 824; -ῇσιν

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286 *Cf.* Schellenberg, 76.

287 Wyss' reference to *Il.* 1.222 is not so apt, since there we have δαίμονας ἄλλους, referring to all the other gods.

288 *Cf.* A.R. 1.604 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ (of Athos, though the name is not expressed).

5.554; *cf.* ὄρεος κορυφῇ (*Il.* 13.179); ὄρεος κορυφήν (*Od.* 10.113); and ὄρεος κορυφὰς Μελιτηίου (A.R. 4.1150).[289]

In contrast to the wordiness of Antimachus,[290] Eratosthenes conveyed the same idea much more succinctly: Μοσυχλαίῃ φλογὶ ἶσον (F17 Powell). The reference to Mosychlus (and φλογί?) betrays his debt to Antimachus, since the only other writer to mention the mountain seems to have been Nicander (*Ther.* 472).

53 (47 Wyss)

Schol. H A Q *Od.* 11.579 (I.522 Dindorf): τὸ δέρτρον Ἀντίμαχος μὲν ὁ Κολοφώνιος τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀκούει τὸν ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἐγκάτοις. λέγει γὰρ

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑) οὐδ' ἔτι θερμὸν
<θυμὸν> ἀναπνείων χολάδας δέρτροισι καλύψεις.

ὁ δὲ ἐπίπλους, φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος(*FGrHist* 244 F243), ὃν ἀργέτα δημὸν καλεῖ (Hom. *Il.* 11.818, 21.127), οὐ περὶ τὸ ἧπαρ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἐστίν. Δωριεῖς δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν δορὰν σάρκα δέρτρον καλοῦσιν, οὐ πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐκδεδαρμένον μέρος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ περιανειληφὸς καὶ περικαλύπτον τὴν κοιλίαν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀνασχίσαντες ἐξαιροῦσι τὰ ἐντός.

Eustath. *Od.* 1700.9 (I.435 Stallbaum): Δέρτρον δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις ἐπίπλουν, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ 'χολάδας δέρτροισι καλύψας', κ.τ.λ.

1-2 οὐδ' ἔτι θερμὸν/<θυμὸν> ἀναπνείων Matthews οὐδ' ἔτι θερμ. ἀναπν. codd. οὐδ' ἔτι δηρὸν/θυμὸν ἀναπν. Wyss οὐδέ τι θυμὸν/θερμὸν ἀναπν. Stoll οὐδέ τι <αἷμα>/θερμὸν ἀναπνεῖον, χολ. δέρτ. καλύψας Hermann 2 δέρτροισι Schol. Q; Eustath. δέρτροις Schol. A δέντροισι Schol. H καλύψεις Schol. H καλύψοις Schol. AQ – ας Eustath.

Commentary

This fragment is preserved by virtue of the Homeric gloss δέρτροισι (*cf.* δέρτρον, *Od.* 11.579), which Antimachus apparently understood to

[289] There are also instances of κορυφή followed by ὄρεος e.g. *Il.* 16.296; *Od.* 9.481; *Hom. Hymn* 33.4; Hes. *Scutum* 374.

[290] *Cf.* the mock grandiloquence of Aristoph. ἐπ' Ὀλύμπου κορυφαῖς ἱεραῖς χιονοβλήτοισι (*Nub.* 270).

mean the membrane covering the bowels or intestines, χολάδες, itself a Homeric gloss.[291]

The Homeric context of δέρτρον is that of the punishment of Tityus. Two vultures sat, one on either side of him, and were tearing his liver, δέρτρον ἔσω δύνοντες, 'penetrating within the membrane'.[292] Antimachus' use of δέρτροισι clearly shows that he disagreed with those who took δέρτρον to mean the beak(s) of the vultures.[293] The Homeric phrase in fact is similar to εἴσω ἐπιγράψαι τέρενα χρόα (*Il.* 13.553) and ὀστέα δ' εἴσω / ἔθλασεν (*Od.* 18.96-7).[294] With δύνοντες *cf.* δῦναι δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω (*Il.* 3.322).

The form δέρτροισι also occurs in a difficult line of Lycophron about shipwrecked sailors, θρυλιγμάτων δέρτροισι προσσεσηρότας (880). Wyss ridicules Lycophron as one who thought that δέρτρον meant 'beak' and says that he dared call the sharp remnants of the broken ship θρυλιγμάτων δέρτρα. Unfortunately, all three words of Lycophron are problematical. *Cf.* the translations: 'grinning on the points of their wreckage', (Mair, Loeb 393); 'with gaping wounds, by jagged wreckage pierced', (Mooney, 95). I feel that Mooney is right to connect προσσεσηρότας with wounds (*cf.* ἕλκος σεσηρός, Hipp. *Fract.* 32), but rather than seeing it as a 'strange inversion' in which Lycophron describes those with gaping wounds as 'gaping at' what causes their wounds, I would prefer to render 'gaping (i.e. with their bodies rent) with the membranes of their lacerations (i.e. of their lacerated bodies)'. The noun θρύλιγμα is not attested elsewhere, but the only two instances of the verb θρυλίσσω are both about physical damage to people, not things, i.e. θρυλίχθη δὲ μέτωπον (*Il.* 23.396) 'his forehead was crushed, lacerated', and θρυλίξας δέμας (Lyc. 487), 'crushing his body'. It seems preferable to take θρυλιγμάτων in 880 as referring to such damage rather than meaning 'fragments' of the wrecked ship. Thus Lycophron's use of δέρτροισι may in fact be quite similar to that of Antimachus.

At the beginning of the fragment, the MS reading is οὐδ' ἔτι

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291 *Il.* 4.526; 21.181; *cf. Hom. Hymn Herm.* 123; τὰ παχέα ἔντερα Schol. 4.526a; τὰ ἔντερα Eustath. I.800 van der Valk.

292 The word occurs in Hipp. *Epid.* 5.26. That this is the meaning is apparent from Erotianus F19 (ed. E. Nachmanson [Goteborg 1918] 105): δέρτρον· Ἐπικλῆς μὲν τὸν ἐπίπλουν. ἔνιοι δὲ τὸ περιτόναιον. Μητρόδωρος δὲ τὸ ἐπιγάστριον, ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρός φησι.

293 E.g. *Etym. Magn.* 257.31, ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ ῥάμφος δέρτρον; Apoll. Soph. 57.14; *cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I.266.

294 Also εἴσω δ' ἀσπίδ' ἔαξε (*Il.* 7.270); πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ὀστέον εἴσω αἰχμή (*Il.* 6.10).

θερμὸν ἀναπνείων. Clearly some change is necessary to accommodate the end and the beginning of two hexameters.

Wyss prints οὐδ' ἔτι δηρόν/θυμὸν ἀναπνείων, rejecting θερμόν as a copyist's erroneous conflation of δηρόν and θυμόν. He produces Homeric and Apollonian examples for the combination οὐδ' ἔτι δηρόν (A.R. 4.1680; μηδ' ἐ. δ. *Il.* 2.435) and θυμὸν ἀναπνείων,(A.R. 4.472; θυμὸν ἀποπνείων *Il.* 4.524; 13.654).

But the more conservative approach would be either οὐδ' ἔτι θερμόν/ < > ἀναπνείων or οὐδ' ἔτι < > /θερμὸν ἀναπνείων. The phrase θυμὸν ἀπο/ἀναπνείων seems sufficiently entrenched in epic diction at the beginning of a hexameter to be accepted in that position here.[295] The order θερμόν/θυμόν is surely preferable to Stoll's θυμόν/θερμόν. The second word of a pair is more easily omitted by a copyist than is the first. For the phrase θυμὸν ἀποπνείων with an epithet *cf.* θυμὸν/φοινὸν ἀποπνείουσ' (*Hy.Ap.* 361-2); θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ' ἄλκιμον (Tyrt. 10.24 West). For θερμός with θυμός *cf.* ταῖσι <δὲ> ψῦχρος ἔγεντο θυμός (Sappho F42.1 L-P). With ἔτι θερμόν *cf. Il.* 11.266 (not same *sedes*); θερμὴν ἔτι (A.R. 4.929).

The traditional phrase seems to have been θυμὸν ἀποπνείων (*cf. Il.*; *Hy.Ap.*; Tyrt.; also ψυχὰν ἀποπνέοντα, Sim. F553[48].2 *PMG*; χρόνος ψυχὰς/ἀπέπνευσεν, Pind. *N.* 1.46-7, 'breathing away one's life', 'dying'), whereas in Homer the compound ἀναπνε(ί)ω/-πνεύω was used of recovering breath, breathing, or finding respite from some trouble.[296] Indeed many later examples show that the basic meanings of the two verbs are opposed, ἀποπνεῖν = 'breathe away', 'die'; ἀναπνεῖν = 'breathe back', 'live'.[297]

Apollonius however employs θυμὸν ἀναπνείων as equivalent to Homeric θυμὸν ἀποπνείων.[298] Can the same comment be made of Antimachus? I would suggest not necessarily so. We could render 'nor, still breathing warm breath (i.e. still alive) will you etc.', rather than 'no longer, breathing away your warm breath (i.e. dying), will

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[295] Note, in addition to *Il.* 4.524: 13.654 and A.R. 4.472, θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ' ἄλκιμον (Tyrt. F10.24 West).

[296] ἀναπνέω (*Il.* 11.327); ἀναπνεύω (11.382; 799; 15.235; 16.42; 302; 18.200; 19.227; 21.534); ἀνάπνευσις (11.800; 16.43; 18.201).

[297] *Cf.* ἀποπνεῖν used absolutely without θυμόν (*Batr.* 99; Callim. *Hymn* 4.186; F591Pf.); ἀναπνεῖν (*Hy.Ap.* 231; Soph. *OT* 1221); ἀλλ' οὐκέτι μ', οὐκ ἔτ' ἀμπνοὰς ἔχοντα (*Ajax* 416-17).

[298] A.R. uses ἀναπνεῖν in various senses seven times, but ἀποπνεῖν only once (2.193), in the meaning 'smelling of'.

you etc.' Antimachus may thus have preserved the distinction between ἀπο- and ἀναπνεῖν which existed in Homer.

Yet another possibility is that Antimachus used θερμὸν/θυμὸν ἀναπνείων as an equivalent to the Homeric μένεα πνείοντες.[299] The word μένος is frequently coupled with θυμός in Homer.[300] Such an interpretation would add point to the use of θερμόν. A hero may be threatening his opponent 'nor, still breathing hot (-headed?) courage/defiance, will you cover your insides with their casings' *vel sim.* The phrase οὐδ' ... χολάδας δέρτροισι καλύψεις may simply be a very strained 'heroic' way of saying 'you will not remain unwounded, unscathed (at my hands)' or it may be describing in graphic detail how the enemy's body will be rent. The latter seems preferable.[301]

54 (48 Wyss)

Suda (IV.499.6 Adler): Ταλαίπωρος· ὁ ἄθλιος παρὰ τὸ τλῆναι τὸν πῶρον ὅ ἐστι πάθος. ὅτι δὲ πῶρος πάθος τί ἐστιν, Ἀντίμαχός φησι· 'πῶρόν τιν' . . . (omisso ἕκαστος) ἔθεντο'. καὶ πωρεῖν Ἠλεῖοι τὸ πενθεῖν φασί. καὶ Ἀντίμαχος αὖθις 'πωρητὸν . . . ἕκαστος.' παρὰ τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ταλαίπωρος ἐτυμολογεῖται.

Schol. LRM Soph. *OC* 14 (6.15 de Marco): πάτερ ταλαίπωρε: . . . πωρεῖν δὲ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τὸ πενθεῖν φασι. καὶ Ἀντίμαχος· 'πωρήτοιν . . . <θεντο>.'

Schol. B Eurip. *Or.* 392 (1.140 Schwartz): τὸ δὲ ταλαίπωρος παρὰ τὴν πώρην, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ πένθος. Ἀντίμαχος 'πωρητὺν . . . ἕκαστος' αντὶ τοῦ πένθος.

Schol. Aristoph. *Pl.* 33 (iv.1.17 Positano): ταλαίπωρον: . . . ταλαίπωρος δὲ παρὰ τὸ τλῆναι τὶν πῶρον ὃ ἐστι τὸ πάθος· φησὶ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος· 'πῶρόν τ' ἐν . . .(omisso ἕκαστος) <ἔθεντο>' (Tzetzes) ταλαίπωρον δὲ τὸν ἠλεημένον καὶ ἄθλιον οἱ πάντες φασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δύνασθαι τλῆναι καὶ πῶρον ὅ ἐστι πάθος, ὡς καὶ Ἀντίμαχος· 'πῶρόν τ' εἰν . . . (omisso ἕκαστος) <ἔθεντο>'.

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[299] E.g. *Il.* 2.536; 3.8; 11.508; 24.364; *cf.* 19.159.

[300] *Cf. Il.* 5.470 (= eight other verses); 5.792; 8.358; 16.529 etc.; also the common phrase (ἐμ- / ἐνέ)πνευσε μένος.

[301] For similarly gory deaths *cf.* χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες (*Il.* 4.526; 21.181); also e.g. *Il.* 20.470 and αἱματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα (Tyrt. 10.25, after θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ' ἄλκιμον, v.24).

Etym. Magn. 744.53: ταλαπείριος . . . Ἀντίμαχος· 'πώρη . . . ἕκαστος', ἀντὶ τοῦ πένθος.

Hesych. (III.416 Schmidt): πωρητύς· ταλαιπωρία, πένθος.

> πωρητὺν ἀλόχοισι καὶ οἷς τεκέεσσιν ἕκαστος
> θέντο

1 πωρητὺν in Schol. Soph. rest. de Marco qui hanc lectionem in Vat. 909 scholiorum in Eurip. sinceram servatam testavit. In *Sudam* rest. Sopingius coll. Hesych. πωρήτοιν Schol. L Soph. -εῖτον Schol. RM πώρητυ Schol. B. Eurip. πωρη Schol. MT 2 θέντο ex Suda add. Dindorf

Commentary

The *Suda* cites Antimachus, quoting what appear to be two distinct verses, the first illustrating the noun πῶρος = πάθος, the second the verb πωρεῖν = πενθεῖν. This view might be supported by the fact that the first verse contains the verb ἔθεντο, while in the second one †πωρητον might itself be understood to be the verb.

But Wyss follows Dindorf and Stoll (70-73) in believing that the *Suda* presents a confused account in which the compiler has not realised that his second quotation of Antimachus is really the same as the first. I would argue further that the *Suda*'s confusion has arisen from early misreadings of the word used by Antimachus.

Our other sources each present a single verse of Antimachus, with the majority quoting him to illustrate a noun form (= πένθος or πάθος), while only Schol. L Soph. *OC* 14 presents a verse supposedly exemplifying a verb form (= πενθεῖν).

It may be noted that a noun form is easier to construe in the verse: 'they each caused grief/lamentation for their wives and children'. On the other hand πωρεῖν = πενθεῖν would seem to require either a direct object or a preposition with the dative and would suggest that the men were mourning their wives and children rather than the reverse. The only (but very unlikely) solution would be to postulate a verbal adjective *πωρητός on the analogy of e.g. ἀγαπητός and ἀγητός, giving the sense 'they each were an object of grief for their wives and children'.

Koster claims that the evidence of the scholiasts shows that the Antimachean line contained the noun πῶρος and suggests reading πῶρόν τ' εἰν ἀλόχοισι κ.τ.λ.[302] But the scholiasts in fact present two noun forms πῶρος and πώρη.[303] I would suggest that these are false

[302] W. J. W. Koster, *Mnem.* 9 (1956),230.

[303] Only the latter is listed in LSJ[9] (*Suppl.* 130).

forms arising from a failure to recognise the true form, πωρητύς. This is the best-attested substantive from the verb πωρεῖν as witnessed by Hesychius.

In fact the form πωρητύν is eminently suitable for Antimachus who is known to have used ὀτρυντύς (F186) and ἀβολητύς (F193). His liking for nouns with this ending was such that Eratosthenes jokingly coined the word ἀντιμαχητύς to describe it (F31 Powell).[304] Callimachus too was partial to nouns ending in -τύς, whether or not he was influenced by Antimachus.[305] All such nouns appear to be derived from verbs and there is Homeric precedent in ῥυστακτύς (*Od*, 18.224; *cf.* ῥυστάζοντας *Od.* 20.319; ῥυστάζεσκεν *Il.* 24.755).[306] Antimachus himself probably made up the form πωρητύς from the Elean verb πωρεῖν.

The frequency of ἕκαστος in the various sources indicates that the word should be accepted at line-end. The reading of the first *Suda* version, ἔθεντο, must result from a false recollection involving the omission of ἕκαστος preceding θέντο in the following verse, as suggested by Dindorf and Stoll. The word ἕκαστος is almost exclusively found at line-end in Homer and is of course commonly used with a plural verb, as here.

The context must involve the death of heroes each of whom caused grief for his wife and children by so dying. The closest Homeric parallel is *Il.* 17.36-7, where Euphorbus tells Menelaus

χήρωσας δὲ γυναῖκα μυχῷ θαλάμοιο νέοιο
ἄρρητον δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας.[307]

There are numerous other examples of forms of τίθημι used with a noun meaning pain or trouble coupled with a dative of the people experiencing the pain (e.g. ἄλγε(α), *Il.* 1.2; πήματα, 15.721; κακόν, 16.262; πόνον καὶ δῆριν, 17.158; πόνον, 21.524).

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[304] *Cf.* Wyss, XXXII; Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 152 n. 24.

[305] The following examples are attested: ἁρπακτύς (*Hymn* 2.95); διωκτύς (*Hymn* 3.194); γελαστύς (*Hymn* 4.324); μαστύς and ἀλητύς in a single verse (F10Pf.); πλαγκτύς (F26.7Pf.); ἀσπαστύς, (F123 Hollis = F316 Pf.); ἀφραστύς, (F125 Hollis = F318 Pf.). See Pfeiffer on F10 and F. Williams (ed.) *Callimachus: Hymn to Apollo* 81 on v. 95 'The formation of nouns in -τύς is a feature of epic language particularly favoured by Call.'; Hollis on F125, 'Although Call. may have had a low opinion (fr.398 Pf.) of the *Lyde*, he certainly did not neglect Antimachus (see e.g. on fr. 116), and developed a great liking for nouns in -τύς' (308).

[306] *Cf.* βρωτύς (*Il.*19.205; *Od.* 18.407); βοητύς (*Od.* 1.369).

[307] The second verse occurs again at 24.741.

55 (49 Wyss)

Phot. *Lex.* (II.33 Naber): ὄστριμα· περίβολοι κτηνῶν καὶ οἷον ἐπαύλεις. Ἀντίμαχος Θηβαΐδι·

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –) βοῦς ὀστρίμου ἐξήλασσεν.

Hesych. (II.784 Latte): ὄστριμον· ἐν ᾧ αἱ θεριναὶ μοναὶ τόπος· οἱ δὲ ἔπαυλις.

βοῦς codd. βόας Stoll ἐξήλασσεν Stoll ἐξήλασεν codd.

Commentary

This fragment owes its existence solely to the unusual noun ὄστριμον which Antimachus used to mean an enclosure for cattle. It is elsewhere attested only once, in the plural, by Lycophron: ἀλλ' ὀστρίμων μὲν ἀντὶ Γαμφηλὰς ὄνου/καὶ Λᾶν περήσεις (94-5), where the context is of Paris leaving his life as a herdsman at Troy for Laconia and Lycophron probably used it in the same sense as Antimachus (*cf.* βουστάθμων, 92; μηλιαυθμῶν, 96). Some, however, would read the word as a toponym.[308]

The sources are divided as to whether the word means a more substantial steading (ἔπαυλις) or merely summer quarters (θεριναὶ μοναί). Nothing can be said with any confidence about its etymology.[309]

There is no need to alter the MS βοῦς to βόας as Stoll does, since we find βοῦς ἤλασαν in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 1.154. Stoll is right, however, in reading ἐξήλασσεν at line-end.

There is no way of determining who drove the cattle out of the enclosure or how this action fitted in to the story of the *Thebaid.*

56 (50 Wyss)

Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.* 1.88.13 Schneider : διὰ τοῦ ε ἡ νῶε παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ ἐν Θηβαΐδι (Stoll; ἐνθηβεσιν codd)·

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑) ἔδρακε νῶε μολοῦσα.

καὶ 'τοῦ τε νῶε' ἐν Ἰολάῳ Κόριννα (F661 [8] *PMG*).

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[308] *Cf.* Wyss 28; Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* III.833.

[309] *Cf.* Chantraine, III.833; Frisk, II.438.

Commentary

This fragment is one of those preserved by Apollonius Dyscolus by virtue of the unusual pronominal forms used by Antimachus.[310]

In this instance, Antimachus employed the form νῶε for the first person accusative dual instead of the usual νῶι and νώ.

The only other author named by Apollonius as using this form is Corinna, τοῦ τε νῶε.[311] This fact has led Wyss to assume that Antimachus borrowed the form from Corinna, an assumption at which he himself appears rather surprised.[312] In fact, rather than being influenced by the Boeotian lyric poet, Antimachus probably read the form in Homer, since it occurs as a variant twice in the *Iliad*, namely 4.418 and 14.344.[313] It may thus have been the reading in his own edition of Homer and is analogous to the second person form σφῶε.[314]

Stoll is probably correct in treating the MS reading ἐνθηβεσιν as a book reference, ἐν Θηβαΐδι, rather than trying to make it part of the hexameter. A hero tells that some woman, as she went, caught sight of him and his companion.

The fragment could be either the beginning or the end of a hexameter. In support of the former possibility, we can point to ἔδρακον in the first foot (*Od.* 10.197; A.R. 2.746); ἔδρακες (A.R. 4.928) and ἔδρακεν (A.R. 4.867), with μολοῦσα linking the second and third feet at *Il.* 6.286 and possibly in Antimachus himself]μολουσαδ[(F41.18).

For the fragment as the conclusion of a hexameter *cf.* ἔδρακον (fourth foot) A.R. 2.911, and for μολοῦσα (line-end) μολοῦσαι, *Il.* 15.70; μο]λοῦσαι, Callim. F80 and 82.22 Pf. (II.113); and possibly Antimachus himself, μο̣[λοῦσα F189 *Dubium.*

The aorist indicative of δέρκομαι is very rare in early epic, occurring only once in Homer, ἔδρακον (*Od.* 10.197), in the same sense 'caught sight of', 'perceived' as here, and in the same *sedes*, if we take

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310 *Cf.* F8; 9; 15; 59; 139.

311 = F12 in D. L. Page (ed.), *Corinna* (London 1963), 34. Page agrees with Bechtel (*Gr. Dial.* 1.277) that νῶε is accusative dual in Corinna.

312 *Cf. Fieri potest, ut fallar* (28); *quam* (i.e. *Corinnam*) *aut imitatus est Antimachus, aut omnia me fallunt* (XIII).

313 See Ludwich's edition, I.174; II.88, and the discussion by G. Giangrande, *Hermes* 98 (1970), 263.

314 *v.l.* at *Il.* 7.280, referring to Ajax and Hector, and at 10.552 (the reading of Aristarchus), referring to Odysseus and Diomedes. See Giangrande, *ibid.* and Wackernagel, *Sprach. Untersuch.* 150 n.2.

this Antimachus fragment as the beginning of a hexameter. The aorist forms occur in Attic drama (Aesch. *Eum.* 34; Eurip. *Her. Fur.* 951). They become more frequent in the Hellenistic poets, e.g. Apollonius uses it five times (2.911; 3.746; 4.867; 928; 1137) and Callimachus once (F186.7Pf.).

57 (51 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 36.16 Meineke: Αἶα ... (37.3) ἔστιν Αἶα καὶ Μακεδονίας πηγή, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Θηβαΐδι.

Commentary

Stephanus tells us that Antimachus mentioned a Macedonian spring called Aea in some unknown context in the *Thebaid*.[315]

This spring is mentioned by Strabo, in Bk. 7 in two places, C330 F21 and more fully F23 and 23a. After quoting from the Homeric Catalogue (2.850) about the river Axius τηλύθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρυρέοντος, Strabo continues (F23) ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀξιὸς θολερός ἐστι, κρήνη δέ τις ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀνίσχουσα καὶ ἐπιμιγνυμένη αὐτῷ καλλίστου ὕδατος, διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἑξῆς στίχον "Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται Αἶαν·" μεταγράφουσιν οὕτως· "Ἀξιοῦ, ᾧ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται Αἴης·" οὐ γὰρ τὸ του Ἀξιοῦ ὕδωρ κάλλιστον †τῆς γῆς τῇ ὄψει κίδναται, ἀλλὰ τῆς γῆς τῷ ἀξιῷ† (τῇ πηγῇ ἐπικίδναται, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πηγῆς τῷ Ἀξιῷ Politus).[316] *Cf.* Eustathius in *Il.* 2.850 (I.565 van der Valk = Strabo F23a): ἐν δὲ τῷ 'ἐπικίδναται αἴῃ' ἢ 'αἶαν' (διττῶς γὰρ ἡ γραφή) 'αἶαν' τινὲς οὐ τὴν γῆν ἐνόησαν, ἀλλά τινα πηγήν, ὡς δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ὁ γεογράφος φησί κ.τ.λ.[317]

Thus Strabo, in his desire to preserve geographical accuracy in Homer, cannot accept that a river known to be muddy can be said by Homer to pour forth the fairest water over the earth, and he prefers a reading that depicts a spring, called Aea, pouring its beautiful water into the Axius.

Clearly Antimachus' reference to a Macedonian spring called Aea

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[315] *Cf. Etym. Magn.* 27. Αἶα καλεῖται καὶ κρήνη ἐν Παιονίᾳ.

[316] *Cf.* Erbse I.346.

[317] He then continues with an account of Strabo's own discussion (F23).

is related to this version of the Homeric line, and indicates that Antimachus himself must have read it so in his edition of Homer, i.e. he is one of the τινές mentioned by Eustathius.

It is interesting that Antimachus should feel obliged to recall this detail in his *Thebaid*.[318] Indeed it is tempting to question the attribution. No book number is provided, unlike Stephanus' other references to *Thebaid* Bk. 1 (F3 [Teumessus] and F12 [Cynthus]) and Bk. 5 (F28 [Dyme]) and to *Lyde* Bk. 2 (F85 [Dotian land]). Since the context is related to the Homeric Catalogue, should we suspect a reference to Antimachus' Homeric commentary? Could ἐν Θηβαΐδι be an intrusive guess by a later copyist or perhaps a corruption of ἐν τῇ β' (Ἰλιάδος)?

Whereas Antimachus may have read Ἀξιοῦ, ᾧ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται Αἴης, an interesting detail provided by Schol. BT *Il.* 21.158 (=Schol. *Od.* 11.239) is that Eudoxus of Cnidus (F349 Lasserre 121) read the Homeric line without the ν, i.e. Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται Αἶα, making Aea the subject and the name of a spring.[319] Wyss says that Eudoxus got the name into the text of Homer and seems to see Antimachus as a supporter of this reading. But Lasserre dates Eudoxus' life ca. 395-342/1, which would make him a decidedly younger contemporary of Antimachus.[320] The question then of who was the first to read Αἶα or Αἴης for αἶαν is difficult to resolve, but Eudoxus may have been following Antimachus.

58 (52 Wyss)

Etym. Gud. 238.14 Sturz (= *Aristoph. Byz.* F308 Slater): ἠθεῖος· ἀδελφός ... σημαίνει δὲ προσφώνησιν (Stoll, φρόνησιν codd.) νεωτέρου πρὸς παλαιότερον, καὶ τινες μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀδελφὸν μόνον λέγεται ... οὐ καλῶς δὲ λέγουσι. εὑρίσκεται γὰρ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀδελφὸν λεγόμενον, ὥσπερ ὁ Εὔμαιος λέγει (Slater, εὐμαῖος λόγος codd., Εὐμαίου Wyss,) περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως· (14.147) 'ἀλλά μιν ἠθεῖον καλέω καὶ νόσφιν ἐόντα'.

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318 *Cf.* his Cauconian Dyme (F27).

319 F. Gisinger, *Die Erdbeschreibung des Eudoxos von Knidos* (*ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ*, Leipzig/ Berlin 1921), 81-2 does not seem to have noticed Steph. Byz. 37.2 Meineke: Αἶα or Antimachus; *cf.* 'Sonst (i.e. apart from Strabo) wird die Aia in der antiken Literatur nirgends genannt, abgesehen von *Etym. Magn.* u. Αἶα' etc.

320 *Die Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos* ed. F. Lasserre (Berlin 1966), 139.

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίμαχος ἐχρήσατο ταύτῃ τῇ λέξει, μὴ ποιήσας τινὰ λέγοντα αὐτήν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λεγόμενος ἐχρήσατο λέγων·

αὐτίκα δ' ἠθείοισιν ἀναπτύσσων φάτο μῦθον

(σημαίνει δὲ ἐνταῦθα 'τοῖς οἰκείοις φίλοις'), ταῦτα δὲ λέγει (Slater, λέγων codd.) περὶ τοῦ Ἀδράστου (Schneidew.: παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα σου codd.).

Commentary

The compiler of the *Etym. Gud.* accurately reports Homeric usage of the word ἠθεῖος.[321] The term is used by Paris to Hector (*Il.* 6.518), by Menelaus to Agamemnon (10.37), twice by Athena, disguised as Deiphobus, to Hector (22.229; 239). In all cases the addressee is not only a brother, but an elder brother. But there are two instances of a non-brother being addressed. At *Il.* 23.94, Achilles addresses the ghost of Patroclus as ἠθείη κεφαλή, and at *Od.* 14.147 Eumaeus says that he still calls Odysseus ἠθεῖον though he is far away.[322] While it is true that Patroclus is older than Achilles (*Il.* 11.787) and that Eumaeus may be speaking with the respect of a servant for a master, there are, as Wyss says, suggestions in each case of a more fraternal type of relationship.

The closeness of Achilles and Patroclus needs no illustration, but it is worth noting that they grew up together in the house of Peleus (*Il.* 23.84-90). Eumaeus missed the lost Odysseus more than his parents (*Od.* 14.140 ff.) and, moreover, had been brought up almost as one of Odysseus' family (15.363 ff.). So there may be some justification for the claim that ἠθεῖος is properly used only of brothers.[323]

The word occurs only once in the Hesiodic corpus, ἠθεῖ' (*Scutum* 103) where Heracles addresses his charioteer (and nephew) Iolaus. This is striking in that the addressee is a whole generation younger than the addresser, but again the relationship is a very close one, *cf.* Ἥρως ὦ Ἰόλαε, βροτῶν πολὺ φίλτατε πάντων (78).

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[321] W. J. Slater says that the source of the information in *Etym. Gud.* is most probably Aristophanes himself, indirectly. He suggests that since the Antimachus quotation is not known from any other source it was possibly added by Aristophanes to illustrate the later usage. (*Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* [Berlin/New York 1986], 103 on F308).

[322] μιν ἠθεῖον καλέω, i.e. he would address him as ἠθεῖε; *cf.* Cunliffe, 179.

[323] G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* II. 227 on 6.518 says, 'The term may be particularly suitable between brothers, but means no more than "familiar friend", from ἦθος "custom".'

The context in Antimachus is that of Adrastus speaking to 'his trusty comrades', 'good friends'.[324]

Apollonius uses the word only twice. At 2.1219, Peleus addresses Argus, son of Phrixus, whom he has only just met and who must be close to his own age. Presumably he wishes to show him proper heroic respect. At 3.52, Aphrodite employs the word in addressing Hera and Athena. The scholiast comments that from the Homeric point of view, it is strictly applicable only to Hera (i.e. Aphrodite was older than Athena).[325] But Aphrodite is trying to be suitably deferential to the two grand Olympian deities. One may well agree with Mooney that Apollonius uses ἠθεῖος as a term of respect.

But as the writer of *Etym. Gud.* notes, Antimachus' use of the word differs from the Homeric (and indeed from the Hesiodic and Apollonian) in that it is not a term of address by one character to another, but is used of a third party by the author in his own person in his narrative. The only other example of such a third party non-vocative use is ὅταν/ξεῖνον ἐμὸν ἠθαῖον ἔλθῃς (Pindar *I.* 2.47-8), referring to Thrasybulus of Acragas. While it is difficult to estimate the degree or balance of respect and affection intended here, it appears that something like 'my good respected friend' is meant. Certainly the use of a case other than the vocative resembles Antimachus.

Wyss comments that Apollonius followed Antimachus *suo more.* It is difficult to agree, since Apollonius seems more Homeric in his practice. The relationship of Jason to his fellow Argonauts must surely have been analogous to that of Adrastus and his companions on the Theban expedition, yet not once in Apollonius' long epic does Jason address the Argonauts as ἠθεῖοι, nor does the poet use the word in his own person as Antimachus does in this fragment. In fact, Antimachus' extended use of ἠθεῖος appears to have gone further than what Apollonius felt acceptable to the epic tradition.

Another untraditional element in the verse is the use of ἀναπτύσσων ... μῦθον in the sense of 'unfolding', 'revealing'. Wyss appears to be correct in viewing this transitive use of the verb as originating in

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[324] Schneidewin's emendation (*Exerc. Crit.* 27) περὶ τοῦ Ἀδράστου for the corrupt παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα σου is surely correct. For the meaning *cf.* Kirk, note 3 above.

[325] The scholiast to A.R. 3.52 goes on to say that, according to the νεώτεροι, Aphrodite was older not only than Athena and Hera, but than Zeus as well (i.e. in keeping with Hes. *Theog.* 191 ff. where she was born from the genitals of Uranus).

tragedy, *cf.* especially οὐ γὰρ ἐν φίλοις/ὁ μῦθος, οὐδὲ πὰν ἀναπτύξαι/πρὸς φῶς (Soph. *El.* 638-40); also Aesch. *Pers.* 254; 294; Soph. F301 Radt; Eurip. *Troad.* 662; *Her. Fur.* 1256.[326]

As Wyss suggests, Antimachus uses the phrase to achieve a rich, grand style. In this he may have been followed by Moschus (*Megara* 51).[327]

Around the two unusual words, Antimachus employs very traditional epic vocabulary. Wyss well illustrates both αὐτίκα and φάτο μῦθον in the same positions in αὐτίκα μειλίχιον καὶ κερδαλέον φάτο μῦθον (*Od.* 6.147). Both features occur separately in the same metrical positions with some frequency in epic.

59 (54 Wyss)

Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.* 1.111.12 Schneider (locus = F8):

σφωίτερον μῦθον

Commentary

This fragment, preserved in the same context as F8, shows Antimachus using the form σφωίτερον as the second personal dual possessive adjective which it is in Homer (*Il.* 1.216), rather than as third person as in F8. When one considers the usual metrical positions for σφωίτερος as discussed on F8, this phrase probably constituted the beginning of the verse in front of the strong caesura.

Since Apollonius Dyscolus tells us that the words are addressed to Eteocles and Polynices, Wyss is probably correct in thinking the speaker to be Iocasta. He aptly compares the situation in Euripides' *Phoenissae.* In the tragedy, first Polynices (469-496) and then Eteocles (499-525) states his case. Iocasta replies, *hysteron proteron,* first to Eteocles (528-568), then with the pivotal line 568 σοὶ μὲν (Eteocles) τάδ' αὐδῶ. σοὶ δὲ Πολύνεικες λέγω, to Polynices.

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[326] This use would appear to be a metaphorical extension of the use of ἀναπτύσσειν for unfolding or opening written material e.g. Hdt. 1.48; 125. *Cf.* R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes, Second Series* (*Hypomnemata* Heft 74, Göttingen 1982), 24.

[327] *Cf.* J.W. Vaughn, *The Megara (Moschus IV), Text, Translation and Commentary* (Bern 1976), 56; H. White, *New Studies in Greek Poetry* (Amsterdam 1989), 41.

60 (55 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 113.11 Meineke: (Ἄργος), . . . καὶ Ἀργείωνες λέγονται ὡς Καδμείωνες (*Il.* 4.385) καὶ Ἀργειώνη, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος.

Ἀργειώνη

Commentary

As Wyss points out, following Jacobsohn,[328] the form Ἀργειώνη seems to be nothing other than a feminine form of Ἀργεῖος, not related to the ethnic words ending in -ων or -ιων.

Wyss speculated whether Antimachus was influenced by the Homeric Ἀτρυτώνη, always used at line-end. Such a supposition has been rendered needless by the discovery, since Wyss' edition, of the word Ἀργειώνη itself in several new Hesiodic fragments: κλυτὸς Ἀργειώνη (F217.6 M-W); κλυτὸς Ἀρ[γειώνη (F165.21 M-W *coni.* Lobel; Ἀρ[κασίδ- or Ἀρ[γείοισιν Merk.); καλλισ]φύρου Ἀργειώ[νη]ς (F23a20 M-W); καλλισφύρου Ἀρ[γειώνης (F136.10 M-W), all at line-end.

While the context of the latter two fragments indicates that Helen is meant, that of the other two is not clear. For F217, Merkelbach and West suggest Autonoe, presumably because Aristaeus is mentioned, but she is Theban, not Argive.

For Antimachus here, Wyss puts forward Argive Hera, a likely enough suggestion, although other candidates, such as either of the daughters of Adrastus or his sister Eriphyle, wife of Amphiaraus, are possible.

Callimachus has a similar form in *Hy.* 3.254 where he calls Io, the daughter of Inachus, Ἰναχιώνη.

61 (86 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. (55 Miller, *Mélanges*) (*Etym. Magn.* 178.12) ἀφνήμων. Ἀντίμαχος·

(– ––) πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα, τά περ ἀφνήμονας ἄνδρας

[328] H. Jacobsohn, 'Zu den griechischen Ethnika', *Zeits. für Vergleich. Sprachforsch.* 57 (1930), 88.

παρὰ τὸ ἄφενος γίνεται ἄφνος κατὰ συγκοπήν, ᾧ κέχρηται Πίνδαρος, οἷον (F219 Snell-Maehler) 'οἱ δ' ἄφνει πεποίθασιν'. ἐκ τούτου γίνεται ῥῆμα, ἀφνῶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀφνήμων. οὕτως Φιλόξενος εἰς τὸ Ῥηματικὸν αὐτοῦ (F372 Theodoridis).

Versum initio hexametri deficere coni. Matthews <ἔθηκεν> in fine hexametri suppl. Bergk, prob. Wyss τάπερ <ποεῖ> ἀφν. suppl. Stoll

Commentary

The fragment is preserved because of the *unicum* ἀφνήμων. Apart from this word, the phrasing and sense are reminiscent of earlier poetry, *cf.* ἐξ ἔργων δ' ἄνδρες πολύμηλοί τ' ἀφνειοί τε (Hesiod, *Op.* 308); ἀφνειοὶ μήλοισι (120); ἀφνειὴ μήλοισι (F240.2); τὸν δ' ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε (*Theog.* 974); καί μ' ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε (*Il.* 9.483). Wyss misses these earlier passages, but does notice ἀφνειὸν μήλοις ... ἔμμεναι (Theocr. 25.119).

Wyss is surely wrong to suppose that περ precedes the caesura. The pause after μῆλα clearly suggests that we have the weak caesura after the third trochee, i.e. the verse is deficient at the beginning, not at the end. A verb such as θῆκε or ποιεῖ may have followed at the beginning of the next verse (e.g. *Il.* 17.541; 23.153; *Od.* 5.253). In περ ἀφνήμονας we have an example of lengthening in the arsis, *cf.* δαίμονα περ εἴ πως (*Il.* 17.104).

Antimachus may well have invented the word ἀφνήμων. It imparts the weightier effect of a noun rather than an adjective. The sense is 'which make men millionaires'. Wyss compares it to words like πολυκτήμων (*Il.* 5.163).

A context is not readily apparent. The sense could be '<X (who) had> many sheep, such as <make> men millionaires' or perhaps '<X gave Y> many sheep etc.', or '<in X place there were> many sheep etc.' To fit the second situation here we have the suggestion of Stoll (70) that the line could refer to Adrastus enriching his new son-in-law Tydeus, an allusion to the description by Diomedes of his father's comfortable lifestyle in Argos (*Il.* 14.119ff.). *Cf.* especially πολλὰ δέ οἱ πρόβατ' ἔσκε (124, beginning of line) and ναῖε δὲ δώμα/ἀφνειὸν βιότοιο (121-2).

62 (87 Wyss)

Eustath. *Od.* 1441.10 (I.91 Stallbaum): τὸ δὲ ἀνιηρέστερον ὤφειλε μὲν εἶναι ἀνιηρότερον, μέτρου δὲ χάριν οὕτω λαλεῖται. ὡς καὶ τὸ αἰδοιέστερον (Dion. Perieg. 172) καὶ λοιπὰ τοιαῦτα ... Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ὅτι

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑) ἀφνειέστατος ἔσκεν

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because it contains an improper form of a superlative. The normal form is ἀφνειότατος as in *Il.* 20.220, ὃς δὴ ἀφνειότατος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Wackernagel thought that the form was assimilated to that of its opposite πενέστατος.[329] But Antimachus is surely simply following the analogy of the Homeric example cited by Eustathius, namely ἀνιηρέστερον for ἀνιηρότερον in *Od.* 2.190. As in the Homeric example, the change is probably made for metrical reasons, to avoid a succession of three short syllables.[330] I would suggest too that the phrase belongs at line-end, like its Homeric model ἀνιηρέστερον ἔσται.

Another instance in early poetry is αἰδοιέστατος (Pind. *O.* 3.42). Later examples are to be found in Callimachus, μαλκίστατον (*Hecale* F139 Hollis = 348 Pf.); τερπνίστατα (F93.3 Pf.); τέρπνιστον (*Hecale* F150 Hollis = 319 Pf.); and in Nicander, κυδίστατε (*Ther.* 3) and πρεσβίστατον (*Ther.* 344).[331]

The Antimachaean context may be the same as that of F61.

63 (90 Wyss)

Eustath. *Od.* 1746.17 (II.54 Stallbaum) ex Herodiano (1.444.15 Lentz): λέγει δὲ (Herodianus) καὶ ὅτι τὰ εἰς -ζω ῥήματα παραληγόμενα τῷ υ φιλεῖ πως βαρύνεσθαι ... εὑρέθη μέντοι τινὰ καὶ περισπώμενα, ὧν ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ προκατάρχει ὄνομα, ὡς τὸ κορυζῶ καὶ τὸ φυζῶ, οὗ μέσος παρακείμενος ἐν τῷ 'πεφυζότες ἠύτε νεβροί' (*Il.* 22.1) καὶ τὸ μυζῶ, ἐξ οὗ τὸ 'μεμυζότε μυδαλέω τε' παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ.

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[329] Wackernagel, *Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde* 13 (*Programm zur Rektoratsfeier der Universität Basel* 1897 = *Kleine Schriften* I, [Göttingen 1953], 774). He seems to have erred in printing the comparative forms, not the superlatives.

[330] *Cf.* Stephanie West, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I.143.

[331] See Hollis, *Hecale*, 313.

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑) μεμυζότε μυδαλέω τε

Commentary

Wyss follows Solmsen in understanding the perfect participle μεμυζότε as coming from the verb μυζᾶν, 'to suck', meaning *sugentes* (Wyss) or *vollgesogen* (Solmsen).[332] Consequently Wyss suggests that the words belong to a context in which Iocasta is reminding her feuding sons of their common childhood.

In LSJ[9], however, μεμυζότε is listed under μύζειν (A), meaning 'to moan, murmur, make a noise'.[333]

The adjective μυδαλέος means 'wet', 'dripping', perhaps 'clammy'. So the whole phrase might mean 'having sucked full and dripping' or perhaps 'moaning and dripping'. Either meaning would still be suitable for a pair of infants. But the fact that the participle occurs nowhere else is a major obstacle to elucidating its meaning.

Solmsen sees a connection between μύζω, 'suck' and μυδῶ, 'flow', 'drip', 'be wet through' and suggests that the former is really a factitive sense of the same verb 'make to flow etc.' This leads me to think that μεμυζότε μυδαλέω τε may merely be an alliterative way of repeating the same idea, that the phrase really means 'soaked through and dripping' *vel sim.* That is how it is understood by Stoll (96), *de hominibus permadefactis.*

Monro, on the Homeric πεφυζότες, thinks it is formed from the noun φύζα without any tense stem. He compares κεκοπώς (*Il.* 13.60) and δεδουπότος (23.679).[334] His theory does not hold for μεμυζότε, but his comment that these participial forms are treated as derivative adjectives does seem to be true.

In Homer, both πεφυζότες and δεδουπότος follow a weak caesura, making it very likely that this is the position of μεμυζότε here.

The adjective μυδαλέος is fairly common in epic, e.g. αἵματι μυδ. (*Il.* 11.54); δάκρυσι μυδ. (Hes. *Scut.* 270); μυδ. absolutely (*Op.* 556; Archil. F249 West). Apollonius uses it three times. At 2.191 and 229, it is used of smell, 'mouldy'. At 2.1106, it has its more usual meaning of 'soaking wet', 'drenched' (of the sons of Phrixus when they are rescued by the Argonauts).

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[332] F. Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* 66 (1911), 140-1.

[333] So too Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* II.718.

[334] Monro, *GHD* 30 §26.5.

While Eteocles and Polynices remain the most likely pair to be the subject of this fragment, it is worth remembering that there are several other pairs of people mentioned by Antimachus which might provide a suitable context, e.g. Polynices and Tydeus arriving at Adrastus' court;[335] the Boreads in the Phineus episode.[336]

64 (91 Wyss)

Schol. bT *Il.* 23.845 (V.498 Erbse): 'καλαύροπα'· ῥάβδον καλὴν ῥοπὴν ἔχουσαν. βάλλουσι δὲ αὐτήν. ὅτε συνενωθείσας βούλονται διακρῖναι τὰς βοῦς. ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῷ κάτω μέρει δεσμόν, εἰς ὃν εἴρουσι τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ Ἀντίμαχος·

πάντες δ' ἐν χείρεσσι καλαύροπας οὐατοέσσας
εἶλον.

τῶν δὲ ἅπαξ εἰρημένων ἡ λέξις.

εἶλον Stoll ἕλον b om. T

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because of the Homeric gloss καλαῦροψ which is found in the line ὅσσόν τίς τ' ἔρριψε καλαύροπα βουκόλος ἀνήρ (*Il.* 23.845).

The καλαῦροψ was a herdsman's staff which seems to have been thrown in order to get cattle to move in a certain direction. But it is difficult to discover exactly what it was like and what the derivation of the word is.

Schol. bT *Il.* 23.845(c) says that herdsmen threw the καλαῦροψ when they wanted to separate cattle which had pushed together, but the suggested derivation καλὴν ῥοπὴν ἔχουσαν appears no better than a guess. The detail, however, that it had in its lower part a δεσμός into which one inserted the hand is helpful. This δεσμός seems to have been a sort of loop or handle to assist in the action of throwing. Presumably, the ῥοπή or weight was in the upper end, so that when whirled and thrown the staff could travel a considerable distance with some force.[337]

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[335] *Cf.* F8 and 9. Stoll (96) suggests a reference to this episode.

[336] *Cf.* F71; or possibly their deaths at Tenos (F91).

[337] *Cf.* Schol. Didymi *Il.* 23.845 καλαύροπα· ... ἔστι δὲ ξύλον κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος ῥοπὴν ἔχον, ὅ ἐστι βάρος.

The modern lexicographers agree that the latter part of the word is related to ῥόπαλον and ῥοπή.[338] The basic sense of ῥόπαλον is a piece of wood becoming thicker towards the end,[339] i.e. having its ῥοπή, 'weight' or 'balance' at one end. But the lexicographers have little to say about the first element of the word.[340]

Several ancient commentators (who do not quote or name Antimachus) give different explanations. Eustathius 1332.45 says: καλαῦροψ δὲ ῥόπαλον ἐπικαμπὲς ἐν ἀκρῳ, οὗ τὸ κᾶλον, ὅ ἐστι ξύλον αὖ ῥέπει.[341] This explanation derives the name from τὸ κᾶλον, apparently a piece of wood, ξύλον, which is swung or hung (ῥέπει) from one end of the staff. A strong argument against this suggestion is that κᾶλον has a long α, while the α in καλαῦροψ is short. Schol. A *Il.* 23.845(a) however says: καλαύροπα· ... σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ῥόπαλον, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλου καὶ τοῦ ῥέπειν. This may be the source of the mistaken view that the καλ- element is derived from κᾶλος, 'piece of wood'. The form τοῦ κάλου is also the genitive of ὁ κάλος (epic and Ionic for Attic κάλως), 'a rope or line', i.e. this κάλος will be identical to the δεσμός mentioned by Schol. 23.845c. In other words, the staff took its name from the loop of rope used to throw it and from the ῥοπή or weighted end which enabled it to be thrown effectively. This connection with κάλος was in fact suggested by Curtius, though he considered the second part of the word to be from ϝρέπω, 'to hurl'.[342]

The word καλαῦροψ occurs quite frequently in writers later than Antimachus. Apollonius uses it on two occasions. On the earlier one (2.33) the Bebrycian king Amycus throws down 'the rough καλαῦροψ of mountain olive which he carried'. Then at 4.975, Lampetie herds her cattle with a καλαῦροψ made of oreichalc. In both places the word clearly denotes a fairly large herdsman's staff. Colluthus (110) also mentions Paris having such a staff, ποιμενίη ... βοῶν ἐλάτειρα, καλαῦροψ. But in some later poets, the word denotes something smaller, e.g. Nonnus twice uses it of something like a cattle-

338 *Cf.* Boisacq, *Dict. Étym.*, 397; Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* II.484; O. Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European and the Nature of Indo-European Accent* (Naples 1964), 54-5.
339 *Cf.* the adjective ῥοπαλικός LSJ⁹ *s.v.*
340 *Cf.* LSJ⁹; Chantraine *s.v.* καλαῦροψ (II.484).
341 *Cf.* Eustath. 1815.12; *Etym. Magn.* 485.38(= *Etym. Gud.* 294.50).
342 See Mooney on A.R. 2.33, 155.

prod (1.82; 343),[343] while Philostratus has it referring to an elephant driver's goad (*VA* 2.11).[344]

Antimachus characterizes his καλαύροπες as οὐατοέσσας, 'long-eared', presumably referring to ear-like handles at the upper-end of a large staff. Richardson may well be right in referring the epithet to the δεσμός which formed the handle.[345]

The epithet οὐατόεις/ὠτώεις is used quite often in early poetry of various articles, e.g. tripods (*Il.* 23.264; 513; Hes. *Op.* 657a); a bowl (Simon. F631 [246] *PMG*). Later writers use it also of the donkey, *cf.* θῆρι (Callim. Fl.31); ὄνος (Nonn. 21.209). A contest involving people with herdsman's staffs may suggest a link with F55 (from the *Thebaid*) which mentions someone driving cattle from an enclosure. Therefore we may tentatively attribute this fragment also to Antimachus' epic.

65 (113 Wyss)

Choerobosc. in Theod. 1.191.12 Hilgard (= Herodian. 2.697.26 Lentz): ταῦτα οὖν τὰ εἰς -ις τῶν εἰς -ς φύσει ληγόντων μονοσύλλαβα ὄντα μακρὸν ἔχουσι τὸ ι καὶ προσθέσει τοῦ -ος κλίνονται, οἷον κίς κιός, 'ἀκιώτατοι ἱστοβοῆες' (Hesiod. *Op.* 435) (κίς δὲ ἐστιν ὁ σκώληξ), λίς λιός, 'ὥστε λὶς ἠυγένειος' (*Il.* 17.109)· 'λῖες μέν τοι λίεσσι' παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ, ἐπὶ τοῦ λέοντος ... εἰ γὰρ καὶ εὕρηται τὸ λίς συνεσταλμένον ἔχον τὸ ι ποιητικῶς, ὡς παρ' Εὐφορίωνι ἐν Μοψοπίᾳ (F35a Powell) [ὡς] ἐπὶ τοῦ 'οἵ<οι> ἐπιθύουσι β<ο>ῶν λίες' καὶ πάλιν (F35b Powell) 'κάπροι τε λίες τε', ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ ἐκτεταμένον ἔχει αὐτὸ, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ 'λῖες μέν τοι λίεσσι'

Etym. Gen. Λ (41 Alpers) Λίς: ὁ λέων . . . λαμβάνεται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ λέοντος ἀρσενικῶς, οἷον· 'λίες μέν τε λίεσσι.' Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 11.480a: <λῖν>. . . τὸ γὰρ πληθυντικὸν παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ (F dub. 807 Pf.) 'αἱ μέν ῥα λίεσσιν', ὡς μύεσσιν· *Etym. Magn.* λίς . . . τὸ δὲ πληθοντικὸν παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ 'λῖες' καὶ 'λίεσσιν' (cod. Marc.), ὡς μύεσσι (λίεσιν et μύεσι codd. reliq.)

λῖες μέν τε λίεσσι (⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑)

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[343] At 17.166, a Pan uses his καλαῦροψ to smash the head of an opponent. But it also appears to be a cattle-prod in Pamprepius (?) 35.3.118, ed. E. Heitsch, *Die griech. Dichterfrag. d. röm. Kaiserzeit* I.2 (Göttingen 1963), 115.

[344] See R. Renehan, *Gk. Lex. Notes* (*Hypomnemata* 45, 1975), 115.

[345] N. J. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary* VI (Cambridge 1993), 265 on 23.845-7.

λῖες plerique λίες *Etym. Gen.* αἱ Schol. Hom. (ex ΛΙ[ΕΣ] in ΑΙ corruptum propos. van der Valk) μέν τε *Etym. Gen.*, Dindorf, O. Schneider μέντοι codd. NCVP Choerobosc. μέν ῥα Schol. Hom., Meineke μέν merum Ed. Fraenkel, Wyss λίεσσι plerique λίεσσιν Schol. Hom. cod. Marc. *Etym. Magn.* Schneider <ὁμήθεες> add. Schneider <φίλοι> add. Wyss.

Commentary

This fragment is preserved in a discussion of monosyllabic words in -ις with genitive in -ιος. Choeroboscus (drawing on Herodian) attributes it to Antimachus, but the *Etymologica* assign it to Callimachus.

I follow Wyss in claiming it for the Colophonian. Wyss lists it among those of *incertae sedis*, while Pfeiffer makes it the first of his *dubia* (F807). The editor of Callimachus notes that the names of the two poets are confused elsewhere,[346] although he concludes on F807 '*res diiudicari nequit.*'

Van der Valk, however, claims to settle the question of authorship.[347] He suggests that since the Choeroboscus passage (from Herodian) enters into more details, Herodian in his *Catholica* consulted the poets themselves and thus referred the fragment correctly to Antimachus, whereas, in his *Iliaca Prosodia* (Schol. A *Il.* 11.480), he quoted from memory and so wrongly attributed the fragment to the more famous poet (Callimachus).

The proper reading of the text appears to be λῖες μέν τε λίεσσι as given by *Etym. Gen.*[348] The reading μέν τοι is a common corruption.[349] We appear to have the beginning of the hexameter, preceding a third-trochee caesura. For μέν τε in the same *sedes* as here *cf.* Hes. *Op.* 233; 552; 761.

Since the nominative λῖες in itself provides sufficient illustration of the grammarian's claim that the word can have a long iota, there is no reason why the first syllable of the dative plural may not be short here (*cf.* Pfeiffer; LSJ[9]; *contra* Wyss). Plural forms of the word λίς never occur in Homer.

In employing the two different quantities for the iota, Antimachus is cleverly reflecting Homeric practice, namely short iota in ὥστε λίς (*Il.* 11.239), ὥς τε λὶς ἠυγένειος (17.109; 18.318), but long in ἐφάνη

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[346] F481 Pf. = F203 *dub.*; F650 Pf. = F202 *dub.*
[347] *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* I (Leiden 1963), 122 n. 45.
[348] Van der Valk *ibid.*; West (ed.) *Hes. Theog.* 332 on v. 596.
[349] *Cf. Il.* 4.424; Hes. *Theog.* 596 (with West's note); Nic. *Alex.* 36 and 498.

λῖς ἠυγένειος (*Il.* 15.275; *cf.* εἴκειτο μέγας λῖς, ἀμφὶ δὲ κάπροι Hes. *Scut.* 172) and in the accusative ἐπί τε λῖν ἤγαγε δαίμων (*Il.* 480). In using the plural Antimachus may have set the example for Euphorion, who has both singular λίς (F418.17 *SH*) and plural λίες (F35a;b Powell).[350] It is notable that in the latter instances the iota is short.

The fragment reminds one of Xenophanes F19.3-4 G-P: ἵπποι μέν θ' ἵπποισι, βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὁμοίας/καὶ <κε> θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον κ.τ.λ., of [Theocr.] 9.31-2: Τέττιξ μὲν τέττιγι φίλος, μύρμακι δὲ μύρμαξ, / ἴρηκες δ' ἴρηξιν, ἐμὶν δ' ἁ Μοῖσα καὶ ᾠδά and of a passage in Xen. *Oec.* 10.7: ... ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν ἵπποις μὲν ἵππους, βουσὶ δὲ βοῦς ἥδιστον, προβάτοις δὲ πρόβατα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπου σῶμα καθαρὸν οἴονται ἥδιστον εἶναι. *Cf.* also Arist. *Eud. Eth.* 7.2.1237a 28: διὸ εὐθὺς τὰ ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις χαίρει, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἥδιστον ἄνθρωπος.

The idea in all these passages is 'to each his own'. But rather than viewing this fragment as part of a general list like those in Xenophanes, [Theocritus] and Xenophon, I am inclined to see here part of the reaction of Adrastus to the oracle that he must wed his two daughters to a boar and a lion, e.g. 'Lions (μέν τε) <lie> with lions <and boars (τε) with boars>. My daughters (δὲ) should wed human beings' *vel sim.*[351] *Cf.* αἳ (bees) μέν τε... / ... σπεύδουσι τιθεῖσί τε ... /οἱ (the drones) δ' ... (Hes. *Theog.* 596-8).

For a similar reaction, compare that of Iocasta when Polynices tells her the story: καὶ σοὶ τί θηρῶν ὀνόματος μετῆν, τέκνον; (Eurip. *Phoen.* 412). For the oracle itself *cf.* κάπρῳ με δοῦναι καὶ λέοντι παῖδ' ἐμώ (Eurip. *Suppl.* 140); κάπρῳ λέοντί θ' ἁρμόσαι παίδων γάμους (Eurip. *Phoen.* 411). Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 409 quotes a three hexameter response recorded by Mnaseas (*FHG* III F48 Müller) which begins κουράων δὲ γάμους ζεῦξον κάπρῳ ἠδὲ λέοντι. The scholiast reports that some authorities told that Tydeus and Polynices were identified as the boar and the lion from the emblems on their shields, others that they were recognised because they had used the skins of a boar and a lion to keep out the cold.[352] At *Suppl.* 145-6,

[350] There are no instances of λέων in the fragments of Euphorion.

[351] On this oracle *cf.* J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1978), 95-6 and, for the sources, 366.

[352] *Schol. in Euripidem* ed. Schwartz, I. 297; *cf.* Fontenrose, 96 n.9.

Euripides has Adrastus simply liken the fight between the pair to a struggle between the two animals.[353]

66 (77 *SH*)

Cyrilli Lexicon, cod. Z (ed. M. Naoumides, *GRBS* 9 [1968] 274): χειροβοσκόν· τὸν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν ζῶντα [hactenus *Cyr. Lex.* codd. h,m; Hesych. χ 286], Σοφοκλῆς Δαιδάλῳ (F164a Radt)·

†γατρὶ χεῖρα

δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἔφη.

Cf. *Etym. Magn.* 221.52: γαστερόχειρες καὶ ἐγχειρογάστορες· οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ζῶντες (ita Hesych. γ 191 [I.364 Latte]; *Anecd.* Bekker I.230.13), *Etym. Gen.* AB ἐγχειργάστορες [A (contulerunt Lloyd-Jones/Parsons): ἐγχειγάστορες B (contulit K. Alpers)] ἐκ χειρῶν ζῶντες.

γατρὶ χεῖρα cod. γαστερόχειρα Naoumides sed verbum Antimacheum proposuit γαστερόχειρες Matthews (ex lexicis)

Commentary

This fragment was discovered by Naoumides in cod. Z of the *Cyrilli Lexicon*.[354] It is found in the entry *s.v.* χειροβοσκόν, a word used by Sophocles in his *Daidalus*, explained as τὸν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν ζῶντα.[355]

The codex reads γατρὶ χεῖρα. The obvious correction, γαστρίχειρα, however, is incapable of standing in a hexameter or pentameter line, the only verse forms known to have been used by Antimachus.

The easiest solution is to read γαστερόχειρα, a word employed by Strabo in a reference to the building of Tiryns by the Cyclopes (8.6.11 C373): τῇ μὲν οὖν Τίρυνθι ὁρμητηρίῳ χρήσασθαι δοκεῖ Προῖτος καὶ τειχίσαι διὰ Κυκλώπων, οὓς ἑπτὰ μὲν εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δὲ γαστερόχειρας, <ὡς> τρεφομένους ἐκ τῆς τέχνης, ἥκειν δὲ μεταπέμπτους ἐκ Λυκίας.

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[353] The boar and the lion are frequently linked, *cf. Il.* 8.338; 11.293; 12.42; *Od.* 11.611; *Hy. Herm.* 569; Euph. F35b Powell.

[354] Codex Matritensis Bibl. Univ. Z-22 No.116, a parchment codex of the tenth or eleventh century, ed. M. Naoumides, *GRBS* 9 (1968), 267-90. The Antimachus fragment is discussed 274-6.

[355] The Sophocles fragment is also given by *Etym. Gud.* 564.25f (= F164a Radt).

Naoumides suggests that Strabo, who quotes other fragments of Antimachus (F2; 27; 79; 131; 145), took the word from the Colophonian and indeed had him in mind in the passage about the Cyclopes.[356] The discrepancy between Strabo's accusative plural (not nominative, as Naoumides writes) and the accusative singular of the *Cyrilli Lexicon* may result from the lexicographer changing the form to agree with his lemma χειροβοσκόν. The number of Cyclopes also suggests that Strabo's plural may be the genuine Antimachean form, but the unanimity of the lexical lemmata in presenting the nominative plural argues that that is the case used by Antimachus.[357]

Antimachus could have referred to the Cyclopes and Tiryns in connection with the mustering of the Argive forces in his *Thebaid*.

He seems to have created the form γαστερόχειρες by reversing the elements of the more common (ἐγ)χειρογάστορες.[358] The latter form is of course unsuitable for dactylic verse.

356 Naoumides, 276.

357 *Cf.* Hesych.; *Anecd.* Bekk.; *Etym. Magn.* Note also ἐγχειρογάστορες used of the Cyclopes by Schol. Eurip. *Orestes* 965 (I.192.12 Schwartz). Schol. A.R. 1.989-91 uses the word not of the Cyclopes (as *SH* states), but of the six-armed earthborn men near Cyzicus; *cf.* A.R. 1.942ff.

358 First in Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1F367; also the title of a comedy by Nicophon (VII.65 Kassel-Austin); used by Athenaeus 1.4D (1.8 Kaibel).

67 (56 Wyss)

Schol. A.R. 1.211-15c (26 Wendel): Ζήτης καὶ Κάλαις· τούτους ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων συμπλεῦσαι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις φασίν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Θρᾴκης, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος· Ἡρόδωρος (*FGrHist* 31 F46) δὲ ἐκ Δαυλίδος· Δοῦρις (*FGrHist* 76 F86) δὲ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων. καταλέγει δὲ τούτους καὶ Ἀντίμαχος. Φανόδικος δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Δηλιακῶν (*FGrHist* 397 F1) ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πλοῦν.

Commentary

This fragment tells us only that Antimachus, like Apollonius, listed Zetes and Calais in his catalogue of Argonauts: καταλέγει δὲ τούτους καὶ Ἀντίμαχος. There is no evidence for the place from which they came to join the expedition in Antimachus' version.[1]

68 (57 Wyss)

P. Berol. 12605 (ostr. saec. iii a.C.) (ed. Wilamowitz, *Sitz.-Ber. prüss. Akad.* xxxvi [1918], 741) [Pack² 2131]: σοῦσα· σχοινία. Ὁμήρου (*Od.* 21.390)· 'κεῖτο δ' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ σοῦσον (ὅπλον vulg.) νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης βύβλινον, ᾧ τ' (ῥ' vulg.) ἐπέδησε θύρας, [ἐς δ' ἤ]λυθεν (ἤιεν vulg.) αὐτὸς'. Ἀντιμάχου·

ἐν δ' ἱστὸν θῆκεν, λαίφεσι δὲ λινέοις
οὖσ' ἐτίθει παντοῖα θεά, πόδας ἠδὲ κάλωας,
ἐν δ' ὑπέρας στρεπτάς, ὅπλα τε πάντα νεώς.

1-2 ΔΕ̣*ΛΙΝΕΟΙΣ*ΣΟΥΣΑ ostr. οὖσ' Powell σοῦσ' West G-P οὖσα Wyss In *Od.* 21.390: ὑπ' αἰθούσης Apoll. Soph. 15.1 ὅπλον vulg. πλ in ὅπλον post correcturam U² (Ludwich, *Od.* II 262) θεά ostr. fort. θεή West ut F111 3 νεώς ostr. fort. νεός West

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[1] Edmonds, *Greek Elegy and Iambus* I.509 (Loeb) mistranslates, creating the impression that Antimachus listed all the places mentioned in Schol. A.R.

Commentary

This fragment is extremely interesting in being preserved by a commentator of the third century B.C. writing on an ostracon.[2] This commentary consists of a series of glosses on the meaning of words in Homer, Antimachus, and Hipponax (F49 West).[3]

The particular word in Antimachus (and *Od.* 21.390) which concerned the commentator clearly was read by him as σοῦσα (pl.) in Antimachus and σοῦσον (sing.) in the *Odyssey* in the sense of σχοινίον, 'a rope'. Other ancient sources took the word to be οὖσον, *cf.* Alex. Aet. F3.21 Powell; Lyc. 20; Hesych. οὖσα· σχοινία, νεὼς ὅπλα.

West and Gentile-Prato print σοῦσ', Wyss follows Powell, but prints his earlier reading οὖσα rather than his subsequent and preferable οὖσ'. Powell thinks that the writer on the ostracon is mistaken in his reading.[4] The normal meaning of σοῦσον is 'lily' (e.g. Athen. 12.513F) and Powell argues that no member of the *liliaceae* could be used for rope-making, being too brittle. He suggests that the word which appeared in the texts of Homer and Antimachus from which the commentator quoted was οὖσον.

West, in his *apparatus*, writes 'in *Od.* 21.390 legebatur olim κειτο-δυπαιθουση(ι)σουσονvεος (ὅπλον νεός vulg.).' But from the *apparatus* of Ludwich it can be seen that one reading was ὑπ' αἰθούσης (Apoll. Soph. 15.1), while in U² the πλ in ὅπλον is *post correcturam.* Thus the old reading may have been ὑπ' αἰθούσης οὖσον, which was wrongly divided and changed to a dative by the ostracon writer as ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ σοῦσον.[5] The glossator carried this mistaken form over into his quotation from Antimachus, but the fact that Alexander Aetolus, Lycophron, and Hesychius all read οὖσον may be confirmation that this was the form which Antimachus used. But whatever form Antimachus used in his own poem must have been the one which he read in his own edition of Homer (*cf.* Wyss). It hardly seems necessary to suppose that ΑΙΘΟΥΣΗΣΙΟΥΣΟΝ was a corruption pro-

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[2] First published by Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsberichte der prüssischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* XXXVI (1918) 739-42, Homerische Glossen, Ostrakon 12605.

[3] After Wilamowitz *cf.* A. Humpers, *Rev. Phil.* 45 (1922), 90-92.

[4] J.U. Powell, *CR* 33 (1919), 90-91; *cf. Coll. Alex.*, 250.

[5] Ludwich, *Od.* II.262. Thus van der Valk is wrong in thinking that all trace of the reading has disappeared from the tradition (*Textual Criticism of the Odyssey* [London 1949], 82).

duced by dittography from ΑΙΘΟΥΣΗΙΟΠΛΟΝ as suggested by Fernández-Galiano.[6]

As Wilamowitz saw, the lines probably belong to a description of the goddess Athena equipping the *Argo* with all the necessary ship's tackle. In Apollonius, this task is done by the Argonauts themselves (1.392-3; 563 ff.). Antimachus' account in fact is closer to Homer's depiction of Odysseus building and equipping his craft with the assistance of Calypso (*Od.* 5.234-261). But Athena's expertise in shipbuilding was well-known, *cf.* the simile at *Il.* 15.410 ff. of the skillful shipwright who had learned his whole craft ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν Ἀθήνης (412).[7]

Antimachus' language echoes that of Homer e.g. ἐν δ' ἱστὸν θῆκεν, *cf.* ἐν δ' ἱστὸν ποιεῖ (254, same *sedes*);[8] (σ)οῦσ' ἐτίθει, *cf.* ὅπλ' ἐτίθει (*Od.* 2.390, same *sedes*); πόδας ἠδὲ κάλωας/ἐν δ' ὑπέρας, *cf.* ἐν δ' ὑπέρας (same *sedes*) τε κάλους τε πόδας τ' ἐνέδησεν ἐν αὐτῇ (5.260); ὅπλά τε πάντα, *cf.* *Od.* 10.404; 424; 12.401.[9]

Apollonius in turn borrows from Antimachus, e.g. ἐν δέ οἱ ἱστὸν/ λαίφεά τ' εὐποίητα (1.392-3); κάλωας (1.566, same *sedes*; *cf.* 1.1277); κάλωες/ὅπλα τε νήια πάντα (2.725-6).

The word λαῖφος in Homer means 'a tattered garment' (*Od.* 13.399; plural 20.206), but it is used of a ship's sail as early as Alcaeus F326.7 L-P[10] and in *Hy. Ap.* 406 λαῖφος νηός.[11] Antimachus' use of the plural (*cf.* A.R. 1.393; 1015) is probably to be explained by the fact that a sail could be made of several pieces.[12] At the end of the verse δέ must be treated as being lengthened before the liquid λ.

In v.2 θεά is the normal Homeric form. West suggests the possibility of θεή in view of its occurrence in F111, but Antimachus may well have used both forms, as did Callimachus and Apollonius.[13]

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[6] In J. Russo, M. Fernández-Galiano, and A. Heubeck, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* III (Oxford 1992), 197-8 on 21.390 (citing Frisk).

[7] The phrase is borrowed by A.R. 1.19. In a passage about the *Argo* at the beginning of *Poem* 64, Catullus refers to Athena herself (*ipsa*) building the vessel. He may have gotten this from Antimachus.

[8] *Cf.* ἐν δ' ἱστόν τ' ἐτίθεντο (*Od.* 4.781 = 8.52); ἐν δ' ἱστ. τιθέμεσθα (11.3).

[9] *Cf.* ὅπλα ἕκαστα (*Od.* 11.9-10 = 12.151-2); νηῶν ὅπλα (6.268).

[10] F208.7 ed. D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* I (Loeb).

[11] R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982), 122 sees this as one of the usages giving the impression that the *Hymn* is post-Homeric. At *Hy.Herm* 152 the word is used of bedding and at *Hy.* 19.23 of a lynx' skin.

[12] *Cf.* Mooney, 133 on A.R. 1.1015.

[13] *Cf.* Callimachus θεά (*Hy.* 1.30), θεή (37; F186.30), with McLennan's commentary (*Callimachus: Hymn to Zeus*, 61-2, on v. 30); Apollonius: nom. only θεά, but gen.

The close proximity of θῆκεν ... / ... ἐτίθει ... θεά may point to the supposed derivation of θεά/-ός from τίθημι as claimed by Herodotus (2.52, *cf. Etym. Magn.* 445.42 *s.v.* θεός; 446.21 *s.v.* θεουδής).[14]

Wyss notes that κάλωας is an Attic form, but LSJ[9] lists the acc. pl. in Attic inscriptions as κάλως. Del Corno thought that the form could be of tragic origin, even more so because it is also found in Apollonius.[15] But the sources he cites (Eurip. *Tro.* 94 and *Med.* 278) have acc. κάλως and gen. κάλων respectively,[16] and Apollonius may have taken the form from Antimachus. Mooney, writing before the publication of this ostracon, thought that κάλωες, -ας were new formations by Apollonius.[17] Antimachus thus becomes the earliest writer known to use them. The forms recur in later epic, e.g. Orph. *Arg.* 255; Opp. *Hal.* 1.228; 1.345; 2.223.

The epithet στρεπτός in the meaning 'twisted' is found in later epic with κάλωες (Orph. *Arg.* 623). Antimachus' model may have been *Od.* 2.426, where the crew pull up the white sails ἐυστρέπτοισι βοεῦσιν, 'with well-twisted ropes of ox-hide', *cf.* πεῖσμα ... ἐυστρεφές (10.167) and ὅπλῳ ἐυστρεφεί (14.346), 'a well-twisted rope'. Apollonius echoes the latter passage when, prior to the launch of the *Argo*, the crew gird the vessel ἐυστρεφεῖ ἔνδοθεν ὅπλῳ, 'with a rope, well-twisted within' (1.368).

Also 'unHomeric' is the Attic genitive νεώς (West suggests that perhaps νεός be read).[18] But the accusative νέα occurs at *Od.* 9.283 and νεώς itself is a widely-attested variant at e.g. *Il.* 15.423; 693; 704; *Od.* 7.252; 9.482; 10.127; 12.100 etc.[19] Thus νεώς may well be what Antimachus read and should be retained in this fragment. Similarly, Apollonius, despite employing the Ionic νηός on all other occasions, reproduces νεώς at 4.208.

θεᾶς (1.226 and nine other instances), θεῆς(3.252; 4.241); dat. θεᾷ (4.251), θεῇ (3.549). In the Homeric poems the -η form occurs only in the dative plurals θεῇς (*Il.* 3.158) and θεῇσι(ν) (*Il.* 8.305; 11.637; 19.286; *Od.* 7.291).

[14] *Cf.* Theocritus *Id.*25.50, with Chryssafis' commentary (80).

[15] Del Corno, 90. He further suggests (90-91) that Antimachus used tragic vocabulary in an attempt to raise the humble tone of the elegy to the tension and gravity which constituted his artistic ideal. This speculation is as baseless as the notion that κάλωας is a tragic form.

[16] For the latter *cf. Heraclidae*, 837; Aristoph. *Equites* 756.

[17] Mooney, 105 on A.R. 1.566.

[18] *Cf.* Wackernagel, *Hom. Unters.* 257.

[19] See Ludwich's *apparatus* for each reference. To see in this 'modernizing' form an indication of the relatively secondary nature of the *Lyde* with respect to the epic (*Thebaid*), as Del Corno does (90), is surely too fanciful.

By using both (σ)οῦσα and ὅπλα in this passage, Antimachus may have been trying to clarify the difference between the words and to show why (σ)οῦσον, not ὅπλον, should be read at *Od.* 21.390 and presumably (σ)ούσῳ not ὅπλῳ at 14.346: 'The goddess set a mast in (the vessel) and put in it all kinds of ropes for the linen sail(s), both sheets and halyards, and twisted braces, and all the equipment of a ship'.[20] Antimachus may be indicating that while ὅπλα (pl.) means 'ships' tackle' the singular ὅπλον should not be used to mean 'a rope'. Clearly Apollonius (1.368) did not follow him in this.

That ὅπλα means more than just ropes can be seen from several passages in the *Odyssey*, e.g. at 2.423-6, Telemachus tells his crew ὅπλων ἅπτεσθαι, 'take hold of the tackle' – this includes setting up the mast and fastening it (ἔδησαν, 425), and hauling up the sail. When they had fastened the tackle, i.e. including the mast (δησάμενοι ... ὅπλα, 430), they set out bowls and poured a libation. There is a similar situation at the beginning of Bk. 11. Odysseus and his crew set the mast and the sail in their ship (ἐν δ' ἱστὸν τιθέμεσθα καὶ ἱστία (11.3). Then 'having finished our work with all the tackle, we sat down', ὅπλα ἕκαστα πονησάμενοι/ἥμεθα (11.9-10). So too in Bk. 6 Nausicaa tells Odysseus about the Phaeacians, 'men are busy with νηῶν ὅπλα ... /πείσματα καὶ σπεῖρα' (268-9).[21] These latter two words mean 'cables and sails',[22] so in this case ὅπλα embraces both ropes and sails.

In other epic contexts, ὅπλα means any gear that can be taken on or off the vessel, e.g., πάντα δ' ἐν αὐτῇ/ὅπλ' ἐτίθει, τά τε νῆες ἐύσσελμοι φορέουσι (*Od.* 2.389-90); κτήματα ... ὅπλα τε πάντα (10.404; *cf.* 424; Hes. *Op.* 627). At *Od.* 12.410-11, where the mast is blown down and ὅπλα τε πάντα is thrown down into the bilge, the phrase could refer either to all the gear associated with the mast and sail or more generally to all the movable equipment in the vessel.[23]

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[20] πόδες, sheets, attached on to corners of the sail, to extend it or alter direction; κάλοι (κάλωες), halyards, for raising sail; ὑπέραι, braces attached to the sailyards, for moving sails fore and aft (*cf.* LSJ[9] and Cunliffe *s.vv.*). On A.R.'s use of κάλωες see Mooney, 148 on 1.1276-7 and 194 on 2.725. *Cf.* τῶν ἱστίων ... τοὺς κάλους (Hdt. 2.36).

[21] This passage is quoted in a polysemantic Homeric lexicon of the 1st cent. A.D. (*P. Ryl.* I.26) to illustrate the meaning πᾶσαν τὴν κατασκευήν for ὅπλον. For the sense σχοινίον the lexicon quotes *Od.* 14.345-6. See M. W. Haslam, *CP* 89 (1994),36.

[22] At *Od.* 6.269 there is a *v.l.* σπείρας, which would mean 'ropes,' but σπεῖρον, 'sail' is the undisputed reading at 5.318. Note that elsewhere, like λαῖφος, the word means 'a piece of cloth' or 'ragged clothing', e.g. *Od.* 4.245; 6.179.

[23] Del Corno's reference to Antimachus' taste for the learned word (i.e. οὖσα)

69 (58 Wyss)

Schol. A. R. 1.1289-91a (116 Wendel): Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν οὖν ἀπολελεῖφθαί φησι τὸν Ἡρακλέα περὶ Κίον, ἐκβάντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ὕλα ζήτησιν ... Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῷ Κήυκος γάμῳ (F263M-W) ἐκβάντα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὕδατος ζήτησιν τῆς Μαγνησίας περὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως αὐτοῦ Ἀφετὰς καλουμένας ἀπολειφθῆναι, Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ φησὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡρώων ἐκβιβασθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα διὰ τὸ καταβαρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀργώ. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ποσείδιππος ὁ ἐπιγραμματογράφος (F703 *SH*) ἠκολούθησε, καὶ Φερεκύδης (*FGrHist* 3F111b).

ut supra cod. P, West Ἀ. δὲ ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ φησὶν ἐκβιβασθέντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα διὰ τὸ καταβαρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀργὼ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρωος. καὶ Ποσείδιππος ὁ ἐπιγραμματογράφος ἠκολούθησε καὶ Φερεκύδης Ἡσιόδῳ cod. L, Wyss (33); etiam G-P (qui tamen Ἡσιόδῳ omittunt) eadem fere Luetke, sed lacunam indicant hi viri docti ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρωος < > καὶ Ποσ. ... Φερεκύδης, approb. Wyss, *Addenda et Corrigenda* [104]; *SH*, 339 on F703

Commentary

Most of the sources cited by Schol. A.R., with the exception of Dionysius of Mitylene (*FGrHist* 32F6b) and Demaratus (*FGrHist* 42F2b), agree on the fact that Heracles did not reach Colchis with the Argonauts, but there are a number of different explanations for his absence. Antimachus' version is very different from the well-known one of Apollonius (also Theocr. *Id.* 13) and from that of Hesiod.

The notion that gods and heroes are heavier than ordinary people occurs in Homer. The poet tells of Athena taking her place beside Diomedes in his chariot and how the axle groaned loudly under the weight, for it was carrying δεινὴν ... θεὸν ἄνδρά τ' ἄριστον (*Il.* 5.837-9). Aristarchus athetized vv. 838-9 and the scholiast complains that the lines are unnecessary and ridiculous.[24] Schol. D says that the addition of ἄνδρά τ' ἄριστον is silly, for οἱ μεγάλοι are heavy, but not οἱ ἄριστοι.[25] This distinction, that gods are heavy, but not heroes,

creating 'una stonatura', 'a jarring note' (since in the following verse ὅπλα τε πάντα forms 'una grossolana Repetizione' of οὖσα ... παντοῖα) can thus be seen to be ill-founded. In Ionic prose ὅπλα can mean simply 'ropes' (Hdt. 7.25; 36; 9.115; 121; Hippocr. *Art.* 78).

[24] Schol. *Il.* 5.838 (II.111-112 Erbse).

[25] V. de Marco, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta degli 'Scholia Minora' all' Iliade, Atti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* Ser. VI Vol. IV (Rome 1932) fasc. 1.379.

may have been made by Aristarchus, but it is in keeping with the situation in Antimachus. Heracles, as a demigod and famous strong man, was obviously heavier than any of the crew of ordinary heroes. Even Apollonius, who does not put him ashore because of his weight, tells of the ship's keel sinking deeper as Heracles comes on board (1.533).[26]

Wyss well compares this fragment to Aristotle's reference (*Pol.* 1284a 23) to the story (μυθολογεῖται) that the Argonauts left Heracles behind because the *Argo* refused to carry him since he was so much heavier than the others. This version seems to be the same as that recorded by Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1.9.19) as belonging to Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3F111a), namely that Heracles was left behind at Aphetae in Thessaly because the *Argo* cried out that she could not bear his weight.

Wyss does not cite Apollod. 1.9.19, which may explain why in his main treatment of the fragment (33) he presents a text of Schol. A.R. which seemingly contradicts the version of Pherecydes which Apollodorus gives. Wyss prints the readings of cod. L for Schol. A.R.: Ἀντίμαχος ... φησὶν ἐκβιβασθέντα τὸν Ἡ. διὰ τὸ καταβαρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀργὼ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρωος. καὶ Ποσείδιππος ὁ ἐπιγραμματογράφος ἠκολούθησε καὶ Φερεκύδης Ἡσιόδῳ. In the first sentence, the participle is perhaps acceptable, but one would expect an infinitive. The second sentence states that both Posidippus and Pherecydes followed Hesiod. That this is certainly wrong as far as Pherecydes is concerned is clear from Apollodorus, who shows that Pherecydes gave a different reason from Hesiod for Heracles being left behind at Aphetae.[27]

Wyss subsequently changed his view, adopting the reading of Luetke, which solved the second problem by simply omitting Ἡσιόδῳ (as do Gentili-Prato) and the first by postulating a lacuna which presumably contained an infinitive corresponding to ἀπολειφθῆναι in the previous sentence. The effect would be a) Hesiod said

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[26] *Cf.* Aeneas boarding Charon's boat (*Aen.* 6.412-3). There of course not only is Aeneas *ingens*, but the boat's usual cargo is one of insubstantial shades. Wyss sees that Statius' reference to the weight of Heracles (*Theb.* 5.401) owes more to Virgil than to Antimachus. *Cf.* Ovid, *Met.* 4.449-50, where the threshold groans under the weight of Juno.

[27] Unless we suppose that Hesiod in another poem gave a version different from that in the *Marriage of Ceyx*; *cf.* F157M-W for different reasons for the blinding of Phineus in the *Catalogue* and in the *Megalai Ehoiai* (F254). *Cf.* M.L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure and Origins* (Oxford 1985), 3 n.10.

that Heracles disembarked to search for water and was left behind at Aphetae; b) Antimachus said that he was put ashore because of his weight <and was left behind at Aphetae>. But the important distinction at issue is really whether Heracles left the ship *sua sponte* or whether he was put ashore. He was left behind in either event and the location of his abandonment does not appear to be in dispute. The main point about the Antimachean version is surely that Heracles was put ashore by the Argonauts because he was weighing down the ship and it is preferable to adopt the version presented by Cod. P of Schol. A.R., which provides both the desired infinitive and omits the problematic Ἡσιόδῳ.[28] There is also a clearer need and purpose for ὑπὸ τῶν ἡρώων in Cod. P than for ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρωος in Cod. L.

Now, however, there is a new problem, but it is not a difficult one. Chronologically it is impossible that Pherecydes followed Antimachus. The name Hesiod supplied by cod. L may have been an erroneous guess by someone who realized this fact. The most likely solution to the problem is that καὶ Φερεκύδης, coming as it does after the verb, may have been added carelessly as an afterthought, indicating only that Pherecydes gave the same story as Antimachus and Posidippus. In other words, Antimachus may have been following the version of Pherecydes (*cf.* F70).[29] It is not surprising that Antimachus himself was followed by Posidippus, known to have been an admirer of the *Lyde* (*AP* 12.168 = T14).

One cannot be sure if Antimachus also endowed the *Argo* with a human voice, but this power of speech becomes traditional in later accounts.[30]

70 (59 Wyss)

Schol. A.R. 2.178-82a (140 Wendel):' Ἀγηνορίδης ἔχε Φινεύς'· Ἀγήνορος γὰρ παῖς ἐστιν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος (*FGrHist* 4F95)· ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδός φησιν (F138 M-W), Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος καὶ Κασσι-

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[28] This is the text of West, *IEG*² II.38.

[29] *Cf.* Heyne, *Observ. ad Apollod.* 76 on 1.9.19; Stoll, 79. The suggestion of Del Corno (*Acme* 15 [1962], 93) that Antimachus preferred poetical sources and that he three times (F58, 59, 63 Wyss = F69, 70, 73) rejects the version of Pherecydes seems ill-founded.

[30] E.g. A.R. 1.524-27; Orph. *Arg.* 707; Val. Flacc. 1.2.

επείας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης (*FGrHist* 12F22) καὶ Ἀντίμαχος. καὶ Φερεκύδης (*FGrHist* 3F86) φησίν· 'ἐκ δὲ Κασσιεπείας τῆς Ἀράβου Φοίνικι γίνεται Κίλιξ καὶ Φινεὺς καὶ Δόρυκλος καὶ Ἄτυμνος ἐπίκλησιν· γίνεται δὲ ἐκ Διὸς Ἄτυμνος'.

ut supra cod., Jacoby, Wyss, West, G-P καὶ Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Φερεκύδης φασίν. ἐκ δὲ Κασσ. κ.τ.λ. Keil, Wendel

Commentary

As Wyss notes, Antimachus gives the older version of the genealogy of Phineus, making him the son of Phoenix and thus the grandson, not the son, of Agenor. This genealogy seems to have originated with Hesiod (F138 M-W).[31]

Once again there are different versions of the text of Schol. A.R. Wyss, West (*IEG*² II.39) and Gentili-Prato follow Jacoby (on *FGrHist* 3F86) in retaining the traditional text, punctuating after Ἀντίμαχος and making the following words a direct quotation from Pherecydes (3F86). Wendel (after Keil) and Merkelbach-West (F138) link Pherecydes with Asclepiades and Antimachus, leaving the following words as a comment by the scholiast. It seems better to adopt the conservative approach and keep the period after Ἀντίμαχος. In any case the genealogy given by Pherecydes for Phineus appears to be identical to that of Hesiod, since the Boeotian poet too made Cassiepea the daughter of Arabus (F137.1 M-W). For Antimachus' interest in the family of Agenor *cf.* on F3.

71 (60 Wyss)

Schol. A. R. 2.296-7a (149-50 Wendel): Στροφάδας φησὶ κεκλῆσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς Βορεάδας αὐτόθεν ὑποστρέψαι στραφέντας εἰς τοὐπίσω, λαβὼν παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου. οἱ δὲ Στροφάδας φασὶν αὐτὰς κεκλῆσθαι, καθὸ ἐπιστραφέντες αὐτόθι ηὔξαντο τῷ Διὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰς Ἁρπυίας. κατὰ δὲ Ἡσίοδον (F156aM-W) καὶ Ἀντίμαχον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον (2.284sqq.) οὐ κτείνονται.

b: αἱ Πλωταὶ νῆσοι μετωνομάσθησαν Στροφάδες. μέμνηται αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ. ὅτι δὲ ηὔξαντο οἱ περὶ Ζήτην τῷ Διὶ στραφέντες λέγει καὶ Ἡσίοδος (F156bM-W)· 'ἔνθ' οἵ γ' εὐχέσθην Αἰνηΐῳ ὕψι μέδοντι'.

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[31] See M.L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, 77 and 82.

Commentary

The scholiast shows that Apollonius took the *aition* for the name Strophades from Antimachus. Both poets explained the name by the fact that the Boreads turned back (ὑποστρέψαι) from their pursuit of the Harpies at the islands hitherto called Plotae.

We cannot be sure whether the intervention of Iris (A.R. 2.286 ff.) and her pledge that the Harpies would no longer trouble Phineus were also in Antimachus' version. But it is likely that some similar arrangement was necessary to make the Boreads give up their pursuit.[32]

Although Hesiod (F156 M-W) agreed with Antimachus and Apollonius that the Harpies were not killed, his explanation for the name Strophades is slightly different in that he told of the Boreads turning there and praying to Zeus to catch the Harpies (Schol. b). This version is the same as that attributed to οἱ δέ by Schol. a, which clearly indicates a different story from that of Antimachus and Apollonius.[33] That Hesiod agreed with the anonymous sources is apparent from the direct quotation mentioning the prayer to Zeus.[34] The lacuna indicated by Wendel after Λύδῃ in Schol. b is unnecessary and is not adopted by West (*IEG*² II.39) or M-W.

Apollonius gives no indication of where the Strophades were and thus we cannot tell where Antimachus placed them. But they were usually considered to be off the coast of Western Greece.[35]

72 (62 Wyss)

Schol. A. R. 3.409-10 (231 Wendel): καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ Ἡφαιστοτεύκτους τοὺς ταύρους ἀπεφήνατο.

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[32] In Hesiod (F156b M-W = Schol. A.R. 2.296-7b) Hermes took the part of Iris as divine messenger.

[33] C. Buzio, *Esiodo nel Mondo Greco* (Milan 1938), 84, fails to see the difference between the account of Antimachus and Apollonius and that of Hesiod. So too Del Corno (92) who wrongly thinks that Antimachus rejects a Hesiodic version only once (F69 = F58 Wyss).

[34] There may be a hint of an episode involving Zeus from A.R. 2.274-5, where we are told that Zeus gave the Boreads tireless strength and that without him they could not have followed the very swift Harpies.

[35] *Cf.* Schol. A.R. 2.285 'in the Sicilian sea'; *Etym. Gen* AB *s.v.* Πλωταί, 'near Acharnania', 'close to Cephallenia'; *s.v.* Στροφάδες, 'in the Ionian sea'; Strabo (8.4.2 C359) places them further south, four hundred stades off Messenian Cyparissia.

Schol. Pind. *P.* 4.398d (II. 152.2 Drachmann): τοὺς πυρίπνους ταύρους Ἀντίμαχος [ἐν] Λύδῃ [Ἡφαιστο]τεύκτους λέγει.

Commentary

Both scholiasts say that Antimachus in his *Lyde* declared the fire-breathing bulls to be Ἡφαιστοτεύκτους.[36] Wyss advises that this epithet cannot fit the metre of an elegiac poem. A form of the word which is metrically suitable, Ἡφαιστοτυκέ, occurs in a fragment of Aeschylus (F69 Radt). Another possibility suggested by Gentili-Prato is Ἡφαίστῳ τευκτοί, but the colometry which they present to accommodate a pentameter is both unsatisfactory and futile. In the first place, we do not know whether the reference occurred in the hexameter or pentameter of the elegiac couplet. Secondly, it is surely unlikely that the phrase Ἡφαίστῳ τευκτοί would be split by the diaeresis of the pentameter. It is probably safer (with Wyss and West) to refrain from any attempt to recreate a suitable Antimachean phrase.

But we should remember that the scholiasts are reporting Antimachus indirectly and the epithet Ἡφαιστοτεύκτους may be their word, not his. The adjective is used by Sophocles of Lemnian fire (*Phil.* 987), but it is generally a word employed by secondary sources and commentators as a very convenient shorthand for what were probably lengthier, more poetic, descriptions in earlier writers. In fact the word occurs in Schol. A.R. on two other occasions, 1.224-26a: ἤ, ὥς τινες, Χείρων ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Ἡφαιστότευκτον μάχαιραν (the sword given to Peleus by Cheiron) and 2.1052-57b: φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἡφαιστότευκτον οὖσαν Ἡρακλεῖ παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δοθῆναι (the rattle given to Heracles to scare off the Stymphalian birds).[37]

[36] The coincidence of the Pindar and Apollonius scholia may be because both derive from Theon of Alexandria, who is known to have written a *hypomnema* on the *Pythians* (*P.Oxy* XXXI 2536) and whose work can be detected in Schol. A.R. (see Schol. 4, subscript, Wendel XVIII and *Die Überlieferung der Scholia des Ap. Rhod.* (*Gött. Abh.* 1932(1)),107ff.). *Cf.* P.M. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II. 688 notes 258, 260; L.D. Reynolds and N.G.Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*³ (Oxford 1991), 44-5; K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri* (Diss. Duke Univ. 1977), 60-65, 276-8). The latter scholar seems to feel (*cf.* 210, 268) that Theon may have written a commentary on Antimachus.

[37] *Cf.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.3 (the house Poseidon provided for Oenopion under the earth); 3.4.2 (the necklace given to Harmonia by Cadmus); Diog. Laert. 1.32 (the

Antimachus is no more likely to have used the adjective than are the anonymous sources cited in these passages.

Wyss is therefore justified in suggesting that Antimachus may have employed a description similar to that of Apollonius (3.228-31).[38] But more relevant may be Homeric models for such descriptions, especially ἀργύρεοι κύνες ἦσαν/οὓς Ἥφαιστος ἔτευξεν (*Od.* 7.91-2).[39]

73 (63 Wyss)

Schol. A. R. 4.156-66a (270 Wendel): ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς φησι τὴν Μήδειαν ἐπιρραίνουσαν ἀρκεύθῳ φάρμακον κοιμίσαι τὸν δράκοντα ἐπᾴδουσαν, καὶ οὕτω τὸ κῶας ἀνελέσθαι, καὶ χωρισθῆναι ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κοιμωμένου τοῦ θηρίου, συμφώνως Ἀντιμάχῳ. καὶ Φερεκύδης (*FGrHist* 3F31) φησὶν ἐν ἑβδόμῳ, φονευθῆναι τὸν δράκοντα ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος.

Commentary

The scholiast informs us that Apollonius' description (4.156-61) of Medea sprinkling a drug with a juniper spray and putting the dragon to sleep as she chanted her song, and then taking the Fleece and going back with Jason to the ship was in agreement with Antimachus.[40]

Antimachus is thus the earliest extant source for the dragon being put to sleep by Medea's arts rather than killed by Jason, which was

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tripod given to the wisest, originally the gift of Hephaestus to Pelops at his marriage); Proclus *Chrest.* 172 Severyns (= Davies *EGF*, 47) (on the *Aethiopis*, the panoply of Memnon); *Suda s.v.* Ταλώς, *cf.* Simonides (F568 [63] *PMG*); there is no evidence that Simonides used the word, contrary to the implication of Del Corno, 91. The latter mistakenly thinks that the rarity of the word (Soph. *Phil.* 987 and the erroneous attribution to Simonides) rules out the possibility of the scholiast (presumably to Apollonius) introducing it by himself. But, as we have just shown, the word is in fact commonly used by secondary commentators and scholiasts, including Schol. A.R. 1.224 and 2.1052-576.

[38] *Cf.* Stoll, 81.

[39] *Cf.* the phrase Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων (with σκῆπτρον, *Il.* 2.101; with θώρηκα, 8.195; with δῶρα, 19.368); also of Hephaestus τρίποδας ... ἔτευχεν (8.373); τεῦξε δόλον (*Od.* 8.276); δῶμα... /Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν (*Il.* 1.607-8); αἰθούσῃσιν ... ἃς ... /Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν (20.11-12).

[40] This version is repeated by Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.23.

the version of Pherecydes (3F31) and Herodorus (31F52).[41] Robert thought that this story of the drugging of the dragon was probably older than Antimachus.[42] Pindar (*Pyth.*4.249) says that Jason killed the dragon, κτεῖνε ... ὄφιν, but that he did so τέχναις. Whether Jason's own skills or Medea's are meant is uncertain, but Pindar may have intended a compromise combining the two versions, i.e. Medea may have put the dragon to sleep so that Jason could kill it. But there is no trace of the drugging of the dragon in the fragments of Eumelus or of the *Naupactia*, the fullest early versions of the Argonautic story.[43] It is probably part of the later trend in the myth to magnify the role of Medea and lessen that of Jason and may well have originated with Antimachus. It would seem fitting for the subject-matter of the *Lyde* that the female characters receive greater emphasis.

Nothing can be said about Antimachus' description of the drugging of the dragon other than that it must have resembled that of Apollonius. I find it difficult to see in Apollonius the traces of abbreviation of a fuller account which Wilamowitz claimed.[44]

74 (94 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 2.2 (I.175 Erbse): νήδυμος . . . ὅτι τὸ νήδυμος μετὰ τοῦ ν, καὶ οὐχὶ ἥδυμος, ὡς ἔνιοι, παρὰ τὸ ἡδύς, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ 'νήδυμος ἀμφιχυθείς' (*Il.* 14.253). οἱ δὲ μεθ' Ὅμηρον καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ν λέγουσι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος

(– ⏖ – ⏖ – ⏑) ἐπεί ῥά οἱ ἥδυμος ἐλθών

καὶ Σιμωνίδης (F599[94]*PMG*) 'οὗτος δέ τοι ἥδυμον ὕπνον ἔχων'.

Eustath. *Il.* 163.30 (I.252 van der Valk): οἱ δὲ παλαιοί φασι καὶ δίχα τοῦ νῦ εὑρίσκεσθαι ἥδυμον παρὰ τοῖς μεθ' Ὅμηρον, ὡς παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ.

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[41] *Cf.* Gentili-Prato, 120.

[42] C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin 1921), 3.798.

[43] In fact the version of Herodorus, that Jason himself killed the dragon, may well reflect the *Naupactia*; see V.J. Matthews, *Phoenix* XXXI (1977), 201-2.

[44] Wilamowitz, *Hellen. Dicht.* 2.231.

Commentary

This fragment shows that Antimachus used the form ἥδυμος, not νήδυμος. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, νήδυμος/-ον (always of sleep) is invariably read, but in almost every instance the ἥδυμος/-ον form is found as a variant or as an editorial correction.[45] In several cases, the reading is merely a matter of word division, e.g. ἔχε νήδυμος/ἔχεν ἥδυμος (*Il.* 2.2); ὄμμασι νήδ. /ὄμμασιν ἥδ. (10.91); προσεφώνεε νήδ. /-φώνεεν ἥδ. (14.242); ἐπήλυθε νήδ./-ήλυθεν ἥδ. (*Od.* 4.793; 12.311).[46]

Bechtel (following Buttmann) has shown that ἥδυμος is the proper form and he would restore it everywhere in Homer.[47] That he is correct is apparent from the etymology of the word from a root **swad* which is traceable through the Indo-European languages.[48] But although ἥδυμος may be the older and correct form, there can be no certainty that Homer did not use νήδυμος, as read in most manuscripts.[49] It is notable how Antimachus cleverly guarantees the reading ἥδυμος by placing in front of it the diphthong which is shortened before the vowel, with neglect of the original digamma.[50] The form νήδυμος would not scan in his line.

As well as the examples in Antimachus and Simonides (F599 [94] *PMG*), ἥδυμον ὕπνον occurs in *Hom. Hy. Herm.* 241; 449 and in Apollonius (2.407), where, as in Antimachus, the form ἥδυμος is guaranteed by the metre.

The false νήδυμος form, however, lived on in later poetry, e.g. *Hom. Hy. Aphr.* 171 (Sleep); *Hy. Pan.* 16 (Muse); *APl* 4.217 (Orpheus); Nonn. 12.176 (ἄνθος); 48.602 (ὕδωρ).

In Homer the context always involves sleep (actual or personified) and sleep is probably the subject in Antimachus too. The participle ἐλθών is very frequent at line-end in Homer and is very likely so

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[45] There are twelve instances, *Il.* 2.2; 10.91; 187; 14.242; 253; 354; 16.454; 23.63; *Od.* 4.793; 12.311; 366; 13.79. For the variants see Ludwich's *apparatus*. *Cf.* Stephanie West on *Od.* 4.793 in *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I, 242.

[46] See Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, 150-1; *cf.* A. Hoekstra on *Od.* 13.79, in *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II, 168-9.

[47] Bechtel, *ibid.*

[48] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I.406-7; also on νήδυμος as a false formation, III.750; M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950), 44-5; on the derivation also R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, 265 n.19.

[49] Tzetzes attributed ἥδυμος to Hesiod (F330 M-W) and it may have been characteristic of mainland poetry. *Cf.* Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, 137-8, where a misprint refers to Antim. 74, rather than 94 Wyss.

[50] *Cf.* Del Corno, *Acme* 15, 89.

here too. In which case, one might suggest: – ⏕ – ⏔ – – ⏑ ἐπεί ῥά οἱ ἥδυμος ἐλθών/<ὕπνος>. For the wording *cf.* γλυκερὸς δέ μοι ὕπνος ἐπέλθοι (*Od.* 5.472).[51]

A likely context is the drugging of the dragon which guarded the Fleece (*cf.* F73).[52] Apollonius tells that normally the creature never slept, by day or night, οὐδέ οἱ ἦμαρ, /οὐ κνέφας ἥδυμος ὕπνος ἀναιδέα δάμναται ὄσσε (2.406-7).

75 (64 Wyss)

Schol. A. R. 4.1153e-54 (308 Wendel): Τιμαίου (*FGrHist* 566F87) λέγοντος ἐν Κερκύρᾳ τοὺς γάμους ἀχθῆναι, Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀργοναυτικῶν (*FGrHist* 32F3) ἐν Βυζαντίῳ φησίν· Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν Λύδῃ ἐν Κόλχοις πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ μιγῆναι (Iasonem et Medeam).

Commentary

Apollonius places the marriage of Jason and Medea among the Phaeacians (4.1110-1169), making it a marriage of convenience after Alcinous has decided that Medea will not be handed back to the Colchians if she is already married to Jason.

Most other sources also put the marriage late on the return voyage. Timaeus, in placing it in Corcyra, is giving essentially the same version as Apollonius, since Corcyra was frequently identified as the home of Phaeacians.[53]

Antimachus stands in clear contrast to these sources in having the marriage take place among the Colchians near the river Phasis, i.e. before the return voyage begins, a more satisfactory arrangement.[54]

There may be a hint of this early in A.R. 4, where Medea, before

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[51] For the verb with sleep *cf.* ἐπήλυθε(ν), *Od.* 4.793; 10.31(= 13.282); 12.311.

[52] *Cf.* Del Corno, 85.

[53] Philetas (F9 Kuchenmüller = Schol. A.R. 4.1141) says that the pair were married in the house of Alcinous.

[54] *Cf.* Wilamowitz, *Hellen.Dicht.* 2.199. Del Corno (85) suggests that Antimachus probably reproduces the oldest stage of the tale. Timonax (*FGrHist* 842F2 = Schol. A.R. 4.1217-19a) also said that Jason married Medea among the Colchians, but with the unlikely detail that Aeetes had betrothed her to him. Pindar (*O.* 13.53) says that Medea arranged her marriage against her father's will, but provides neither time nor place.

drugging the dragon and obtaining the Fleece, asks for and receives an oath from Jason (88-100). Jason swears by Olympian Zeus and by Hera, goddess of marriage, consort of Zeus, that he will install Medea as his wife in his halls, whenever they return and reach the land of Greece.[55] Antimachus' version may have made the marriage a condition for Medea's help in getting the Fleece and had it take place immediately afterwards, before the Argonauts set out for home. This placing of the wedding would also have the effect of emphasising the role of Medea and elevating her status in the story. Another possibility is that the early marriage resulted from the very strong love the couple had for each other, which would be fitting, since the *Lyde* is said to have dealt with famous love-relationships.[56]

76 (65 Wyss)

Schol. A. R. 4.257-62b (273 sq. Wendel): Ἡσίοδος (F241 M-W) δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν Πυθιονίκαις (4.25sq.) καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Λύδῃ διὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ φασιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς (Argonautas) εἰς Λιβύην καὶ βαστάσαντας τὴν Ἀργὼ εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον πέλαγος <παρα> γενέσθαι (γενέσθαι L <παρα> suppl. Schwartz ἀφικέσθαι P).

Commentary

For the return voyage of the *Argo*, Antimachus followed the accounts of Hesiod and Pindar in bringing the vessel through Oceanus to Libya and in having the crew portage her northward to the Mediterranean.

Presumably the route was thought to be from the Phasis into Oceanus and then following it around the southern rim of the world to the Arabian Gulf and so to Libya (Africa).[57]

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[55] Hes. (Theog. 993-99) seems to imply marriage back at Iolcus. Pindar (*P.* 4.222-3) has Jason and Medea vow sweet union in common wedlock, after she has shown Jason how to perform the tasks set by her father, but does not tell us when the marriage took place.

[56] West, *Stud. in Gr. Eleg. and Iamb.*, 170 sees a similarity between this story of Jason and Medea making love for the first time by the banks of her local river and the fragment he numbers 191 (F93 = 79 *SH* = Callim. F814, Antimach. ? Pfeiffer); possibly referring to the poet himself and Lyde sitting by the golden banks of the Pactolus.

[57] *Cf. Il.* 1.423-4, where Zeus goes to Oceanus, to the blameless Aethiopians; Strabo 1.2.26 C32; 17.3.1 C825; even Strabo conceived Libya as having a southern coast, running from the Aethiopians in the east to the Marusii in the west.

I have suggested that F77, where Antimachus uses the word πλόος of a journey on land, may come from his account of this Libyan portage.[58]

This route resembles that of Hecataeus (1F18a), who brought the Argonauts through the Phasis to Oceanus, thence to the Nile, and northward down it to the Mediterranean. Later routes become more fanciful. Apollonius followed Timagetus (F1 *FHG* IV.519 = Schol. A.R. 4.257-62b) in taking the *Argo* up the Ister (Danube) to the Adriatic, hence via the Eridanus and Rhodanus to the Mediterranean. Apollonius has the Argonauts eventually come to Libya, where he borrows the overland motif by having them portage their vessel to Lake Tritonis (4.1380-1460).

77 (106 Wyss = 76 *SH*)

Lucian. *Verae Hist.* 2.42 (I.121 MacLeod): ἐκδήσαντες γὰρ αὐτὴν (navem) κάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα μόλις ἀνιμησάμεθα, καὶ θέντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων, πετάσαντες τὰ ἱστία καθάπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ ἐπλέομεν τοῦ ἀνέμου προωθοῦντος ἐπισυρόμενοι· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος ἐπεισῆλθέ με – φησίν γάρ που κἀκεῖνος·

τοῖσιν δ' ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοισιν.

βιασάμενοι δὲ δ' ὅμως τὴν ὕλην ἀφικόμεθα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. (ita cod. y; διελθόντες δ' . . . πρὸς τὸ ὕδ. codd. alii)

Schol. Nicand. *Th.* 295c (134 Crugnola) 'βαιὸν πλόον'· νῦν τὴν ὁδόν, τὴν πεζὴν πορείαν. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος εἶπε 'τοῖσι – ἐρχομένοισιν'

τοῖσιν (τοῖσι, τοῖς) δ' codd. Lucian. τοῖσι δ' ἂν Schol. Nicand. ἐρχομένοισι(ν) codd.

P. Antin. 120b (*Antin. Pap.*III ed. J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus, 28) (iii saec.p.C.):

. . . . .
ὁ Ἀ[ντί-
μαχος [
ὑλήεντ[α
πλό(ον) [
παρ...[
]...[
. . . . .

[58] See commentary on F77 and *Philologus* 126 (1982), 144-149.

scholium in margine codicis
3 vel -ṭ[α, διὰ, δ(ιὰ) 4 πλ^{0} pot. quam πλο[ον 5 παρθ̣ε̣ν̣[possis e.g. Παρθέν[ιος *SH*

Commentary

This verse was clearly seen as a memorable line, *cf.* Lucian ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος ἐπεισῆλθέ με.[59] For the scholiast to Nicander, the line's significance lies in its use of πλόον. Reinsch-Werner says that this is the only example of πλόος used metaphorically in the sense of 'Straße' before Callimachus F260.67 Pf. (= F74.26 Hollis) τιν' ἔχοντα παρὰ πλόον οἰκίον, 'one who has a house beside a road'.[60] This meaning of the word is also mentioned by Hesychius *s.v.* πλοῦς, *Suda* s.v. πλοΐζει (= Photius *Lex. s.v.* πλώιζει), and Schol. A.R. 3.115 (250 Wendel), the latter also presenting an incomplete and inaccurate version of the Callimachean verse.[61] None of these last three sources mentions Antimachus, but it may be deduced from the Nicander scholiast that Antimachus did not use the word in the Callimachean sense of 'road' or 'street'. Nicander himself does not use πλόος in that sense, but in applying it to the motion of a crawling snake, he makes it part of a larger sea-metaphor by combining it with ὀκέλλει in the sense of 'steering its course', i.e. the scholiast's explanation τὴν ὁδόν is meant in the more general sense of that word, 'path', 'course',, or 'journey', as he indicates by adding τὴν πεζὴν πορείαν. It is very likely that this is how Antimachus used it, otherwise the scholiast would hardly have quoted him instead of Callimachus. It is quite natural that Nicander should borrow a poetic usage from his fellow Colophonian, for not only did he write a work on Colophonian poets, but Dionysius of Phaselis had cause to mention him in his own book on the poetry of Antimachus (T37).[62]

But perhaps the most useful source for the understanding of this fragment is Lucian. We can hardly believe that the line simply came

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[59] The following discussion follows closely my article in *Philologus* 126 (1982), 144-9.

[60] H. Reinsch-Werner, *Callimachus Hesiodicus* (Berlin 1976), 288.

[61] Schol. A.R. actually mentions πλόος = ὁδός in an erroneous explanation of περιπλομένας, which comes of course from περιπέλομαι, not περιπλέομαι.

[62] *Cf. Nicander: The Poems and Poetical Fragments,* ed. and transl. A.S.F. Gow and A.F. Scholfield (Cambridge 1953, repr. New York 1979), 202 (on F12-14); Wyss, XLIV.

to Lucian's mind as he was writing his fantastic tale.[63] Rather we should remember that Lucian intended his *Vera Historia* as literary criticism, *cf.* 1.2 where he suggests that his readers will find his work attractive not just for the novelty of the subject or the charm of the general design or the fact that he tells diverse lies in a convincing and truthful manner, but because each item of his tale is a humorous parody of certain ancient poets, historians, and philosophers who have written much that is fantastic and fabulous.[64] In other words Lucian's story is invented, to some extent, to make fun of Antimachus by interpreting in a ridiculous manner what must have seem to him a very unusual expression.[65] Antimachus perhaps appeared a legitimate target for Lucian's wit since his poetry had received recent publicity through admiration of the emperor Hadrian (T30; 31).

One object of Lucian's satire must be Antimachus' use of the word πλόον, confirmed as unusual by Schol. Nic. If that is the case, the line could mean 'to them as they were coming on their journey through the wood' or perhaps 'as they were coming to the end of their journey through the wood'.[66] Antimachus perhaps created ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοισιν on the analogy of the Homeric

[63] Lucian's rather offhand που hardly means that he cannot remember which of Antimachus' poems the line comes from or its context. At *VH* 1.2, he says that he would cite by name those whom he is parodying were it not that the reader would recognise them as he reads. He does name Antimachus, but presumably thought that his readers would recognise the context. Wyss makes no attempt to determine the context of the fragment. When F.W. Householder in *Literary Quotations and Allusions in Lucian* (New York 1941), Table V, 53, ranks Antimachus among the epic poets, is he assuming that the fragment is from the *Thebaid*? More likely, he is simply following the ancient literary critics who admitted Antimachus to the epic canon, but not to the elegiac canon. Although B.P. Reardon, *Lucian: Selected Works* (New York 1965), 255 n. 69 rather surprisingly notes that Antimachus was a fifth-century elegiac poet, we can hardly deduce that he believes the fragment to come from the elegiac poem, the *Lyde*.

[64] *Cf.* Reardon, 219 n. 1 and introd. xxiv.

[65] I say 'to some extent', because, as G. Anderson has indicated, in *Studies in Lucian's Comic Fiction* (*Mnem. Suppl.* XLIII, Leiden 1976), 10, at times Lucian may have allowed himself to be influenced by a preconceived scheme in his choice of episodes for parody. Thus in *VH* 2.42 a sea of treetops may be included to 'balance' the sea of ice at 2.2.

[66] Reardon (255) renders it 'And as they journey, sailing through the wood'; A.M. Harmon in the Loeb translation (Vol.I, 349) 'And unto them their forest cruise pursuing'.

(δια)πρήσσειν κέλευθον, 'to complete one's journey', (e.g. *Od.* 2.213; 429; 13.84; *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 200 etc.) and the following plural usages, with epithets specifying the medium over which the journey was made: ὑγρὰ κέλευθα (*Od.* 3.71; 4.842 etc.) and a striking series of -εις epithets, ἰχθυόεντα κ. (*Od.* 3.177); ἠερόεντα κ. (*Od.* 20.64); εὐρώεντα κ. (*Od.* 24.10); πετρήεντα κ. (*Hom. Hymn* 19.7).[67]

But perhaps this line of Antimachus suggested itself as a target for Lucian because it was overflowing with excessively clever ambiguity, i.e. ὑλήεντα too does not mean what it seems any more than does πλόον. The voyage is not a voyage nor is it through the woods. Unfortunately the ancient commentators (and Wyss) confine their remarks to the meaning of πλόον. But what of ὑλήεντα?

In the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, the epithet is invariably applied to places, such as islands or mountains, in the sense of 'woody', 'well-wooded'. For this Antimachus passage, LSJ[9] suggests 'through the wood or dense growth' and compares δι' ὑλάεσσαν ἀταρπόν (*AP* 10.22, Bianor = Gow-Page, *The Garland of Philip* 1745). A possible similar usage is ἐν τρίβῳ ὑλήεντι (Theocr. *Id.* 25.228), where the variant ῥίῳ probably comes from ῥίῳ ὑλήεντι (*Od.* 9.191 also v.l. at *Il.* 9.539).[68]

But in fact 'wood' or 'forest' is not the only meaning for ὕλη nor is 'woody' for ὑλήεις. Giangrande has discussed the epigram of Bianor (*AP* 10.22) and in defending ὑλάεσσαν has observed that 'Hellenistic poets, especially epigrammatists, liked to employ words which pertain to prose rather than to poetry.'[69] The first suggestion he discusses for ὑλάεσσαν is 'muddy', Gow and Page having already observed that 'mud' is more likely than 'woods' in Egypt. To support his contention, Giangrande cites ὕλη meaning 'mud' in *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* 70.9 (*cf.* Phot. *Lex. s.v.* ὕλην). The meaning 'muddy' certainly has its attractions for Antimachus' phrase ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον, suggesting a journey over land so wet that it resembled a voyage.

But Giangrande's second suggestion for the Bianor epigram is even more appealing as far as the Antimachus fragment is concerned. He notes that ὕλη in Egypt means not 'forest' but 'shrub-

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[67] *Cf.* G. Giangrande on κέλευθον ... διέρχεαι, Moschus' variation on these Homeric expressions (*Europa* 135-136), 'Hellenistic poetry and Homer', *L'Antiquité Classique* XXXIX (1970), 64-65.

[68] *Cf.* Gow (ed.), *Theocritus* (2nd ed. Cambridge 1952) II, 466.

[69] G. Giangrande, 'Fifteen Hellenistic Epigrams', *JHS* XCV (1975), 38.

bery',[70] and suggests that Bianor may have employed ὑλάεις in the sense of 'through the shrubbery' in allusion to Theocr. 25.228 and Antimachus (wrongly cited as F109). In fact the meaning 'brushwood', 'undergrowth' for ὕλη is well-attested in LSJ⁹. especially in prose-writers. One of these is a close contemporary of Antimachus, Xenophon, who describes Cyrus' march through the Arabian desert in terms which show how 'shrubbery' was part of the desert environment (*Anab.* 1.5.1): ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει ... σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ... ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἅπαν ὁμαλὲς ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλῆρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν, κ.τ.λ. Xenophon's coupling of ὕλη with κάλαμος reminds one of Bianor's epigram, where a hunter is described as δουνακοδίφα, 'searching on the reeds'.

As it happens, we know that Antimachus told of a trip through the desert that was a voyage, yet not a voyage. One of the tales narrated in the *Lyde* was that of the Argonauts (F67-76). Antimachus told that the Argonauts travelled through the Ocean to Libya and reached the Mediterranean by portaging the *Argo* (F76). It would be quite an understandable extension of meaning to apply the word 'voyage' to the ship's journey over land in such a context. Similarly, Pindar, in describing the same portage across the Libyan desert (*Pyth.* 4.25ff.), cleverly adapts the traditional Homeric εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης to suit the desert terrain, writing νώτων ὕπερ γαίας ἐρήμου, 'over a sea of desert'.[71] If the Antimachus fragment does refer to the *Argo*, then the poet's use of πλόος, like Pindar's νῶτα γαίας, is really only what we might call semi-metaphorical because of the context of the ship. Nicander, in adapting Antimachus' meaning of πλόος to the course of a snake on land, has a full metaphorical use reinforced by the nautical verb ὀκέλλει.[72]

That this fragment is a reference to the portage of the *Argo* through the desert shrubbery of Libya is supported by the fact that such a context would be very apt to Lucian's story, not only because πλόος and ὑλήεις are employed in unusual meanings, but also because

[70] Giangrande cites M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (München 1925), 20.

[71] *Cf.* Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.1, where the desert plain is ὥσπερ θάλαττα.

[72] In Euripides *IT* 46, χθονὸς δὲ νῶτα, perhaps modelled on Pindar's νῶτα γαίας, is also part of a larger sea-metaphor with the word σάλος, here used of the wave of an earthquake, but usually meaning 'seawave'.

Lucian's tale too tells of a passage from one sea to another. Beyond the obstacle of the floating forest was another ocean (ἕτερον ὠκεανόν; τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἑτέραν) and the description of the passage thither displays vocabulary suitable for a portage. The ship is lifted (ἀναθεμένους τὴν ναῦν) and is put down again (πάλιν ὁμοίως καθέντες τὴν ναῦν). With this we may aptly compare the terms used by Apollonius of the Libyan portage, νῆα ... ἀνθεμένους (4.1385f.), ἀπὸ στιβαρῶν θέσαν ὤμων (1391).

While the above solution seems to me the most satisfactory explanation for Antimachus' arresting line, another interpretation, still in the context of the Libyan portage, is possible, although I put it forward with considerable hesitation. In his tale, Lucian describes how they placed their vessel on the branches (ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων) and began to sail along as if on the sea. They were sailing on the branches, which perhaps Lucian's fantastic perception of the Antimachus' ὑλήεντα. Another story of a portage of the *Argo* was told by Scymnus (Schol. A.R. 4.282-91b), how, on their way from ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα (the Ocean) to ἡ ἡμετέρα θάλασσα (the Mediterranean), the Argonauts portaged their vessel ἐπὶ στρωτήρων, 'on wooden beams'. Now κλάδος is attested in *P. Oxy.* 1738.4 (3rd cent. A.D.) meaning 'plank', i.e. not much different from στρωτήρων, so Lucian could be playing with the double meaning of κλάδος in the context of the portage. As it happens, yet another meaning for ὕλη is 'timber', although in e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.1 it is directly opposed to timber trees (δένδρα). In Plato *Laws* 705c, the Athenian participant poses the question ναυπηγησίμης ὕλης ὁ τόπος ἡμῖν τῆς χώρας πῶς ἔχει; 'how is our part of the country off for ship-building timber?' (*cf.* Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 5.7.1). Could Antimachus, the great *novator verborum*, have referred to the portage of the *Argo* on beams or planks between the shoulders of her crew as a ὑλήεντα πλόον?

Be that as it may, at the very least, this fragment shows Antimachus once again pointing directions that were followed by Hellenistic poets, in this case Nicander and Bianor, while even Callimachus' use of πλόος can be seen as a further move along the path indicated by the Colophonian poet.

Apart from ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον, the language in the line calls for little comment. While τοῖσι(ν) is frequent at the beginning of the hexameters, ἐρχομένοισιν occurs as last word only once in Homer (*Il.* 17.741). For τοῖσιν δ' ... ἐρχομένοισιν *cf.* ἐρχομένοισι δὲ τοῖσιν (*Od.* 10.561. beginning of line). There is only one Homeric instance

of an ἐρχ- stem with διὰ and an accusative, namely δι' ἄκριας ἔρχεαι οἶος (*Od.* 10.281), which, by coincidence, metrically parallels διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοισιν.

78 (67 Wyss)

Phot. *Lex.*(I. 24 Naber) = *Suda* (III.552.22 Adler): ὀργεῶνες ... ἤδη δὲ μεταφέροντες καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας οὕτω καλοῦσιν· ὁ γοῦν Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ·

†γενεᾷ Καβάρνους θῆκεν ἀβακλέας ὀργειῶνας

καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Μυσοῖς τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Καΐκου προσαγορεύων (F144 Radt).

Harpocrat. (193 Keaney): ὀργεῶνας ... οἱ μέντοι ποιηταὶ ἔταττον τοὔνομα ἁπλῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων, ὡς Ἀντίμαχός τέ που καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Μυσοῖς (F144 Radt).

Cf. Hesych. (II.386 Latte): Κάβαρνοι· οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερεῖς, ὡς Πάριοι, et ὀρεῶν{τ}ες· μύσται, ἱεροφανται, ἱερεῖς.

γενεᾷ· γ΄ · ἔνθα Voss et alii φ(ησίν)· ἔνθα Maas merum ἔνθα malit West ἀγακλέας (β above γ) ὀργίωνας cod. Phot. ἀβακλέας ὀργεῶνας *Suda* (ἀβλακέας unus) ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας Gaisford

Commentary

This interesting fragment is preserved because of the unusual word that Antimachus uses for priests. That these particular priests were those of Demeter on Paros is clear from Hesych. *s.v.* Κάβαρνοι· οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερεῖς, ὡς Πάριοι and from an inscription from the 3rd cent. A.D. (*IG* XII 5.292). In using the word to mean 'priests' Antimachus was anticipated by Aeschylus (F144 Radt).

The words of Antimachus are unfortunately corrupt in the sources, but appear to constitute a hexameter.[73]

The opening word appears as γενεᾷ, which is metrically unsuitable. Schellenberg (82) printed γένναν Καβάρνου θῆκεν, as conjec-

[73]The possibility of a lacuna such as West suggests in his *apparatus* seems unlikely.

tured by Valesius,[74] but this too does not scan. To make it do so, Bergk resorted to transposition, θῆκε Καβάρνου.[75] Voss, Gaisford, and Friedemann all suggested γ´ · ἔνθα; Maas φ(ησίν)· ἔνθα.[76] While the former is attractive at first glance, the normal expression for 'in Bk. 3 of the *Lyde*' would be ἐν τρίτῳ (τῆς) Λύδης or ἐν γ´ (τῆς) Λύδης.[77] Wyss follows Maas, but West prefers simply ἔνθα, which is probably the best course.

There is also a problem with the epithet. The *Suda* codices have ἀβακλέας and ἀβλακέας, while Photius has ἀγακλέας corrected to ἀβακλέας. The form ἀβακλέας, nominative surely ἀβακλής rather than ἀβακλεύς (West), is otherwise unknown, but a noun ἀβακλή is attested in Cyrill. *Lex.* = ἅμαξα.[78] It is hard to imagine what an epithet from this noun could mean when applied to people. Nonetheless, this reading is adopted by West and Gentili-Prato. The latter joint-editors however suggest another possible derivation, from ἄβα = βοή (Hesych.; Cyrill. cod. Paris. 2655), i.e. ἀβακλής as an equivalent to βοὴν ἀγαθός.

As for ἀβλακέας, we have the adverb ἀβλάξ, a Cyprian word = λαμπρῶς (Hesych.). An epithet would thus mean 'distinguished', 'illustrious' (= λαμπρός), a fitting word for priests. A major problem is that the first syllable would have to be scanned short. Therefore it may be wiser to opt for ἀβακλέας. Wyss prints the rather colourless, but Homeric ἀγακλέας, *cf.* ἀγακλέες, same *sedes* (*Il.* 17.716; 21.379).[79]

The form of the noun normal in prose is ὀργεὼν -ῶνος, but the metre requires ὀργειῶνας or ὀργῑ́ωνας, whereas *Hy. Ap.* 389 has ὀργῑόνας.[80]

The verse probably refers to the establishment by Demeter of the

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[74] Valesius in *Annotat. ad. Harp.* (Harp. 2.365 Dindorf); he compares Lyc. 644 Ἄρνης παλαιᾶς γέννα, Τεμμίκων πρόμοι.

[75] Bergk, *PLG*[1] (Leipzig 1843), 449.

[76] Voss *ad Hy. Dem.* 150; Gaisford, *Suda s.v.*; Friedemann, *de med. syll. pentam.* 344 (cited by Stoll, 76); Maas, cited by Wyss.

[77] *Cf.* Steph. Byz. 257.11 Meineke: Δώτιον (= F85) for such a reference to Bk. 2.

[78] West (*appar.*) writes *quod a cultu Cereris non abhorret.*

[79] Del Corno,apparently blind to the problem, says that there is yet another Homeric epithet in this fragment, ἀγακλέας, adding banal remarks about the Homeric way in which the expression of the line is articulated (89).

[80] *Cf.* Hermesianax F7.19 Powell; see *Homeric Hymns* ed. Allen-Halliday-Sikes, 253 on *Hy. Ap.* 389; Headlam, *CR* 15 (1901), 403; Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* 255. R. Janko says that ὀργιόνας is a mistaken spelling for *ὀργειόνας, the expected Homeric spelling. But he wrongly states that the same misspelling is found in Antimachus (*Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, 123 on *Hy. Ap.* 389). The cod. Phot. read ὀργειῶνας or ὀργίωνας.

Cabarni as her priests in Paros. The only context that comes readily to mind for a fragment of the *Lyde* is the story in Steph. Byz. 507.8 Meineke that Demeter, in her search for Persephone, came to the island, where Cabarnus revealed to her that her daughter had been abducted. It is strange that so little trace of this tradition has survived.

79 (96 Wyss)

Strabo 8.5.3 C364: παρ' Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ δὲ (31B 88 D-K) 'μία γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων ὄψ', ἡ ὄψις· καὶ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ·

Δήμητρός τοι Ἐλευσινίης ἱερὴ ὄψ (– ⏑)

καὶ τὸ ἄλφιτον 'ἄλφι' (F145). Cf. Hesych. (II.804 Latte): ὄψ· ὄψις, ὀφθαλμός. ἢ φωνή.

Commentary

This fragment is preserved in a discussion by Strabo on the subject of *apocope* or abbreviated forms of words.[81] Empedocles and Antimachus are quoted as using the shortened version ὄψ for ὄψις, meaning 'face', 'eye', or 'vision'.[82] Aristotle (*Poet.* 1458A) also quotes the fragment of Empedocles (without naming him) and connects ὄψ with ὄψις.

As is frequently the case, to explain Antimachus one must go back to Homer. But here, rather than referring to the analogies of δῶ (e.g. *Il.* 1.426) and κρῖ (e.g. *Il.* 5.196), as Wyss does, I would suggest a different approach and another explanation.

The noun in question in Antimachus, in my opinion, is not ὄψ = ὄψις, but ὄψ meaning 'voice' or 'sound'.[83] This word is used by Homer only in the singular and only in the oblique cases, never the nominative.[84] It is used frequently with a genitive, which very often represents a deity, e.g. ὄπ' ἄκουσα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων (*Il.* 7.53); θεᾶς ὄπα φωνησάσης (2.182 = 10.512; *Od.* 24.535, of Athena); θεοῦ ὄπα φωνήσαντος (*Il.* 20.380, of Apollo); ὄπ' ἀκούσῃς Σειρήνοιιν (*Od.*

[81] Wyss (49) follows Wilamowitz in suggesting Apollodorus as Strabo's source. But Jacoby does not support this attribution and suggests Artemidorus (*FGrHist* II D, 777).

[82] *Cf.* LSJ[9] *s.v.* ὄψ B; Chantraine, *Dict.Étym.* III.812 *s.v.* ὄπωπα D; 845 *s.v.* 2. ὄψ.

[83] LSJ[9] *s.v.* ὄψ A; Chantraine III.845 *s.v.* 1 *ὄψ.

[84] Antimachus himself may have used the genitive ὀπός in F112.7 (= F65.7 *SH*).

12.52); τῆς (i.e. Persephone) ἀδινὴν ὄπ' ἄκουσα (*Hy. Dem.* 67). In its other uses too the word is often the voice of a divine figure, e.g. *Il.* 14.150, voice of Poseidon; 1.604, voices of the Muses (*cf. Od.* 24.60, voices of all nine Muses; also *Hy. Ap.* 189); *Hy.* 27.18, voices of the Muses and the Charites; *Od.* 5.61, voice of Calypso; 10.221, voice of Circe. We can even find the phrase ἱερὴν ὄπα (*Hom. Ep.* 4.10), the holy voice of the Homeric poet.

These examples are very instructive for this fragment of Antimachus, which must mean 'the holy voice of Eleusinian Demeter'. We should view ὄψ as a natural development from the uses of the oblique cases in Homer.[85] Antimachus has supplied the missing nominative.[86] I do not feel that Wyss' comparison with the phrase ἱερὴ ἴς Τηλεμάχοιο is particularly apt, but his citation of Ennius, ***olli respondet suavis sonus Egeriai*** (F119 Vahlen) supports the suggestion that Antimachus used ὄψ = φωνή, as does Hesychius. Lobeck suggested that the form ὄψ had a simple and ancient appearance.[87]

One can also note that if we read Antimachus' ὄψ as the lost nominative of the Homeric ὄπα etc., we have at once the explanation for the hiatus which offended Wyss and which Del Corno calls 'assolutamente irregolare.'[88] The fact that Homer has numerous instances of hiatus with ὄπα, -ος, -ι, but none at all with any form of ὄψις is instructive, being tantamount to proof that Antimachus' ὄψ is the nominative of the defective Homeric noun.[89] The word ὄπα (= ***vocem***) once had a digamma, while ὄψις did not. Indeed by using ὄψ in hiatus, Antimachus is showing in a characteristic way that it is in fact the nominative of the Homeric ὄπα etc., and not a shortened form of ὄψις.

Not only are these fragments of Empedocles and Antimachus the sole instances of a nominative ὄψ. They are also the only sources cited for any case of ὄψ = ὄψις.[90] I would suggest that, while Empe-

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[85] Derivation from the oblique cases in Homer is suggested by D. O' Brien, *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle* (Cambridge 1969), 267.

[86] Callimachus uses the identical method, *cf.* his nominative ἤνοψ (*Hecale* F18.2 Hollis = F238.6 Pf.) and accusative ἤνοπα (F102.2 Pf.) from the Homeric dative ἤνοπι (*Il.* 16.48; 18.349; *Od.* 10.360). See Hollis' introduction (13) and commentary (157).

[87] C. A. Lobeck, ***Paralipomena grammaticae Graecae*** (Leipzig 1837) 1.116; *cf.* J. Bollack, ***Empédocle*** 3.2.329 (Paris 1969), on F417 (= 31B 88 D-K).

[88] *Cf.* Wyss, XXXIX; Del Corno, 89.

[89] *Il.* 1.604; 3.152; 221; 4.435; 16.76; 20.380; *Od.* 11.421; 12.192; 14.492; 24.60; *Hy.Ap.* 189.

[90] LSJ[9] *Suppl.* 112 *s.v.* ὄψ B acknowledges that the word exists as nominative only.

docles may have used ὄψ as an abbreviated form of ὄψις[91] (and he is the only authority quoted by our earliest source, Aristotle), Antimachus employed it as the nominative of the defective Homeric noun ὄπα, ὀπός, ὀπί, meaning 'voice'.[92]

Wyss (XXXVIIIf.) thinks that Antimachus intended Ἐλευσινίης to be read as four syllables, an example of *synizesis*.[93] But it may be better described as a consonantalization of ι, between a consonant and another vowel.[94] It could equally well be an instance of epic shortening, as Stoll (86) took it, an opinion shared by Gentili-Prato (123).[95] Antimachus' use of this form may point to what could be another example of what he read in the text of Homer, namely an extra verse (*Il.* 18.551a), recorded by Eustathius (1156.57) and Schol. T *Il.* 18.483: καρπὸν Ἐλευσινίης Δημήτερος ἀγλαοδώρου.[96] As in our fragment, the scansion of Ἐλευσινίης is ambiguous, and as an Homeric *hapax*, the form would be attractive to Antimachus. Moreover, by employing it in his own verse, he would be affirming the authenticity of this disputed verse.

Wyss and Gentili-Prato present the fragment as a hexameter lacking its first foot. Several metrical arguments, however, may be brought against this arrangement. In the first place, τοι preceding the third trochee caesura is unlikely, as Maas saw.[97] His solution was to suggest a missing anapaest after Ἐλευσινίης, i.e. Δημητρός τοι Ἐλευσινίης <-- -> ἱερὴ ὄψ, which also has the advantage of avoiding a pause after the ninth element, while creating a caesura after the

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[91] The context in Empedocles seems to be either of sight, 'the sight (vision) of both (eyes) becomes one', or perhaps one of generation, 'the look (physical appearance) of both (parents) becomes one', i.e. in the child they produce.

[92] This suggestion gains support from the fact that ὄψις in none of its cases is ever employed by Homer in a way resembling this fragment of Antimachus, unlike the uses of ὄπα etc. already noted.

[93] Wyss follows Radermacher, *Philologus* 84 (1929), 257, and is himself followed by Del Corno, 89.

[94] *Cf.* West, *GM*, 14.

[95] *Cf.* Ἐλευσ̆ινίδαο, a certain case (*Hom. Hy. Dem.* 105), and Ἐλευσινίων, ambiguous as here, (266), and Ἐλευσ̆ινίας (Soph. *Ant.* 1120). See N. J. Richardson (ed.), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 64, 183, and 248. *Cf.* also ἐλευσινίου, Marcell. Sidetas 63.77 ed. E. Heitsch, *Die griech. Dichterfragm. d. röm. Kaiserzeit* II (1964), 20; Ἐλευσινίης, Pamprepius (?) 35.3.12 ed. Heitsch I.2.115, both of these in same *sedes* as Antimachus.

[96] Eustath. writes τινὲς ἐνταῦθα προσγράφουσι, *cf.* Schol. T: ἐν δέ τισιν ἐγράφετο. The verse was copied by Eratosthenes, *Herm.* F16.18 Powell, where perhaps we should read καρπὸν Ἐλευσινίης Δημήτερος (Ἐλευσίνης Powell).

[97] Maas, *apud* Wyss, 49.

seventh (rare, but usually employed to accommodate a long proper name, as would be the case here).[98]

One might, however, suggest that the missing foot is at line-end, since monosyllabic words are extremely rare in that position except after bucolic diaeresis.[99] On the other hand, Antimachus has a liking for spondaic fifth feet and, although a monosyllabic tenth element is nearly always part of the final word of a line, there are exceptions.[100]

A likely context for the fragment is the story of Demeter's wanderings in search of her daughter (*cf.* F78) and we might therefore refer it to the *Lyde.*

80 (68 Wyss)

Porphyr. *Quaest. Hom.* (94-5 Schrader) (= Schol. B *Il.* 6.200): τίς ἡ αἰτία, φασί, τοῦ τὸν Βελλεροφόντην ἀπεχθῆ θεοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων συναναστροφὴν ἐκκλίνειν; ... Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ, ὅτι τοὺς Σολύμους ἀνεῖλε θεοῖς ὄντας προσφιλεῖς, διὰ τοῦτο μισηθῆναι αὐτόν φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν.

Commentary

This fragment and the next have to do with the story of Bellerophon and the Solymi. Wyss suspects that Antimachus gave an elegiac version of the whole account of Bellerophon as presented in *Il.* 6.145-211 and that he did so with the intention of answering the question posed by Homeric critics of why Bellerophon became hated by the gods (*Il.* 6.200). Antimachus' answer was that he had killed the Solymi who were friends of the gods. Homer himself does not say that the Solymi were killed, only that Bellerophon fought a mighty battle with them (184-5).

But before Antimachus, Pindar had already told that the hero killed the Solymi (*O.* 13.90), but chose to pass in silence over his fate (91), though surely implying that the story was well-known. In

[98] *Cf.* Maas, *Greek Metre*, 60, §88 and §86.

[99] Out of twenty-three instances of δῶ at line-end in Homer, only three do not follow bucolic diaeresis. *Cf.* σφονδυλίων ἕξ (F144).

[100] E.g. κρῖ (which never occurs at line-end) is the tenth element at *Od.* 4.604 and *Hy.Dem.* 452. *Cf.* Maas, *Greek Metre*, 59 §83; K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache* (Leipzig 1921), 7.

Isthmian 7, Pindar does tell how Bellerophon tried to fly up to Olympus, but fell from the back of Pegasus.[101] Even more recently Euripides had written tragedies called *Bellerophon* and *Stheneboea*. This fate must have been part of Antimachus' story.

The Bellerophon story is eminently suitable to the subject matter of the *Lyde* (τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς [T12]). Webster remarks that the tale belongs to a tradition on 'the mutability of human fortunes.'[102] The story of a chaste young hero rejecting the advances of an older woman can also be seen as an illustration of *sophrosyne* (*cf.* τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου [T14]).[103] There can be little doubt that we should understand σώφρων here in a sexual or moral sense, 'chaste', 'self-controlled'.[104] While Posidippus has praise both for Mimnermus' *Nanno* and for Antimachus' *Lyde*, he contrasts the two poets as φιλεραστός and σώφρων respectively. The implication surely is that the *Lyde* was very different from the *Nanno* in its approach to the subject of love. The story of Bellerophon may have been only one of several examples in the *Lyde* illustrating *sophrosyne*.[105]

Such episodes as Bellerophon's struggle with the Chimaera and his war with the Amazons must have provided great opportunity for colourful descriptions and displays of learning.[106] It is regrettable that so little has survived of Antimachus' account.

81 (69 Wyss)

Schol. PT Hom. *Od.* 5.283 (I.273 Dindorf): 'ἐκ Σολύμων'· τῆς Κιλικίας εἰσί. ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ Σολύμου

[101] *Cf.* J.H. Gaisser, *TAPA* 100 (1969), 170; Helen F. North, *From Myth to Icon: Reflections of Greek Ethical Doctrine in Literature and Art* (Ithaca/London 1979), 33-5.

[102] T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer: A study in Early Greek Literature and Art* (London 1964), 186; *cf.* Eurip. *Bellerophon* F285 Nauck^2, where the hero's former prosperity is contrasted with his present plight.

[103] *Cf.* North, 33-4; Eurip. *Stheneboea* F672 Nauck^2 is a prayer for σώφρων ἔρως. For Bellerophon as a symbol of chastity *cf.* Hor. *Odes* 3.7.13-15; Juv. *Sat.* 10.325.

[104] *Cf.* Aesch. *Ch.* 140; Soph. *Ajax* 132; Andoc. *in Alcib.* 4.14; E.F.M. Benecke, *Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Women in Greek Poetry* (1896, repr. Groningen 1970), 110.

[105] So too in the *Thebaid*, Antimachus' more restrained version of the birth of Arion (Fs 31-33) may have stood in deliberate contrast to other more lurid tales; *cf.* Matthews, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 1-7, espec. 6-7.

[106] Some idea of the possibilities may be obtained from O. Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier* (Stuttgart 1887), 57-63.

τοῦ Διὸς καὶ †Καλχηδονίας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος λέγει (P: δηλοῖ T).

Καλχηδονίας Χελιδονίας Huxley cf. Χαλδήνης Steph. Byz. 524 Meineke, unde Καλδήνης *Etym. Magn.* 721.44.

Commentary

The mention of the Solymi makes it virtually certain that the reference is to the *Lyde* (*cf.* F68).

In the genealogy for Solymus given by Antimachus, the name of the mother appears to be corrupt. Calchedonia would have to be the eponymous heroine of C(h)alc[h]edon, opposite Byzantium, a curious name to find in the context of south-western Asia Minor.

A very similar genealogy is presented by Steph. Byz. 524.3 Meineke: Πισιδία. οἱ Πισίδαι πρότερον Σόλυμοι, ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Χαλδήνης and by *Etym. Magn.* 721.43 Gaisford: ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Καλδήνης τῆς Πισίου καὶ Ἄρεως.[107]

Clearly all three versions gave the same name for the mother of Solymus. This name must be Χελιδονία, the eponymous heroine of the Chelidoniae islands.[108] This emendation was proposed by Huxley for the Homeric scholion and should be read in all three sources.[109]

Did Antimachus also present a genealogy for Chelidonia? Of our three sources, the only one to give her a parent is *Etym. Magn.*, which reads τῆς Πισίου. This is usually corrected to Πισίδου because of Steph. Byz.[110] But West sees a possible connection between the mother of Solymus and the Πύδητος κούρη, τηλεκλειτοῦ ποταμοῖο (F83).[111] This connection can be firmly established. The river Pydes is in Pisidia (Steph. Byz. 538.14 Meineke). Moreover fragments 82 and 83 are preserved because Antimachus employed two different declensions of the name Πύδης. As well as the genitive Πύδητος, there is the form Πύδου (*cf.* F82). I suggest therefore that in *Etym.*

[107] The variation of Ares for Zeus as Solymus' father reminds one that, in *Il.* 6.203-4, Bellerophon's son Isander (Pisander in Strabo 12.8.5 C573) was killed by Ares.

[108] For these islands see Strabo 14.3.8 C666; mount Solyma 14.3.9; the Solymi 14.3.10. The islands are 'just out from the promontory to which the Solyma mountains descend at their southern end' (West, *Stud. in Gk. Eleg. and Iamb.*, 169).

[109] Huxley, *GRBS* 5 (1964), 31 ff, acknowledged by West (*IEG*² II, 41 *apparatus*; *cf.* an Χελιδονίας? *IEG* II, 41 *apparatus*, and in *Stud. in Gk. Eleg. and Iamb.*, 169, 'Searching the map for a likely name, I find nothing more promising than the Χελιδόνιοι νῆσοι'). See the discussion of Matthews, *Panyassis*, 104-5.

Magn. for Πισίου we read, not Πισίδου, but Πύδου. The corruption could be the fault of a copyist who knew only the Πύδητος form. Thus, according to Antimachus, Chelidonia, the mother of Solymus, was the daughter of the Pisidian river Pydes.

Where did Antimachus place the Solymi? In view of the above discussion, one would suppose in Pisidia. Steph. Byz. 524.3 Meineke says that the Pisidians used to be called Solymi; Eustath. *ad Il.* 6.184 reports that the ancients say that Homer's Solymi are those later called Pisidians; Schol. *Il.* 6.184 says that when Poseidon caught sight of Odysseus ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων (*Od.* 5.283) it was from Pisidia and Cilicia; but Schol. *Od.* 5.283 says that the Solymi are from Cilicia. These references to Cilicia are strange, since in Homer the Solymi are clearly neighbours and enemies of the Lycians. The Pisidians can be called neighbours, but hardly the Cilicians. It may be that Κιλικίας in Schol. *Od.* 5.283 and in Schol. *Il.* 6.184 is a mistake for Λυκίας.[112] Note that Herodotus (1.173.2) says that the Milyae were formerly called Solymi and later called Lycii. The heroine Milye was both wife and sister of Solymus and later wife of Cragus (Steph. Byz. 453.13 Meineke) and thus serves as a link between the Lycian genealogy of Tremiles given by Panyassis (F18 Davies) and the Pisidian genealogy of Solymus given by Antimachus. It is possible that Antimachus may have taken his version from Panyassis.[113]

82 (99 Wyss)

Choerobosc. in Theod. 1.157.29 Hilgard: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εὑρίσκονται καὶ ἄλλα ἰαμβικὰ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐπ' εὐθείας τὸ τ καὶ εἰς τὴν ου δίφθογγον ἔχοντα τὴν γενικήν. εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα· Ἴδης Ἴδου . . . Γύγης Γύγου καὶ Γύγητος . . . Πύδης Πύδου, ὄνομα ποταμοῦ, ὡς παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ·

κὰδ δὲ Πύδην τε ῥέοντα (⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑)

κὰδ δὲ Hilg. καδδεπύδην τε ῥέοντα VP καδδ' ἐπύδη (ἐναπύδη C) ἐρέοντα NC

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[110] See Gaisford. This is the version adopted by Matthews, *Panyassis*, 105.

[111] West, *appar.* to F69 (Wyss) and 100 (Wyss); discussion in *Stud. in Gk. Eleg. and Iamb.*, 169.

[112] Examples of this same confusion occur in Steph. Byz. 523.19 Meineke: Πίναρα and 345.1 Meineke: Καβασσός (= Hellanicus 4F147, where Sturz wrongly emended to Κιλικίας).

[113] *Cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis*, 105. On the Solymi, Tremilae, Milyae, and Pisidae, see O. Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier*, espec. 19-27.

83 (100 Wyss)

Choerobosc. pergit: τοῦτο δὲ ἐναντίως ἔκλινεν ὁ Ἀντίμαχος· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἰαμβικόν ἐστιν, ἰσοσυλλάβως αὐτὸ κλίνει, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς λεχθείσης χρήσεως, ὅτε δὲ σπονδειακόν ἐστι, περιττοσυλλάβως αὐτὸ κλίνει, οἷον

Πύδητος κούρη τηλεκλειτοῦ ποταμοῖο

κούρη τηλεκλείτου VP καὶ τηλεκλήτου NC

Commentary

This pair of fragments shows Antimachus using, for metrical reasons, two different declensions of the name Πύδης, a river in Pisidia.[114] Since there is no way of knowing how many verses may have intervened between the two lines it is better to list them as separate fragments rather than assign a single number as Gentili-Prato do.

The poet employs the two-syllable declension, with -ην accusative and -ου genitive, when the first syllable of the name is scanned short, and the long form with -ητα (accus.) and -ητος (gen.), when the first syllable is long.

Even without such a distinction concerning the length of the first syllable, Antimachus is partial to similar double declensions *cf.* Τύδης (F6;7), Τυδεύς? (F13); Ἴδεω (F88), Ἴδαντος (F89).

In F82, we probably have the beginning of a hexameter (with a third-trochee caesura), since that is the usual position of κὰδ δέ, twenty-seven out of thirty-three occurrences in the *Iliad*, fifteen of twenty-two in the *Odyssey*, e.g. *Il.* 2.160; *Od.* 4.344 (*tmesis* for κατέβαλε); Hes. *Scut.* 384; A.R. F12.2 Powell. There are a total of twelve occurrences in the fifth foot and one in the second in the two Homeric poems, but not a single example in the fourth foot, where Gentili and Prato choose to place it. The participle ῥέοντα is of course frequently applied to rivers, e.g. Ξάνθον τε ῥέοντα (*Il.* 6.172); ποταμὼ τε ῥέοντε (5.773), but its usual position is at line-end, especially in the phrase εὐρὺ ῥέοντος. Wyss (50) states that we must remove either δέ or τε. But δέ could have an apodotic or resumptive function or κὰδ δέ may respond to κατὰ μέν as in *Il.* 23.884-5 and

[114] Steph. Byz. 538.14 Meineke: Πύδης· πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς Πισιδίας, the only other reference to the river extant.

A.R. F12.1-2 Powell (or to a previous κὰδ δέ as in *Il.* 7.57-8 and 24.578-80). For a similarity to this verse *cf.* κὰδ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων/ἑζέσθην (*Il.* 7.58-9). κάδ may be in tmesis with either ῥέοντα or the absent verb form rather than simply governing the accusative.

In F83 Πύδητος κούρη is metrically identical to Ἴδαντος κούρη (F89). The phrases are unconventional both in word-order and in their position in the hexameter.[115] Also notable here are spondees through the first four feet.

The epithet τηλεκλειτοῦ at first glance appears very traditional, but in fact is not frequent in Homer. Its only two genitival occurrences are in phrases almost identical to this fragment, namely Φοίνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο (*Il.* 14.321) and Ἰκαρίου κούρη τηλεκλειτοῖο (*Od.* 19.546). The single example of the word in Hesiod is in a similar context, Λυγκῆος γενεὴ τηλεκλειτοῖο (*Scut.* 327). All three individuals named in these passages clearly had greater claim to this epithet than did the obscure river Pydes. It is a high-sounding epic word and the metrical association κούρη(ς) τηλεκλειτοῖο may have suggested it to Antimachus.

The problem of the unnamed daughter of Pydes in F83 may have been solved by West who has made the very probable suggestion that she is a river nymph who should be identified with the Chelidonia who was the mother of Solymus (*cf.* F81).[116] The two fragments may thus be safely attributed to the *Lyde.*

84 (70 Wyss)

Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 44(1.254-5 Schwartz): ὅτι δὲ Πολύβῳ δέδωκε τοὺς ἵππους (sc. Οἰδίπους τοὺς Λαίου) καὶ Ἀντίμαχός φησιν ἐν Λύδῃ·

> εἶπε δὲ φωνήσας· Πόλυβε, θρεπτήρια τάσδε
> ἵππους τοι δώσω δυσμενέων ἐλάσας.

τάσδε Bergk τάδε codd. ταῦτα Barnes ap. Dübner, τούσδε Dübner

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[115] See the discussion on F89.

[116] See West, *Stud. in Gk. Eleg. and Iamb.* 169 and his *apparatus* to F69 and 100 (*IEG*² II.41 and 42). *Cf.* my discussion of F81.

Commentary

The story of Oedipus was another subject in Antimachus' *Lyde*. This fragment tells us that Oedipus gave Laius' horses to Polybus. The detail is also mentioned by Euripides (*Phoen.* 44-5) who has Iocasta say παῖς πατέρα καίνει καὶ λαβὼν ὀχήματα/ Πολύβῳ τροφεῖ δίδωσιν.[117]

In the text of the fragment the codices have τάδε, in agreement with θρεπτήρια, but it is preferable to take ἵππους as the object of δώσω, with θρεπτήρια in apposition 'I shall give you these horses as θρεπτήρια.' Thus τούσδε (Dübner) or τάσδε (Bergk). For the former *cf.* τούσδε ... ἵππους (*Il.* 5.261), but the latter is preferable as being closer to τάδε and since horses are frequently female in Homer.[118]

The word θρεπτήρια does not occur in Homer, only the form θρέπτρα, i.e. οὐ δὲ τοκεῦσι/θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε (*Il.* 4.477-8 = 17.301-2), of the death of a young man before he was able to repay his parents for his upbringing.[119] Hesiod refers to this same custom, οὐδέ κεν οἵ γε/γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν (*Op.* 187-8), clearly using θρεπτήρια as equivalent to the Homeric θρέπτρα. Antimachus understands the word in the same sense as Hesiod, since Oedipus assumes Polybus to be his father.[120] Similarly Apollonius has Jason's mother Alcimede say that she had long since received the θρεπτήρια from her son and that her only wish remaining was that he might be present to bury her (A.R. 1.280 ff.).

Antimachus thus is depicting Oedipus paying off his debt to his father, whom he thinks is Polybus. The fatal encounter with Laius

[117] Similar stories are found in two late sources; Pisander (*FGrHist* 16F10.5 = Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1760), whom Schellenberg (81) wrongly thought was the early epic poet, says that Oedipus τὸ δὲ ἅρμα ὑποστρέψας ἔδωκε τῷ Πολύβῳ, while Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90F8) says τὰς ἡμιόνους τοῦ Λαίου (ἤλαυνε γὰρ καὶ ταύτας) ἀγαγὼν Πολύβῳ ἔδωκεν. Wyss suspects that all four, Euripides, Antimachus, Pisander, and Nicolaus are drawing on the early epic, the *Oedipodia*, but presents no arguments.

[118] E.g. *Il.* 5.268; 8.113; 117; 11.620; nom. 2.763; 11.596; 615 etc.

[119] Schol. *Il.* 4.478 notes that Zenodotus read θρεπτά and explains that θρεπτά = τὰ τεθραμμένα, while θρέπτρα = τὰ θρεπτήρια. Presumably Antimachus read θρέπτρα in Homer. Del Corno (90) mistakenly thinks that Antimachus uses the word in a third meaning, between that of Hesiod and the *Hy. Dem.*, but closer to the latter, namely in the sense of a gift of a child to a foster-parent. But Oedipus does not yet know that Polybus is only his foster-father.

[120] In *Hy. Dem.* 168 and 223, the phrase ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν / -ην is used of reward given to a nurse (Demeter) by a mother (Metanira); *cf.* Richardson, *Hom. Hy. Dem.*, 201 and 228.

must have taken place before Oedipus reached Delphi and consulted the oracle, otherwise he would hardly have returned to Corinth and Polybus. The usual versions (e.g. Soph. *OT* 715 ff.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.7) place the fight with Laius after Oedipus had left Corinth as a result of receiving the oracle.

As for Oedipus' return to Corinth and Polybus after the murder, the scholiast points out that he could not proceed to his consultation of the oracle without being cleansed of the pollution of the murder.[121] Presumably this could have been carried out by Polybus in Antimachus' version.

Schellenberg (82) indicates the appropriateness of having Oedipus get rid of the horses (and chariot?) by presenting them to Polybus. If he had brought them with him when he entered Thebes, the secret of the king's murder could hardly have remained hidden for long.

In the words of Antimachus, Oedipus seems to have treated the encounter with Laius like a heroic Homeric fight. He has driven off the horses as spoil after killing their owner, *cf.* νῶι δ' ἐπαΐξας μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱὸς/αὐτώ τε κτείνῃ καὶ ἐλάσσῃ μώνυχας ἵππους (*Il.* 5.235-6); μάλα δέ σφισιν ἔλπετο θυμὸς/αὐτώ τε κτενέειν ἐλάαν τ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους (17.495-6). The sense of δυσμενέων (rare in Homer, *Od.* 2.72-3; 20.314) is 'in hostile fashion'.[122]

The participle φωνήσας is frequent in Homer in the same *sedes*, but nearly always after ὥς ἄρα. For εἶπε δέ in the first foot *cf.* εἶπε δ' ἄρα (*Il.* 19.286). The rarity of the participial form δυσμενέων has already been noticed. Homer generally prefers the adjective δυσμενής, as does Apollonius (four times against a single occurrence, δυσμενέοντας, 3.352). To ἵππους τοι δώσω *cf.* δῶρα δέ τοι δώσω (*Il.* 14.238). But while the Homeric example is a true future, Antimachus seems to be employing future *pro praesente.*[123] Del Corno sees ἐλάσας at line-end as clumsy and unfortunate and claims that it shows that Antimachus is far from mastering the expression of the elegiac couplet when the memory of Homeric formulae does not help him.[124] This comment, however, seems insupportable when we consider the only two examples of ἐλάσας in the *Iliad*, both of which occur in phrases at

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[121] Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 44.

[122] In the *Odyssey* always in conjunction with κακὰ ῥέζειν, 'to do harm to'.

[123] *Cf.* Wyss, 38; Gentili-Prato x; 118; Del Corno, 89. For other examples see Kühner-Gerth, *Gr.Gr.* II 1.172.4.

[124] Del Corno, 89.

the beginning of the hexameter, ἐκ νηῶν ἐλάσας (16.87) and ἐξ ἐμέθεν γ' ἐλάσας (21.217). It is at once apparent that the metrical unit – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – is identical to δυσμενέων ἐλάσας, i.e. as in F86, Antimachus is employing elements from the first half of a Homeric hexameter to conclude a pentameter line.

85 (72 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 256-57 Meineke: Δώτιον, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὅπου μετῴκησαν οἱ Κνίδιοι, ὧν ἡ χώρα Κνιδία. Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις (*Hy. Dem.* 24)· 'οὔπω τάν Κνιδίαν, ἔτι Δώτιον ἱρὸν ἔναιον' ... ὁ πολίτης Δωτιεύς ... τὸ θηλυκὸν Δωτηίς ... καὶ Δωτιάς, ὡς Ἰλιάς τοῦ Ἰλιεύς. Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Πηλεῖ (F492 Radt)· 'βασιλεὺς χώρας τῆς Δωτιάδος'. καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν Ῥόδου κτίσει (F10 Powell) 'ὅσσα τε γαίης/†ἔργα τε (ἕρματα Meineke: ἔργματα O. Schneider) Δωτιάδος πρότεροι κάμον Αἱμονιῆες'. καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν β' Λύδης·

φεύγοντας γαίης ἔκτοθι Δωτιάδος

Commentary

This fragment from Bk. 2 of the *Lyde* mentions people 'fleeing out of the Dotian land'. Stoll (75) conjectured that the reference might be to the migration of Thessalians to Cnidus mentioned by Stephanus and by Callimachus (*Hy. Dem.* 24).[125] Wyss comments that Antimachus, like Callimachus, could have treated this subject in describing the wanderings of Demeter. But Callimachus of course in *Hy.* 6.17 ff. turns away from the unhappy story of Demeter's wanderings to tell of better things: (1) κάλλιον, 18; how she gave cities pleasing laws; (2) κάλλιον, 19; how she taught Triptolemus the good craft of agriculture; (3) κάλλιον, 22, how, in order that men might avoid transgression, she treated the family of Triopas, a story which centered on the sacred grove of Demeter at Dotium (24-5).[126] This

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[125] K. J. McKay expresses the wish that Stoll's conjecture could be confirmed. See *The Poet at Play: Kallimachos, The Bath of Pallas* (Leiden, 1962), 105 n. 1. N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge 1984), 100 on v. 24 writes 'The subject appears to have been treated by Antim. in the second book of his *Lyde*: fr. 72 . . . '

[126] Verse 23 is unfortunately lacunose, but I follow those who would find there the subject of ἔναιον (24), i.e. the Triopidae, rather than those who make Πελασγοί (25) the subject. For the various interpretations see McKay, *Erysichthon. A Calli-*

third story, the inclusion of which must strike the reader as surprising, is the one that Callimachus chooses to dwell on.

Callimachus' story may be summarized thus: the family of Triopas were not yet in the land of Cnidus, but still lived in holy Dotium. There the Pelasgi had built a beautiful grove for Demeter. Erysichthon, the son of Triopas, attacked the grove with axes and cut down Demeter's holy tree. His plan was to build a banquet-hall. For punishment the goddess afflicted him with a disease of ravening hunger, whereby he could not get enough to eat. Callimachus leaves the story with Erysichthon reduced to begging for crusts at the crossroads. Presumably the family later migrated to Cnidus as alluded to in v.23.[127]

McKay suggests that Callimachus gives a humorous treatment to the Erysichthon story because 'someone–and someone who mattered–treated the theme as tragedy.'[128] He suggests that this someone was Antimachus. He presents no evidence, other than the possibility that this fragment refers to this story.[129] But he 'cannot resist the feeling that Antimachos had treated Erysichthon as a tragic figure, a viewpoint that Kallimachos opposes.'[130] I too find little evidence, yet I feel that McKay is right. The reference to people fleeing out of the Dotian land can hardly belong to any other context than one of Triopas and Erysichthon. If Antimachus included the story in his *Lyde*, he can only have treated it in a serious, tragic manner.

We cannot really say anything further on how Antimachus might have told the tale. But it can be pointed out that the latter part of the story (left untold by Callimachus), including Erysichthon's nickname of Aethon and his repeated selling of his metamorphosing daughter Mestra, was known to Hesiod (F43a, b, c, M-W) and to Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4F7) and thus certainly to Antimachus. A possible connection with a subject actually known to have been treated

machean Comedy (Leiden 1962), 73. Hopkinson, in his translation (63) takes Πελασγοί as subject. For the lacuna, H. White argues that the verse given by the *recentior* O: θήκατο βουπείνᾳ Τριόπεω γόνον οἰκτρὸν ἰδέσθαι is not an interpolation, but a genuine reading, (*New Essays in Hellenistic Poetry* [Amsterdam 1985], 109-112). If we accept this line, it is not difficult to understand the Triopidae as the subject of ἔναιον.

[127] For the myth see Hopkinson, 18-31. The latter part of the tale may be found in Ovid's treatment (*Met.* 8.738-878); *cf.* Lyc. 1391-9, with Schol. 1393.

[128] McKay, *Erysichthon*, 69.

[129] McKay, *Poet at Play*, 105 n. 1. Curiously, he does not mention F72 Wyss in *Erysichthon*.

[130] McKay, *Erysichthon*, 69.

by Antimachus is that one version made Mestra the mother of Bellerophon.[131] But of course Antimachus could still have told the story of Triopas, Erysichthon, and Mestra even if he followed another tradition for the name of Bellerophon's mother.[132]

The interplay of the respective references to the Dotian land by Antimachus, Callimachus, and Apollonius is interesting. Antimachus' words probably refer to the Triopidae making their departure from Thessaly (*cf.* φυγεῖν ἐκ Θετταλίας, Diod. 5.61.2, of the departure of Triopas).[133] Callimachus' reference is really a signpost indicating that he will not deal with the migration to Cnidus, but showing that he knows the story.[134] The fragment of Apollonius shows clear verbal echoes of Antimachus (*cf.* γαίης/ ... Δωτιάδος; also γαίης Παναχαιίδος ἔκτοθι, 1.243), yet seems closer to the context of Callimachus. The sense seems to be '<someone destroyed?> all the works which the Haemonians (= Thessalians) had wrought', *cf.* 'where the Pelasgi (= Thessalians) had made for you a beautiful grove' (Callim. 6.25), i.e. the works which Apollonius mentions are the agricultural works in creating the grove. Since the fragment comes from his Ῥόδου Κτίσις, Apollonius probably followed the version which made Triopas a son of Helios and Rhodos.[135]

The Dotian plain was also associated with the story of Coronis (*cf.* Hesiod F59.3 M-W),[136] which, with its unhappy love-story, is ideally suited to the theme of Antimachus' *Lyde.*[137] This possibility was

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[131] Schol. *Il.* 6.191b; also possibly Hes. F43a, 81-82, see M-W *appar.*; *cf.* Hopkinson, 19-20.

[132] E.g. that she was Eurynome, the daughter of Nisus (Hyg. *Fab.* 157) or Eurymede (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3).

[133] Diodorus in fact makes Triopas the culprit, not Erysichthon; *cf.* Hopkinson, 24.

[134] *Cf.* McKay, *Erysichthon*, 46. Hopkinson (100) describes the technique as 'antiquarian 'flashback'.

[135] *Cf.* Diodorus 5.61.1. The other versions of his parentage point to Thessaly, i.e. son of Poseidon and Canace, the daughter of Aeolus; the son of Lapithes, son of Apollo, and Stilbe, daughter of Peneus (Diod. 5.61.3). Callimachus mentions the Poseidon-Canace version (98-9). McKay (*Erysichthon*, 115-6) suggests that the word ψευδοπάτωρ and the conditional clause εἴπερ ἐγὼ μὲν / σεῦ τε καὶ Αἰολίδος Κανάκας γένος may be designed to cast doubt on it (so too Poseidon's failure to respond to Triopas' prayer); but Hopkinson (159) shows that εἴπερ in such appeals serves to reinforce the truth and states (160) that Triopas (in using ψευδοπάτωρ) is not doubting his parentage, but is angry at Poseidon's lack of fatherly concern.

[136] = Strabo 9.5.22 C442 and 14.1.40 C647; Steph. Byz. 88.12 Meineke: Ἄμυρος; *cf. Hom. Hy.* 16.2-3; A.R. 4.617, and West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue*, 69-72.

[137] *Cf.* the account of Pindar, *P.* 3.8 ff.

raised by Schellenberg (80). But if this fragment is related to this story, it is difficult to see who could have been fleeing out of the Dotian land.

The feminine adjectival form of the name was used before Antimachus by Sophocles (F492 Radt), and later, as we have seen, by Apollonius, who clearly took it from Antimachus.

The form ἔκτοθι is a Homeric rarity (*Il.* 15.391; 22.439), but is later used frequently by Apollonius.[138] Two instances, γαίης Παναχαιίδος ἔκτοθι (1.243) and ἔκτοθι γαίης (3.373) would appear to derive from Antimachus.

86 (66 Wyss)

Athen. 11.469e (3.32 Kaibel): ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἐπὶ ποτηρίου διεκομίζετο ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν Στησίχορος μὲν οὕτως φησίν (S17 = 185 *PMGF*) . . . καὶ Ἀντίμαχος δ' οὑτωσὶ λέγει·

(– ⏑⏑ –) τότε δὴ χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαι
Ἠέλιον πόμπευεν ἀγακλυμένη Ἐρύθεια.

1 χρυσέῳ Stoll (-είῳ εἰνὶ δεπάστρῳ Casaubon) εὔχρεῳ codd. εὐχρέῳ G-P 2 Ἠέλιον codd. Ἠελίου Jessen *RE* VIII.93, ut de Hercule agatur πόμπευεν Schweighäeuser πομπει codd. πομπεύει Stoll (1845) πέμπησι Stoll (1849)

Commentary

This fragment alludes to the well-known tradition that Helios travelled back from west to east by night in a golden vessel.[139] The metre indicates that it belongs to the *Lyde.*

Erythea here is clearly one of the Hesperides as she is said to be by various ancient sources.[140] Antimachus himself mentioned her sister Aigle as the mother, by Helios, of the Charites (F140).

In the text, Stoll's χρυσέῳ is probably right for the MSS εὔχρεῳ,

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[138] 1.243; 659; 793; 833; 1291; 3.255; 373; 1199; 4.47; 1182; 1298; 1548; 1757; *cf.* Del Corno, 89.

[139] *Cf.* Panyassis F7 Davies *EGF* (= F9 Bernabé), with the comments of Matthews, *Panyassis*, 58-9; Pisander F6 Davies (= F5 Bernabé); Stesichorus = F185 *PMGF*; Mimnermus F12 Allen/West; *Titanomachia* F7 Davies (the earliest source, according to Athen. 11.470e).

[140] E.g. Ἑσπερίδες ..., Αἴγλη, Ἐρύθεια, Ἑσπέρια, Ἀρέθουσα (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11); Ἑσπέρη ... Ἐρυθηὶς ... / Αἴγλη (A.R. 4.1427-8); *Hesperidas Aeglen, Erytheam, Hesperethusam* (Serv. auct. in Verg. *Aen.* 4.484 = Hes. F360 *dub.* M-W).

cf. χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαι (beginning the hexameter *Il.* 24.285 = *Od.* 15.149).[141] But Gentili-Prato print the MSS reading, following H.L. Ahrens who suggests that the cup could have been described as 'useful', and he is supported by Del Corno who argues that Antimachean style would suggest variation in the epithet-noun combination rather than identical reproduction.[142] But since the reference is not to a common, everyday cup, but to the cup of Helios, it is better with Wyss and West to accept the emendation. Antimachus employs the first part of a Homeric hexameter as the second half of his pentameter line.

In the second verse, Schweighaeuser's πόμπευεν (imperf.) seems preferable to Stoll's πομπεύει (pres.), unless we are to suppose a reference to a general occurrence rather than to a particular one.[143] The verb is a Homeric *hapax*, found in the imperfect in *Od.* 13.422 αὐτή μιν πόμπευον (same *sedes*). The form πόμπευεν should also be preferred over Stoll's later conjecture πέμπησι (*cf.* *Hom. Hymn* 31.16).[144]

Antimachus seems to have invented the feminine form ἀγακλυμένη to correspond to the Homeric ἀγακλυτός, which lacks a feminine and is always used of men or things (e.g. δώματα).[145] Del Corno carelessly writes 'ἀγακλυμένη, che corresponde al frequente ἀγακλυτή.'[146] The word is not attested elsewhere. Del Corno's suggestion that the structure of the second line was called to Antimachus' mind by the position of Ἠέλιον in *Il.* 18.239 is far-fetched.

The sense of the fragment seems to be 'at that time, famous Erythea was escorting Helios in his golden cup'. As West points out, this may be simply an elaborate expression for 'the sun had just set',[147] and as such there is no way of determining the context.

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141 West rightly credits Stoll with this emendation (*Animadv. in Antim. Col. Frag.* (1840) 14, repeated in Stoll (1845), 77). Casaubon, followed by Schellenberg (73-4), read χρυσείῳ εἰνὶ δεπάστρῳ making the verse into a hexameter. Other emendations have little to recommend them.

142 Ahrens, *Beiträge zur gr.u.lat.Etym.* (Leipzig 1879), 1.48; Del Corno, *Acme* 15, 88.

143 Stoll, 77-8.

144 Stoll, *Philologus* 4 (1849), 171.

145 The only feminine form attested appears to be [ἀ]γακλυταῖς Δελφίσιν (*Pae. Delph.* 1.4 Powell).

146 Del Corno, 89.

147 West, *Stud. in Gk. Eleg. and Iamb.*, 169.

87 (73 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. (Miller, *Mélanges de litt. grecq.* 126; *Etym. Magn.* 375.40): ἔρκτωρ (ita *Et.M.* ἔκτωρ B, in marg. ἔκτρωρ, om. A) ὁ πράκτωρ. Ἀντίμαχος·

†οἶον† τῶν μεγάλων ἔρκτορές εἰσι κακῶν.

παρὰ τὸ ἔρξω ἔρκτωρ (ita *Etym. Magn.* ἐκτ. B:), ὡς ἄγω ἄκτωρ, καὶ ἔχω ἔκτωρ.

οἶον *Etym. Gen.* οἱ vel nihil *Etym. Magn.* οἳ West ὅσσοι Valckenaer ad Eurip. *Phoen.* p. 607 τῶν codd. σῶν Valck. ἔρκτορες *Etym. Magn.* ἔκτορες *Etym. Gen.* εἰσι *Etym. Magn.* εἰσιν *Etym. Gen.*

Commentary

This verse is quoted by virtue of the noun ἔρκτορες and is attributed to the *Lyde* because of the metre. The οἶον of *Etym. Gen.* is probably corrupt. *Etym. Magn.* has simply τῶν μεγάλων or οἱ τῶν μεγάλων. West suggests we read οἳ τῶν μεγάλων. Other possibilities are οἶοι or ὅσσοι (Valckenaer). Edmonds, following Bergk, reads οἱ<σοι>. It is possible too that Valckenaer is right in reading σῶν for τῶν.

Antimachus is fond of nouns of agency ending in -τωρ *cf.* βασιλεύτωρ (F10), ἀβολήτωρ (F133); Wyss, XXXII. This one is not otherwise attested and may be his own invention. *Cf.* κακὸν ἔρξῃ(ς) (Hes. *Op.* 327; 708).

88 (77 Wyss)

Porphyr. ex Aretade π. συνεμπτώσεως ap. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 10.22 467a-c (1.368-9 Mras): (locum descripsi ad F39).

Ἴδεώ θ' ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων ἦν ἀνδρῶν

Commentary

This is one of the fragments which Porphyrius accused Antimachus of stealing from Homer and changing for the worse (*cf.* F39 and 90).

This time Antimachus has certainly borrowed a whole Homeric line (*Il.* 9.558), unlike F39 which is an amalgam of two different Homeric verses. The only change he makes is to substitute ἦν for γένετ', creating a spondaic fifth foot, of which Porphyrius certainly did not approve, regarding it as a *Verschlimmbesserung*. But the

Homeric line which is Antimachus' model is in fact the only mention of Idas in all of Homer. So if Antimachus wanted to allude to what Homer said of Idas, he had no choice but to refer to this line. He could not afford to alter it too much or the allusion might be missed. So he changed it in the very slightest fashion, an example of *imitatio cum variatione exiguissima.*

The reason for the allusion is probably that Antimachus' context is related to that of Homer. The passage of the *Iliad* in question concerns the story of Meleager and his wife Cleopatra, the daughter of Idas and Marpessa (*Il.* 9.556 ff.). We know that Antimachus himself mentioned a daughter of Idas, surely this same Cleopatra (F89). Wyss (VIII) sees a tenuous connection between the story of Meleager and the flight of his brother Tydeus as a reason for attributing these fragments to the *Thebaid*, but he argues more convincingly (41) that they may belong to the *Lyde.* There are in fact two stories here, both of which are extremely suitable to the subject of the *Lyde.* The mention of the daughter of Idas in F89 does, I think, guarantee that Antimachus told of the unfortunate fate of Cleopatra and Meleager. Whether he also told the unhappy tale of Idas, Marpessa, and Apollo is less certain, since that story may have been merely mentioned in passing, as in Homer. But it would be like Antimachus to present in detail a story to which Homer only alluded. Antimachus could well have included both stories in his *Lyde*, perhaps consecutively, moving from one generation to the next.

One might also raise the slight possibility that the story of Meleager and Cleopatra was recounted by Antimachus in his *Artemis*, since it was that goddess who set the events of that unhappy episode in motion (*Il.* 9.523 ff.)

The two fragments 88 and 89 present no grounds for supposing that Antimachus' *Thebaid* embraced the expedition of the Epigoni as some have thought.[148]

89 (78 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. (*Etym. Magn.* 465.9): Ἴδας . . . τὰ εἰς -δας δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὲν περιττοσυλλάβως κλίνεται, διφθόγγῳ παραλήγεται, οἷον Φείδας Φείδαντος, Οἴδας Οἴδαντος· εἰ δὲ ἰσοσυλλάβως, ἑνὶ φωνήεντι, οἷον

[148] Not Wyss; *cf.* VIII f.

Λήδας Λήδου, Μίδας Μίδου· τὸ γὰρ Μείδας κλίνεται διὰ τοῦ ντ, Μείδαντος, διὰ τοῦ ει διφθόγγου. γράφεται οὖν καὶ Ἴδας Ἴδου. ὅθεν ὁ Ἀντίμαχος ἥμαρτεν εἰπών·

Ἴδαντος κούρη

Commentary

The commentator accuses Antimachus of error in forming the genitive Ἴδαντος from Ἴδας, the rule being that the first syllable of names ending in -δας must contain a diphthong if the genitive is to be -αντος; otherwise it should be -ου. Wyss supposes that the poet was influenced by the Homeric κούρη ... Ἀρύβαντος (*Il.* 15.426) and the like. Certainly there are a number of two syllable names in -ας, but with stems in consonants other than -δ-, which may serve as models, e.g. Δρύαντος (*Il.* 6.130), Φόρβαντος θύγατηρ (9.661), υἱὸν Φόρβαντος (14.490), Θόαντος (14.230), Βίαντος (20.460).

It is interesting to note the number of instances where Antimachus employs two different declensions of a name. With Ἴδεω/Ἴδαντος *cf.* Ἄιδον (F11), Ἄϊδος gen. (F111); Τύδης (F6), Τυδεύς? (F13); Πύδην (F82), Πύδητος gen. (F83).

Ἴδαντος κούρη is of course metrically identical to Πύδητος κούρη (F83) and it is probable that here too Antimachus resorts to an unusual genitive form to begin the line. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, κούρη is never found following a name at the beginning of a verse. The word usually occurs either in the first position itself, e.g. κ. Βρισῆος (*Il.* 1.392 etc.); κ. Ἰκαρίοιο (*Od.* 1.329 etc.); κ. Μίνωος (11.322), or in the final position, usually after an epithet rather than a name. It is fairly common following a name in mid-line e.g. – ⏑⏑ Πανδαρέου κ. (*Od.* 19.518); Ἰκαρίου κ. (19.546); Τυνδαρέου κ. (24.199).

But κούρη is used following a name at the beginning of a line in Hesiod, Ὠκεανοῦ κούρη (*Theog.* 908), and possibly Λυσιδίκης κο]ύρ[η] (F193.20). Apollonius has Μυρμιδόνος κούρη (1.55).

Adding to the unHomeric quality of the phrase is the fact that names of the form – ⏓ – are often followed in Homer not by κούρη but by θυγάτηρ, e.g. Φόρβαντος θ. (*Il.* 9.661); Φύλαντος θ. (6.181); Ἄτλαντος θ. (*Od.* 1.52; also *Hy.* 18.4); Φόρκυνος θ. (*Od.* 1.72); Αὐτολύκου θ. (11.85); Πάλλαντος θ. (*Hy. Herm.* 100).

90 (79 Wyss)

Porphyr. ex Aretade π. συνεμπτώσεως ap. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 10.22 467a-c (1.368-9 Mras): (locum descripsi ad F39).

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης.

Commentary

Here again, as in F39 and 88, Porphyrius accuses Antimachus of taking a line from Homer and altering it for the worse.

On the face of it, Antimachus has apparently borrowed a Homeric verse (*Il.* 11.316; *cf.* 5.814), making only a minor alteration which converts the fourth foot from a dactyl to a spondee by changing an epithet to another of almost identical meaning.

Why would Antimachus make such an apparently meaningless change? Surely not because of a liking for spondaic fourth feet, although he does show a greater preference for these than do other epic poets.[149] The introduction of such a foot is of course no reason to consider the verse as rendered inferior. Why, moreover, does Antimachus choose a verse which begins with the most hackneyed of all Homeric formulae, one that was ridiculed by the comic poet, Cratinus?[150]

None of the critics, ancient or modern, seem to have asked these questions, let alone answered them. Porphyrius criticises Antimachus for having the temerity to introduce a change into the cliched Homeric line. Stoll (69) remarks that the poet was all the more to be criticised if he had rashly departed from the epic formula.

I would suggest that Antimachus may have used this tritest possible Homeric opening to emphasise the change that he does make, namely κρατερός to κρείων.

The epithet κρατερός is applied to Diomedes not only in the two Homeric verses which are Antimachus' apparent models here. In fact κρατερός largely belongs to Diomedes in the *Iliad*, being used

[149] See the discussion of his metrics.

[150] F355 Kassel-Austin. LSJ[9] *s.v.* κρείων seems to attribute the line involving Diomedes to Cratinus, but surely all that the text means is that he parodied the τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη phrase. *Cf.* the epic imitation by Theocritus (*Id.*25.42), where this same Homeric formula is combined with a Hesiodic phrase for Heracles, Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός (*Scut.*320, F 35.5; 43 a.61 M-W).

by him twenty times against only thirteen other instances in the nominative case (each of these with a different person).[151] It could well be called his specific epithet. Why then does Antimachus change it? To find the answer, we need to turn our attention to the word he changes it to, namely κρείων.

The commentators have always seen Antimachus' line as a pointless variation on the τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης verse. But there are in fact five lines in the *Iliad* which begin τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων and which may be seen just as much Antimachus' model as the κρατερὸς Διομήδης verse. They are actually five instances of the same formulaic line, and the name which completes the verse is not Diomedes, but Agamemnon.[152]

This detail becomes more significant than at first glance when we consider that, in its other occurrences in the *Iliad*, the epithet κρείων is almost the personal property of the supreme commander of the Greek forces, being used of him twenty-three times (i.e. making twenty-eight in all) against ten instances with six other figures.[153] In addition, he is also called εὐρυκρείων eleven times against only a single other example of this epithet (of Poseidon).[154] The only other form of identification applied as frequently as κρείων to Agamemnon is ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν (twenty-eight times).[155]

Thus, by the simple expedient of changing a single epithet, Antimachus has converted the line from a conventional formula of Diomedes to one which, to the Homerically-literate reader, will recall Agamemnon. I would suggest that Antimachus means his reader to see Diomedes in the role of Agamemnon. In what circumstances might he wish to encourage this identification?

The answer may lie in a story mentioned by Wyss and found in Schol. Lyc. 610.[156] According to this story, when Diomedes returned from Troy, he discovered that his wife Aegialea had become an adultress. This happening had been brought about by Aphrodite, out of spite because Diomedes had wounded her at Troy. Aigialea and her lover, Cometes, son of Sthenelus, plotted against Diomedes.

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[151] See Prendergast, *Concordance to the Iliad*, 237, *s.v.* κρατερός.
[152] *Il.* 1.130; 285; 2.369; 4.188; 10.42.
[153] See Prendergast, 237-8, *s.v.* κρείων.
[154] Prendergast, 166 *s.v.* εὐρυκρείων.
[155] Prendergast, 36 *s.v.* ἄναξ.
[156] = Mimnermus F23 Allen (= 22 West, F17 Gentili-Prato); *cf.* Allen, *Mimnermus*, 136-7.

This Cometes was the man to whom Diomedes had entrusted his household during his absence at Troy. A similar motif is found in the story of the minstrel appointed by Agamemnon as his household guardian, whom Aegistheus got rid of in order to pursue his liaison with Clytemnestra (*Od.* 3.267 ff.). Faced with this plot, Diomedes took refuge at an altar[157] and escaped by night with his companions. He went to Italy, to king Daunus, who treacherously killed him.[158]

This story is usually attributed to Mimnermus (F23 Allen = 22 West), a circumstance which would guarantee its being known to Antimachus.[159] It is interesting to find the stories of Agamemnon and Diomedes linked by [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.9, where Nauplius, in revenge for the death of his son Palamedes, is said to have arranged that the wives of the Greeks become adultresses, Clytemnestra with Aegistheus, Aegialea with Cometes, and Meda, wife of Idomeneus, with Leucus.[160]

Homer does not mention this story of Diomedes and his unfaithful wife. What he does tell is quite different. In *Iliad* 5.329 ff., he describes the wounding of Aphrodite by Diomedes. The goddess is clearly upset and, on returning to Olympus, is consoled by her mother Dione (370 ff.). Near the end of her speech, Dione warns of the fate of one who fights the immortal gods (407 ff.). He will have no homecoming from war, no children at his knees calling him daddy. Diomedes should take care not to fight somebody better than Aphrodite or one day Aegialea will wake her household with her lamentations at the loss of her husband, the best of the Achaeans.

What is fascinating here is the epithet that Homer uses of Aegialea

[157] Of Hera (Schol. Lyc., II.206f. Scheer); of Athena (Schol. bT *Il.* 5.412b, II.64-5 Erbse).

[158] *Cf.* Schol. bT *Il.* 5.412b; Eustath. *Il.* 5.412 (II.112 van der Valk). G.S. Kirk is wrong in stating that the tradition did not record a violent death for Diomedes (*The Iliad: A Commentary* II.103 on 5.406-7).

[159] West (*IEG*^{2} II.91) lists the fragment among the *Dubia et Spuria*. He thinks, strangely, that καὶ Ὅμηρος should be read for the μνήμερμος, μίμνερος of the codices. But Homer of course tells only of the wounding of Aphrodite, whereas the phrase καθώς φησι κ.τ.λ. clearly refers to the whole story of the adulterous Aegialea which follows. West's comparison with καθά φησι καὶ Ὅμηρος (Eustath. in Dion. Per. 483 [II.308 Müller]) is not compelling, since that phrase follows directly after τρωθείσης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τροίαν πολέμῳ and refers only to Homer's story of the wounding of Aphrodite, not to the tale of Diomedes being driven from his native land by her anger. West's conjecture is also rejected by Gentili-Prato, (I.56) and by Allen (137).

[160] *Cf.* Tzetzes on Lyc. 384-6.

in this touching domestic scene. She is περίφρων, 'very thoughtful, sensible, circumspect', an epithet only applied to women by Homer.[161] But to our surprise (or is it?), this is the only instance of the word in the *Iliad*. It is, however, frequent in the *Odyssey*, almost always of that epitome of wifely virtue, Penelope.[162] Thus to Homer, Aegialea was a Penelope, not a Clytemnestra.

What could be more suggestive to a poet who knew the other story of Diomedes and Aegialea? This is exactly the sort of allusion which Antimachus would pick up and it may have inspired him to employ a similar transfer of epithet to help cast Diomedes in the role of Agamemnon.

Now we cannot prove for certain that Antimachus told the story of Diomedes and his adulterous wife, but I submit that this tale fits the circumstances just too well for this not to be the case.

If so, the poem in question would have to be the *Lyde*, a conclusion which would remove this verse from the 'evidence' cited by those who argue that Antimachus included the expedition of the Epigoni in his *Thebaid*.[163]

Again, if I am right, Antimachus, rather than being a mediocre poet who inflicts a banal change upon a non-descript Homeric verse, is revealed as a very clever and creative artist, adept in the techniques of *imitatio* and *arte allusiva*.

91 (93 Wyss)

Schol. V Aristoph. *Plut.* 718 Dübner: ὅτι ἡ Τῆνος, νῆσος μία τῶν Κυκλάδων, θηριώδης δοκεῖ εἶναι (εἶναι δοκεῖ ΕΘ Barb, εἶναι om. V). σκόροδα οὖν Τήνια εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δηκτικά, παρὰ τὰ θηρία. δηλοῖ (om. VΕΘ Barb) καὶ Εὔπολις Πόλεσι· 'Τῆνος αὕτη πολλοὺς ἔχουσα σκορπίους' (F245 Kassel-Austin *PCG*). Καλλίστρατος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ σαφὲς κατηνέχθη, ὡς σκοροδοφόρου τῆς γῆς οὔσης· διὸ καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ· 'Τήνου τ' ὀφιοέσσης' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ.

[161] It is used of Hephaestus by Hesiod (*Scut.* 297; 313).

[162] The numerous instances may be seen in Dunbar, *Concordance to the Odyssey*, 303-4 *s.v.* περίφρων. The only other people it is used of are the admirable Arete (11.345, omitted by Dunbar, *cf.* Appendix 397) and Euryclea (19.357; 491 = 20.134; 21.381).

[163] *Cf.* Wyss, VIII and 42; G. Serrao, *Storia e civiltà dei Greci* III 5 (Milan 1979), 308.

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑) Τήνου τ' ὀφιοέσσης

ὀφιοέσ- (Ald., ὀφιεσ- V) ὀφιούσσης Maas ap. Wyss

Commentary

This fragment tells us that Antimachus described the island of Tenos as ὀφιοέσση, 'teeming with serpents'.

There seem to have been two traditions about Tenos. One was that it was θηριώδης, 'infested by wild creatures', to the extent that the scholiast can absurdly suggest that Aristophanes could use the epithet Τήνια in place of δηκτικά, meaning 'pungent'. Eupolis records that the island had many scorpions. Pliny (*NH* 4.12.65) reports that Aristotle said the island was called Hydrusa because of its springs, but that some called it Ophiusa.[164] Clearly Antimachus' epithet is a clever allusion to that name, which means 'serpent island'.[165] The name given by Aristotle may be another version of the same tradition, since rather than being derived from springs as he suggests, it may come from ὕδραι, 'water-snakes'.[166]

The other tradition, recorded by Callistratus, is that the island was rich in garlic. The two traditions seem contradictory since the ancients had a belief that serpents and scorpions hated the smell of garlic.[167] Thus the scholiast adds, after the quotation from Antimachus, οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ, presumably on the grounds that the same island could not be both σκοροδοφόρος and ὀφιοέσση.

I would suggest that the two traditions can be reconciled; that Tenos was originally called Ophi(o)usa because of an infestation of serpents and scorpions, but was cleared of these in some way, perhaps by the introduction of the garlic plant.[168] Perhaps the obscure Tenian hero Callistagoras had something to do with this.[169]

Schellenberg (104) suggested that the fragment belonged to the *Lyde* because of the tradition that the Boreads were killed on Tenos by Heracles.[170]

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[164] *Cf.* Steph. Byz. 621.11.

[165] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 103; Wyss, 47.

[166] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 103.

[167] ***Serpentes abigit et scorpiones odore atque, ut aliqui tradidere, bestias omnes*** (Pliny, *NH* 20.23.50). Wyss credits this observation to Stoll (93), but it is already in Schellenberg (103).

[168] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 103.

[169] *Cf.* Callim. F733Pf.(= Clem. Alex. *Protr.* II.40.2). He is not otherwise attested.

[170] *Cf.* A.R. 1.1298ff., with Schol. 1.1300b; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.2. It is not likely that

If Antimachus told of the death of the Boreads, he must have given a reason different from that of Apollonius, who said that Heracles killed them for counselling the Argonauts to abandon him when he was searching for Hylas (1.1298ff.). Antimachus related that Heracles was put ashore because he was too heavy (F69), a version which does not seem to have involved the Boreads. Other reasons for the killing of the Boreads are supplied by other sources.[171] Perhaps the one most likely to come from Antimachus is that of Nicander (F15 Schn.) that Heracles killed the winged brothers because their father Boreas involved him in a storm when he was going to Cos.[172]

Another possibility is that Antimachus included in his *Lyde* the story of the Locrian Ajax.[173] In this tale, the Greeks, on their return trip from Troy, ran into a storm, sent by Zeus at Athena's instigation, off Tenos. The goddess herself wrecked Ajax' ship with a thunderbolt. He made his way to the safety of a rock, but Poseidon shattered it with his trident and Ajax fell into the sea and drowned.[174]

Worth noting in the fragment is that the first syllable of ὀφιοέσσης must be scanned long. This phenomenon can be explained as lengthening by position because of the aspirate, following the Homeric model ὄφιν (*Il.* 12.208).[175] West cites also ὄφιν (Hippon. F28.6); βρόχον (Theogn. 1099); σκύφον (Hes. F271.2 M-W); ὄχον (Pind. *O.* 6.24). He suggests that φ and χ in such words denote sounds normally represented by πφ and κχ and writes them thus in his editions.[176]

Antimachus brought the Argonauts to Tenos, as Del Corno suggests (*Acme* 15, 85, where he mistakenly refers to Teos).

171 See Schol. A.R. 1.1300b.

172 *Cf.* F113 Schn. There may be a reference to this story in *Il.* 15.24ff.

173 *Cf.* F90 which may belong to an account of the return of Diomedes.

174 *Cf.* [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.5-6; *Od.* 4.499-511; Schol. *Il.* 13.66; Lyc. 387ff. The events take place in the waters around Tenos, Delos, and Myconos. The Gyrae rocks were on Tenos or between Tenos and Myconos (See Mooney [ed.], *The Alexandra of Lycophron*, 41 on v.390). Ajax' body was buried on Myconos ([Apollod.]) or Delos (Schol. *Il.*). Poseidon, who finally destroyed Ajax, had a famous temple on Tenos (Strabo 10.5.11 C487).

175 *Cf.* W. J. W. Koster, *Traité de Métrique Grecque suivi d'un Précis de Métrique Latine* (Leiden 1936), 31.

176 West, *Stud. in Gk. Eleg. and Iamb.*, 89. He prints ὄπφιν in Hippon. (*IEG*² I.118), βρόκχον in Theogn. (*IEG*² I.226), σκύπφον in Hes. (M-W 133), and suggests ὀ(π)φιοέσσης here. One could compare σκύπφειον [σκύφιον cod. emend. Causaubon] (Stesich. S19 *PMGF* = F181 *PMG*) and σκύπφους (Panyassis F7 Davies).

92 (102 Wyss)

a) [Probus] in Verg. *Ecl.* 10.18 (III.2, 348.1 Thilo-Hagen): *'Adonis'. <filius, ut> Hesiodus ait* (F139 M-W), *Phoenicis <Agenoris> et Alphesiboeae {Agenoris}; <ut Panyassis ait* (=F22 Davies, F27 Bernabé, sed ab utroque omissum) *T>hoantis, qui Assyriam Arabiamque tenuit imperio; ut Antimachus ait, <Cinyrae qui> regnavit in Cypro; ut Philostephanus libro quo quaestiones poeticas reddidit* (*FHG* III 31 F14 Müller), *ex Iove sine ullius feminae accubitu procreatus.*

filius ut add. West *ut* add. Keil *Agenoris* transp. Wendel (*Hermes* 69,[1934] 346) *ut Panyassis ait* add. West (*praeeunte* Edmonds) ex Apollod. 3.14.4 *hoantis* codd. *Thoantis* Matthews (cf. Θόαντος cod. Apollod.) *Thiantis* Stoll *Assyriam* Edmonds, Wyss, West *Syriam* Bergk *Histriam* vel *Hystriam* codd. *Cinyrae qui* add. West cf. Serv. auct. ad loc. (III.1,121.9 Th.-H.)

b) Philodem. *de piet.* (*P. Hercul.* 243 II 18sq. + 243 IV 3sqq., 10 +12 Gomperz; Schober, *Cron. Ercol.* 18 [1988], 103; *cf.* A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 [1972], 92sq.): εἰ]|τά τε [Ἀφροδίτην| ἀν]αισ[χύντως ἐρᾶν]| ἀνθρώ[πων ? Ἀδώ]|νιδό[ς ? Ἀντίμα]|χος καὶ Π̣[ανύασσις] (F22^{B} Davies = 27 II Bernabé)| καὶ Ἐπιμ[ενίδης (F novum) καὶ] πλείους. ἄλ[λοι καὶ] Ἀγχε[ίσο]υ.

omnia usque ad ἀνθρώ[πων suppl. Philippson τοῦ Ἀδώ]νιδό[ς, ὡς μὲν Henrichs, Bernabé ὡς Ἀδώ]νιδό[ς φασιν Philippson, G-P Ἀδώ]νιδο[ς, ὡς West Ἀντίμα]χος Vogliano, Henrichs, Wyss, G-P, Davies, Bernabé Καλλίμα]χος Philippson Π̣[ανύασσις] Robert Ἐπιμ[ενίδης Henrichs ex ἐπιμ (*P. Hercul.* 243 II 18) ἐπιολ[delineator N 243 IV 9-10 (unde Ἡ̣σίοδ[ος Philippson, Wyss) οπιλλ[N243 II 18 καὶ] Philippson ὡς] Schober

Commentary

This fragment indicates that Antimachus told the story of Adonis, which, as Wyss says, is a very likely subject to have been included in his *Lyde.*

Wyss also thought that Antimachus appears to have followed Panyassis here. But in fact the text of [Probus] printed by Wyss is corrupt, and it is better to adopt the corrections of West (followed by Gentili-Prato).

The placing of the phrases *ut Hesiodus ait* and *ut Philostephanus* suggests that all such phrases in the passage precede a version of Adonis' parentage, so that *ut Antimachus ait* probably goes with what follows rather than with what comes before. Moreover, the reference to Thias, ruler of Assyria, coincides with the version of Panyassis presented by Apollodorus (3.14.4 = F22^{A} Davies; F27 Bernabé), so

that *ut Panyassis ait* is a natural supplement (*cf.* West, preceded by Edmonds). We should perhaps correct *hoantis* (codd.) to *Thoantis* rather than *Thiantis* since Θόαντος is read in a codex of Apollodorus. The coincidence of spelling, suggesting at least that [Probus] took his material from Apollodorus, if not that Panyassis actually presented the name in the form Thoas, is a further indication that the name of Panyassis has fallen out of the text.[177]

So too after *ut Antimachus ait*, something is missing, since we would expect a mention of another supposed father of Adonis, not a comment that Adonis ruled in Cyprus.[178] Since Cinyras, the most popular name for the father of Adonis, does not otherwise occur in the list, it is most likely that his is the name which has dropped out and that it is he who ruled in Cyprus rather than Adonis.

These readings mean that Antimachus becomes our earliest authority for Cinyras as father of Adonis, an opinion adopted by many later sources.[179]

Since Antimachus did not follow Panyassis on the paternity of Adonis, we cannot say for certain whether or not he depicted Adonis as the product of an incestuous union. Even those sources which name Cinyras as the father are divided on the question of the incest, but the majority does say that Adonis was the son of Cinyras by his own daughter, Myrrha or Smyrna.[180]

In Philodemus' list of poets who told that Adonis was the object of Aphrodite's love, the name 'Αντίμα]χος seems a certain supplement before Π̣[ανύασσις rather than Καλλίμα]χος, and is printed by both Davies (Panyassis F22^{B}) and Bernabé (F27 II).[181]

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[177] Neither Davies(F22) nor Bernabé (F27) cite [Probus] among the sources for the Panyassis fragment.

[178] As was misunderstood by Heyne, *Obss. ad Apollod.* 327.

[179] E.g. Apollod. 3.14.5; Schol. Theocr. 1.109; Schol. Dionys. *Per.* 509 (*FGrHist* 758F3a); Plut., *Parallela* 22; Ovid, *Met.* 10.298 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 58; 164; Lact. Plac. 10.9; Servius *ad Ecl.* 10.18; *ad Aen.* 5.72; *Script. rerum mythic. Lat.* ed. Bode 1.60. For Thias (subsequent to Panyassis) *cf.* Schol. Lyc. 829; 831 (probably taken from Panyassis, according to Heyne, *Obss. ad Apollod.*, 327): Anton. Lib. *Met.* 34 (also probably derived from Panyassis, *cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis*, 122-3); Eustath. *Il.* 1168.32; *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Ἀῷος (*FGrHist* 758F7). The confusion of the names Cinyras and Thias may have originated from the story that Cinyras was a son of Thias (Schol. *Il.* 11.20).

[180] So Schol. Theocr. 1.109; Ovid, *Met.* 10.298ff.; Plut. *Parallela* 22; Hyg. *Fab.* 58; 164; perhaps so understood by Nonnus, *cf.* Dionys. 13.451-2; 460; 32.220; Cinyras and Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, King of Cyprus: Apollod. 3.14.3; Cinyras and Thymaretis, daughter of Pygmalion: Schol. Dionys. *Per.* 509 (*FGrHist* 758F3a).

[181] Originally suggested by Vogliano, *cf.* Matthews, *Panyassis*, 121. Davies (Panyassis F22^{B}) cites Philippson for supplying 'Αντίμα]χος when in fact he supplied

93 (*191 Wyss = 79 *SH*)

Schol. Lyc. 1352 (377.30 Scheer) 'χρυσεργὰ Πακτωλοῦ ποτά': Πακτωλὸς ποταμὸς Λυδίας χρυσοῦ ψήγματα ἔχων ὥς φησι < >, καὶ ἄλλως (lacunam et nomen poetae et alia eiusdem verba continentem indic. West. καὶ ἄλλως in καὶ Ἀντίμαχος corr. Pfeiffer, in Καλλίμαχος Nauck, Bergk)

Πακτωλοῦ χρυσέοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδήροισι θάασσον.

θάασσον Nauck (*Mél. Gr.-rom* 5 [1888],184) θᾶσσον cod. θαάσσων Bergk

Commentary

This anonymous fragment was attributed to the *Lyde* of Antimachus by Pfeiffer (Callim. F148 *dubium*). Like West, I think that this attribution is justified.[182] Whereas Pfeiffer suggests that we read καὶ Ἀντίμαχος for καὶ ἄλλως, West is more likely correct in assuming that those words introduced a second quotation, the first being lost along with the poet's name.[183]

If we read θάασσον for the unmetrical θᾶσσον, the sense is 'I (or they) sat on the golden banks of the Pactolus.' That Antimachus is the author is suggested by the passage of Hermesianax (7.41-2 = T11) which tells that Antimachus, 'smitten with love for Lyde, came to the stream of the river Pactolus'. Hermesianax may have taken his motif from this fragment, and Knox points out that the Lydian river Pactolus is an appropiate point of reference if Antimachus is to be portrayed as a love poet in the tradition of Orpheus.[184]

West plausibly suggests that the fragment is from 'the personal framework' of the *Lyde* and that Antimachus sat by the river with his girl.[185] He aptly notes that in F75 (64 Wyss) Antimachus has Jason

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Καλλίμα]χος (*Hermes* 55 [1920], 248). Pfeiffer (I.484) lists this supplement(among others by Philippson) as being '*sine ulla specie veritatis*'. The best text and discussion is that of A. Henrichs, (*GRBS* 13 [1972], 92-4), who also shows that the correct name in line 9 after Panyassis is Ἐπιμ[ενίδης], i.e. the reference to Hesiod (F139 M-W) is false. But Hesiod *is* mentioned in line 12, either a reference to *Theog.* 1008 ff. or a new fragment about Demeter and Iasion, *cf.* F185.6 M-W.

[182] West (*IEG*². 43) designates it as F191, extending Wyss' numeration. The fragment is also attributed to Antimachus as F79 *Suppl.Hell.*

[183] *Cf.* West, *Stud. Gk. Elegy and Iambus*, 169-70.

[184] *Cf.* Pfeiffer on Callim. F814; P.E. Knox, *HSCP* 89 (1985),119 with n. 43.

[185] West, 170; *cf.* Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 153-154.

and Medea make love for the first time by the banks of Medea's local Colchian river.

For the association of the Pactolus with gold *cf.* Dionys. Per. 831ff. With Πακτωλοῦ χρυσέοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδήροισι *cf.* χρυσεργὰ Πακτωλοῦ ποτά (Lyc. 1352).

The word ἄνδηρα occurs earliest in Bacchylides, ἐπ'] ἀνδήροισ' ἁλός (1.54 Snell) and is taken up later by the Hellenistic poets, e.g. ἧχι πολυκροκάλοιο παρ' ἀνδήροισι Νεμείης (Euphor. F418.36 *SH* = F19e36 v. Gron.); *cf.* Lyc. 629. Its meaning is supplied by *Etym. Gud.* 348.21 *s.v.* κρόκαλα, ... ἀνδήροις, τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναχωρήμασι.[186]

For the imperfect θάασσον *cf.* θάασσε(ν) (*Il.* 9.194; 15.124, both at line-end).

94 (78 *SH*)

Philodem. *de piet.* (*P. Hercul.* N 1088II + N 433II, 38 + 29 Gomperz), ap. A. Henrichs *GRBS* 13 (1972) 72s.: 966-975.

> ... ἐν δὲ τοῖς |ὕμ[ν]ο̣ι̣[ς Ὅ]μηρος [ἡ]|μέ[ρας ἀλγ]ῆ̣σ̣αι κ̣[αὶ]
> νύκ̣[τας ἐ]ν̣νέα [τὴν]|Λη[τὼ πρὶν] τ̣ε̣κεῖν |φη[σιν.
> Κ]α̣λλίμα|χο[ς δὲ τὰ] παρ' Ἀντι|μά[χ̣ω̣
> με]ταλαβὼν |ἔγρ[αψε]ν [ὡ]ς οὐδὲ [... π̣ρ̣[..]δ[....]γετο[

966-7 suppl. Gomperz 970-1 suppl. Philippson 973 με]ταλαβὼν suppl. Schober, κα]ταλαβὼν Gomperz 974 suppl. Gomperz, Henrichs 974-5 οὐδὲ [τῆς]|Ἥρ[ας] δ[ιέφυ]γε τὸ [μῖσος e.g. Henrichs οὐδὲ [τὸ]|π̣ρ̣[ι̣ν] δ[ιέφυ]γε τὸ [μῖσος e.g. Matthews μεταλαμβάνειν = commutare (Giangrande) potius quam imitari (Henrichs)

Commentary

This passage of Philodemus περὶ εὐσεβείας which used to be thought to contain a new fragment of Callimachus (F783Pf., a very different reading of the text) has been shown by Henrichs to refer simply to Callimachus' account in *Hy.* 4.55ff. of the Wanderings of Leto. The passage does however preserve a new fragment of Antimachus.[187]

Philodemus, discussing the travail of Leto, refers to the versions of three poets, Homer (*Hy. Ap.*), Antimachus, and Callimachus (*Hy.* 4). He reports that Homer tells that Leto was in labour nine days and

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[186] *Cf. Etym. Magn.* 539.57 note; Eustath. 1229.48; Schol. Lyc. 627.

[187] A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 67-97, espec. 72-3 (text), 74-7.

nights before giving birth to Apollo, but that Callimachus, τὰ] παρ' Ἀντι|μά[χωι με]ταλαβών, wrote that .... Here the text unfortunately breaks off after a brief lacunose clause.

Since the texts of the *Homeric Hymn* and of Callimachus' *Hymn* 4 are extant while that of Antimachus is not, it will be more useful to look first for differences between the Homeric and Callimachean versions before examining the relationship of the latter account to that of Antimachus.

The main divergence between the *Homeric Hymn* and Callimachus lies in their placement of the motif of the envy of Hera.[188] In the *Homeric Hymn*, Leto's wanderings arise from the reluctance of the various cities and islands to receive Apollo (*cf.* vv. 45ff.), not from the anger of Hera. Even Delos is afraid that Apollo would prove λίην ... ἀτάσθαλον (67) and would lord it over gods and men. She fears that after birth he will scorn her island and destroy her, so she therefore asks Leto to swear a great oath that Apollo will keep his temple on the island and will honour her (79-88). It is only at the actual birth that we hear of the envy of Hera (95ff.), who prevents Eileithyia from helping Leto, hence the nine days and nights of travail.

In Callimachus' version, Hera's anger enters the story earlier (55ff). She has two guards, Ares and Iris, to keep watch over the mainland and the islands respectively, to threaten any cities which Leto approached and to prevent them from receiving her. Not until Leto came to Delos (197ff.) did she find respite from Hera's anger.

Henrichs writes 'references to Callimachus and Antimachus are intentionally linked by Philodemus in order to prove that, worst of all, Leto was unable to evade the wrath of Hera.' He imagines the continuation of the broken sentence as follows: 'Leto was unable to evade the wrath of Hera [*before* (Henrichs' emphasis) she reached the island of Delos]'.[189] Hence Henrichs' supplement οὐδὲ [τῆς] Ἥρ[ας] δ[ιέφυ]γε τὸ [μῖσος.[190]

The sense of this supplement, however, does not fit quite properly with Philodemus' reference to the *Homeric Hymn*. We would expect something which provides a more direct contrast to the travail which took place on Delos. More logical is something like 'not

[188] *Cf.* Henrichs, 76.

[189] Henrichs, 74.

[190] Henrichs, 73. It is accepted by G. Giangrande, *Hermes* 102 (1974), 117-9 and by P. E. Knox, *HSCP* 89 (1985), 115.

even previously (i.e. before she reached Delos) did she escape the wrath of Hera.' I therefore suggest οὐδὲ [τὸ] πρ[ὶν] δ[ιέφυ]γε τὸ [μῖσος. This supplement avoids having to suppose a copyist's error in line 975 and also give full weight to οὐδέ ('not even')[191] as well as to the idea of 'before', which, as Henrichs himself saw, requires emphasis.

The critical question as far as the relationship between Callimachus and Antimachus is concerned is the meaning of με]ταλαβών, a fairly certain restoration.[192] Henrichs thinks that it means 'imitated' and would therefore trace the divergence between the *Homeric Hymn* and Callimachus back to Antimachus.[193]

I am inclined, however, to agree with Giangrande that Henrichs is mistaken and that μεταλαβών in the passage means not 'imitated', but 'changed', or 'altered'.[194] As used by scholiasts, μεταλαμβάνειν denotes two quite distinct ways in which an author might change the work of his predecessor or model. One is to employ different words, but retain the same meaning;[195] the other is to take the words in another manner or to make some change so as to bring out a different meaning.[196]

As Giangrande argues, only this latter meaning is appropriate in this passage of Philodemus.[197] It would make no sense for the author, who does not present a verbatim quotation from Callimachus, to say that Callimachus changed the words of Antimachus. If Callimachus merely repeated the version of Antimachus in different words, why did Philodemus not simply report the Antimachean version? Clearly Callimachus' account differed from that of Antimachus, based on some change or a different interpretation of Antimachus' own words.

Giangrande rightly sees οὐδέ as emphatic ('not even' or 'not in the least') and concludes that Callimachus either made completely neg-

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191 Giangrande stresses the importance of οὐδέ, *Hermes* 102, 118-9.

192 Restored by A. Schober; *cf.* Henrichs, 75 with n.21.

193 Henrichs, 75-6. His interpretation is followed by Knox (*HSCP* 89, 115).

194 Giangrande, *Hermes* 102, 118.

195 'aliis verbis dicere, ut idem sensus maneat', Lehrs, *Arist. Stud. Hom.* 19.

196 ' 'alio modo dicere' vel parva loci mutatione facta ut alius sensus evadat', Lehrs *ibid. Cf.* van der Valk (III.98) on Eustath. 814.23 'μεταλαβών... quod nunc quidem idem valet quod μεθερμηνεύω' (*cf.* also III.liv); LSJ[9] *s.v.* μεταλαμβάνω V: 'take words in another sense'.

197 Giangrande, *Hermes* 102, 118.

ative a statement of Antimachus that was only partly negative or that he completely negatived a positive declaration of Antimachus.[198] Working with Henrichs' supplement of lines 974-5, Giangrande does not follow up his own conclusion. Using my suggested supplement, we may conclude that Antimachus said that Leto escaped Hera's anger until she reached Delos, i.e. something like διέφυγε τὸ μῖσος πρὶν κ.τ.λ. Callimachus, in changing the Antimachean version, may be seen to be indulging in typical Alexandrian *oppositio in imitando.*[199]

The poem in which Antimachus treated the wanderings of Leto was probably the *Lyde*, in which he also dealt with Demeter's search for her daughter (*cf.* F78).[200] Both subjects indicate that the ἡρωϊκαὶ συμφοραί which Antimachus treated in that poem (*cf.* T12) were not limited to ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα as some think.[201] We know of course that Callimachus disliked the *Lyde* (T15) and his alteration of Antimachus' version may be part of his continuing polemic against its author.[202]

95 (83 Wyss)

Phot. *Lex.* (II. 124 Naber): πυρσολόφους· τοὺς ἐκ παροπτηθεισῶν βυρσῶν ἱμάντας τεμνομένους· Ἀντίμαχος.

Hesych. (III.415 Schmidt): πυρώλοφοι· ἱμάντες οἱ παρ' ὀπτηθεισῶν βυρσῶν τεμνόμενοι.

Commentary

Photius preserves from Antimachus the word πυρσολόφους, meaning thongs or straps cut from fire-dried leather. A similar word, πυρ-

[198] Giangrande, 118-9.

[199] *Cf.* Giangrande, *ibid.*

[200] *Cf.* Henrichs, 75. It is not likely that F107 (q.v., probably from the *Artemis*) refers to Leto giving birth, as Cazzaniga suggests (*PdP* 22 [1967], 25); *cf.* Henrichs, n.22.

[201] *Cf.* Henrichs, 75 with n.23. He curiously writes '*exempla* of the sorrowful fate of divine or heroic women . . ..' But there is no indication anywhere that Antimachus confined himself to women's misfortunes, *cf.* F80 (Bellerophon); 84 (Oedipus); 88-9 (Meleager and Cleopatra); 90 (Diomedes). Perhaps Henrichs was misled by τὰς ἡρωϊκὰς συμφοράς (T12).

[202] *Cf.* Giangrande, *Hermes* 102, 119.

ὠλοφοι, listed by Hesychius, is explained in almost identical terms.[203]

Wyss suggests that the ending -λοφος may be the same as -λοπός, found in Hippocrates (*Arth.* 33 and 38) of the outer part of split leather.

Wyss is probably correct in connecting the word with the *himantes* used in a boxing match. It seems more suitable to a description of the fight between Polydeuces and the brutal Amycus than of a match in the funeral games for Opheltes, *cf.* A.R. 2.52, where Amycus' servant sets ἱμάντας ὠμοὺς ἀζαλέους at the feet of the antagonists. A fight with Amycus could have been included in the *Lyde*, as other Argonautic material is known to have been (*cf.* F67-77).

96 (98 Wyss)

Hesych. (II.259 Latte = *Anecd. Gr.* 1.261.19 Bekker): ζειροφόρος· ὁ Ἀίδης (Hesych: Ἅιδης *Anecd. Gr.*) παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ.

Commentary

The epithet ζειροφόρος, used by Antimachus of Hades, ruler of the Underworld, is attested only here.[204] It means wearing a ζειρά, a long garment reaching to the feet, worn by Arabians (Hdt. 7.69) and Thracians (Hdt. 7.75, Xen. *An.* 7.4.4). It is apparently a non-Greek word.[205]

Xenophon comments that cold weather showed why the Thracians when on horseback wore the ζειρά and not the *chlamys.* There appears to be a definite association between the wearing of the ζειρά and horse-riding.[206] Hades in Homer is called κλυτόπωλος, an epithet used only of him (*Il.* 5.654 = 11.445; 16.625). He is more likely to have driven a chariot than ridden a horse, but when one considers the long garment worn by the famous Delphic chari-

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[203] LSJ[9] *s.v.* πυρσόλοφοι compares Hesych. *s.v.* πυρσολεῖφοι ἢ πυρσόλειφθοι, but these words do not appear to bear the same meaning; *cf.* III.414 Schmidt, *Adnot.* (44)71.

[204] Other than Hesych. *s.v.* ζειροφόρους, whose explanation ζωνοφόρους looks like a guess.

[205] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I.397.

[206] See L. Heuzey, *Revue des Étude grecques* 40 (1927), 5-16.

oteer, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Hades clad in such attire might be called ζειροφόρος.

In art, Hades is often depicted wearing the garment known as the χίτων ποδήρης, a robe reaching to the feet.[207] Perhaps the esoteric word ζειρά came to be used of this form of dress.

The mention of Hades suggests a context involving Demeter or Persephone, and thus the fragment may come from the *Lyde*.

97 (101 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. Λ (33 Alpers)(*Etym. Magn.* 558.24; cf. Zonaras II. 1283 Tittmann): λαχμῷ· . . . Ἀντίμαχος δὲ τῶν ἵππων τὸν λακτισμόν· (τῶν ἱππ. τὸν λακτ. *Etym. Magn.*; post ἱππ. add. λέγει λαχμόν Zon.), οἷον·

(– ⏑⏑ –) λαχμὸν δ' οὐ δείδιεν ἵππων.

Hesych. (II.577 Latte): λαχμόν· ἵππειον λακτισμόν (Voss: λαχμῶν ἵππων λ-ισμῶν codd., sed accusativum postulat ordo verborum).

Commentary

The fragment is preserved because Antimachus used the word λαχμός as an equivalent to λακτισμός. The formation is similar to another word he used, namely ληχμός for λῆξις (F147) and, as Wyss suggests, the primitive form was probably *λακσμός from the verb λάζειν.[208]

Since Antimachus used λαχμός = λακτισμός, he was probably not one of those who read λαχμῷ for λάχνῳ, 'wool' at *Od.* 9.445.[209]

The position of δείδιεν suggests that the fragment is the last part of a hexameter, *cf.* δείδιε δ' αἰνῶς (*Il.* 24.358); δείδιε θυμῷ (*Od.* 16.306).[210]

Wyss suggests, with some probability, that the reference is to Oedipus seizing the horses of the dead Laius (*cf.* F84). Another possibility would be a battle scene (*cf.* F36).

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[207] See Chr. Scherer in Roscher I.2.1800ff.

[208] *Cf.* λάξας τράπεζαν (Lyc. 137); Hesych. λάζειν· ἐξυβρίζειν.

[209] As did e.g. Apoll. Soph. 107.14. See Ludwich's *apparatus* (*Od.* I, 215); van der Valk, *Textual Criticism*, 44-5; Heubeck, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II.36.

[210] The form only occurs in one other place in Homer (*Il.* 18.34, as the first word in the line).

98 (75 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 379.11 Meineke: Κοτύλαιον, ὄρος Εὐβοίας, ἀνακείμενον Ἀρτέμιδι, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος β΄. (= *FGrHist* 424 F2b) Κότυλος μὲν οὖν φαίνεται κατασχεῖν τὸ ὄρος τὸ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κοτύλαιον καλούμενον.

Ἀντίμ. ἐν Ἀρτέμ. β΄· Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν Εὐβοικῶν γ΄ vel β΄ Dübner (ex Harp. Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν <γ΄ καὶ> Ἀρμενίδας β΄ Müller *s.v.* Κοτύλαιον ὄρος [= *FGrHist* 424 F2a])

Commentary

The authenticity of the attribution to Antimachus has been discussed in the introduction.

We have little additional information on Cotylaeum, a mountain in Euboea sacred to Artemis, according to Antimachus.[1] The only other author to mention the place appears to be Nonnus, who in a list of Euboean contingents includes those who hold Κοτυλαῖον ἕδος (13.163). There are however a number of references to cults of the goddess on the island.[2] Mountains in general are the particular preserve of Artemis, *cf.* δὸς δέ μοι οὔρεα πάντα (Callim. *Hy.* 3.18); οὔρεσιν οἰκήσω (20); ποῖον δ' ὄρος εὔαδε πλεῖστον; (183) [answer: Taÿgeton (188)].

99 (174 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. (*PRIMI* I.17 ed. A. Vogliano) pap.saec. ii p.C. [Pack² 89](qui in totum expositus est, cum apparatu pleniore in Append. A), ii 1-3.

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[1] Schellenberg's reference to Strabo C602 [13.1.43] (wrongly cited as 612) is to a hill of Mt. Ida, in the Troad, called Cotylus, and that to Paus. 8.41 is to a mount Κωτίλιον in Arcadia. Neither seem to be associated with Artemis.

[2] E.g. Strabo 10.1.10 C448 mentions a temple of Artemis Amarynthia near Eretria; *cf.* Livy 35.38; Farnell, *Cults* II.581 n. 80a; also at Eretria, II.580 n. 79z; Mt. Olympus near Eretria, II.584 n. 110a; Artemis as Agrotera, II.563 n. 26g; as Bolosia = Eileithuia II.568 n. 41g; as Προσηῴα at Artemisium, Plut. *Them.* 8; *Cults* II.574 n. 63.

σεμνὴν Δικταίαν, κου]ροτρόφ[ον Εἰλείθυιαν
O]ὖπ̣ι̣ν τ' ὀβριμ[ό]το̣ξο̣ν (˘ – ˘˘ – ˘˘ – ˘)

ὁμηρικῶς κεχώρ<ι>κε. Ὅμηρος γ[ὰρ τὴν μὲ]ν Εἰλείθυιαν Ἥρας, τὴν [δ]ὲ Ἄρτεμιν Λητοῦς.

[Εἰλείθυιαν] Wyss O]ὖπιν Morel, Deichgräber

Commentary

The supplements [Εἰλείθυιαν] and O]ὖπ̣ι̣ν seem certain.[3] As the words of the commentator show, Antimachus mentions as distinct from each other two goddesses who were often combined into a single entity in later sources.[4] Like Homer, he differentiates Eileithyia from Artemis, the former being a daughter of Hera (*cf. Il.* 11.270; Hes. *Theog.* 921-2),[5] the latter of Leto.

Antimachus depicts Eileithyia as a Cretan figure, σεμνὴν Δικταίαν.[6] The epithet σεμνός is first found in epic in *Hom. Hy. Dem.* (1;478;486), being used with particular reference to Demeter and Persephone. It is also applied to Gaia at *Hom. Hy.* 30.16, a work probably influenced by *Hy. Dem.*[7] It is possible that Antimachus too is echoing *Hy. Dem.*, as he does in F31, but it is notable that σεμνός is frequent among fifth-century authors, who apply it to various deities, particularly females, e.g. the Magna Mater (Pind. *P.* 3.79), Thetis (Pind. *N.* 5.25), Athena (Soph. *OC* 1090), and especially the Erinyes (Aesch. *Eum.* 383; 1041: Soph. *Ajax* 837; *OC* 90: 458; Eurip. *Or.* 410; Aristoph. *Eq.* 1312; *Thes.* 224 etc.). Antimachus may have been influenced by the fifth-century popularity of σεμνός, but it is striking that the word is not found in Callimachus, despite his six *Hymns* and frequent references to deities, nor in Apollonius, whose long epic provided plentiful opportunities for its use. The five spondees in the verse add to the mood of solemnity.

Eileithyia is also described as child-rearer, κουροτρόφον, an epi-

[3] See *P. Mil. Vogl. PRIMI* I.17.54; Deichgräber, *Hermes* 71 (1936), 240.

[4] *Cf.* Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* 658F; for inscriptions, Farnell, *Cults* 2.567-8, notes 41a-g, and 609 (Chaeronea, Lebadea, Thisbe, Orchomenus, Thespiae, Tanagra, Euboea).

[5] This version probably reflects the fact that Eileithyia developed out of Hera and that she is identified most frequently with her; *cf.* Farnell, *Cults* 2.608ff.

[6] A Cretan connection is also attested by *Od.* 19.188: ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης. *Cf.* Strabo 10.4.8 C476 (temple of Eileithyia at Amnisus); Paus. 1.18.5 (E. born at Amnisus). For her cult in Crete *cf.* Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hell.* 1.99; G. Karo, *Archaeolog. Anzeig.* (1930), 156-7.

[7] Richardson, *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 43; 137; 308; 316.

thet used in the Homeric epics only of the island of Ithaca (*Od.* 9.27), but applied to Hecate in Hes. *Theog.* 450; 452; and *Hom. Epigr.* 12.1.[8]

Diodorus, in an interesting passage (5.73), distinguishes Eileithyia, who looks after expectant mothers and alleviates the pain of childbirth, from Artemis, who discovered the care and proper nurture of young children, which is why *she* is called κουροτρόφος.[9] Antimachus seems to have made Eileithyia responsible for the total care of childbirth and child-rearing.

Antimachus refers to Artemis as Οὖπιν ὀβριμότοξον, in what is perhaps the earliest literary allusion to the goddess under this name, *cf.* Οὖπι ἄνασσ' εὐῶπι φαεσφόρε (Callim. *Hy.* 3.204; also 240). Another Hellenistic poet, Alexander Aetolus, also called Artemis by this name and, like Antimachus, emphasised her skill in archery, ταχέων τ' Ὦπιν βλήτειραν ὀιστῶν (F4.5 Powell = Macrob. *Sat.* 5.22). This fragment of Alexander refers to the poem *Artemis* by Timotheus (F778 [2] *PMG*), commissioned by the Ephesians to celebrate the millennium of the Artemis cult in their city. It is possible then that the reference to Oupis goes back to Timotheus, a close contemporary of Antimachus himself.[10]

Antimachus' ὀβριμότοξος is a new epithet, recalling both the Homeric κλυτότοξος (of Apollo) and ὀβριμοπάτρη (of Athena). The form also reminds one of the phrase ὄβριμον ἔγχος (thirteen times in the *Iliad*). The epithet means either 'mighty with the bow' or 'of the mighty bow'.

Despite this reference to her bow, Oupis (Artemis) is clearly invoked along with Eileithyia as a goddess of childbirth (*cf.* Wyss, 86). This is in keeping with two of the explanations of the name offered by Schol. Ψ Callim. *Hy.* 3.204: ἢ παρὰ τὸ ὀπίζεσθαι τὰς τικτούσας αὐτήν, ἢ παρὰ τὴν θρέψασαν αὐτὴν Οὖπιν.[11] The first explanation is that Artemis 'watches over' (ὀπίζεσθαι) women in childbirth.[12]

Wyss suggests that some Argive woman seems to have given birth. The goddesses are invoked and the washing of the afterbirth and sacrifices are mentioned.

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[8] *Cf.* A.R. 3.861; *Orph. Hy.* 1.8; κουροτρόφος = Hecate at Samos, [Hdt.] *Vit. Hom.* 30.

[9] She is also called παιδοτρόφος in Messenia (Paus. 4.34.6).

[10] *Cf.* Meineke, *Anal. Alex.*, 228-9.

[11] Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* II.64; Same explanations in *Etym. Magn.* 641.54.

[12] *Cf.* the later use of the name Oupis as a synonym of Rhamnusian Nemesis, who watches the deeds of men (*CIG* 6280).

100 (175 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 4-5:

(- -) χρυσείη[ισι κορ]υμβίσιν ἐσφήκωντο

[κ]ορυμβὶς τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐπιτιθέμενον. ἐ[σφ]ήκωντο δὲ ἐδέδεντο [κα]ὶ ἐσφιγγμένοι ἦσαν.

ἠδὲ]χρυσ. coni. Vogl.

Hesych. (II.515 Latte): κορυμβάσι· περιδρόμοις, δι' ὧν συσπᾶται γύργαθος καὶ κεκρύφαλος καὶ δεσμοί.

Commentary

This fragment is reminiscent both of πλοχμοί θ', οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο (*Il.* 17.52, of the hair of Euphorbus) and of a fragment of Asius of Samos, χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμῳ χρυσέοις ἐνι δεσμοῖς, / χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὥς (F13.4-5 Bernabé = Athen. 12.525F).[13]

In Antimachus, as Vogliano suggests, some word such as πλόκαμοι (or perhaps the Homeric πλοχμοί) must have preceded. Certainly a masculine noun is required by the commentator's ἐσφιγγμένοι. On the analogy of *Il.* 17.52, the verb ἐσφήκωντο (a Homeric *hapax*) is probably at line-end. For another example of this verb used of binding hair, *cf.* κόμη ἐσφηκωμένη (Poll. 2.25).

In *Iliad* 17, the plaited hair (πλοχμοί) is bound by gold and silver. In Asius, the long hair (χαῖται) of the Samians waves in the breeze, in golden bands and on them (i.e. the δεσμοί rather than the χαῖται) were golden clasps, like cicadas.[14]

Antimachus' κορυμβίσιν seems similar to Hesychius' gloss κορυμβάσι.[15] The explanation of ἐσφήκωντο given by our commentator, ἐδέδεντο καὶ ἐσφιγγμένοι ἦσαν, appears to be derived from the

[13] I accept Naeke's transposition of these two lines (*Choerili Samii quae supersunt* [Leipzig 1817], 75), as do Bernabé (*PEG* I,130), Kinkel (*EGF* I, 206) and others (see Bernabé's *apparatus*). Although ignored by some later scholars, e.g. Kaibel in the Teubner Athenaeus (1890); Gulick in the Loeb edition (1933); Bowra, *Hermes* 85 (1957), 391-401 (= *On Greek Margins*, 122-133); Huxley, *GEP*, 96; Jacoby on Duris *FGrHist* 76 F60, this transposition is ably defended by J. N. O'Sullivan, *GRBS* 22 (1981), 329-33, as Bernabé notes. Davies' comment is 'transpositionem quidem (...) prob. nonnulli' (*EGF* 91 on F13).

[14] *Cf.* O'Sullivan, 333.

[15] Latte cites Antimachus F173 Wyss instead of F175 Wyss.

Homeric Schol.D *Il.* 17.52, ἐσφιγγμένοι ἦσαν ἐδέδεντο, as was that of Hesychius, ἐδέδεντο, ἐσφιγγμένοι ἦσαν, συνεσφιγμένοι (*cf.* Wyss, 87).

The occasion in Antimachus seems to be one of women going to make offerings to Eileithyia and Artemis (*cf.* F99; 101), with their hair fastened with golden clasps. Such a scene is reminiscent of Asius' Samians going to the precinct of Hera (εἰς Ἥρας τέμενος F13.2). Athenaeus mentions that this Samian practice gave rise to the saying βαδίζειν εἰς Ἡραῖον ἐμπεπλεγμένον, 'to parade to the Heraeum with one's hair done up in plaits'.[16] Rather similar, and also relevant to our fragment, is the description by Xenophon of Ephesus (1.2.6) of Antheia leading a procession of girls to a festival of Artemis, κόμη ξανθή, ἡ πολλὴ καθειμένη, ὀλίγη πεπλεγμένη, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων φορὰν κινουμένη.[17] There is no mention in our commentary of loose or braided hair, but certainly some hair, if not all of it, was bound up and held by golden fastenings.

101 (176 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 6-8:

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –) πελάνειά τε δέχθαι ἄνασσαν

τὰς ἱκετηρί[ας]· ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάζειν, καὶ ἱεροπ[ε]λάτης. ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ πέμματα καὶ τὰς ἀ[π]αρχάς. ἐστὶν δὲ πέλανος πᾶν τὸ πεπηγός, οἷον λιβ[α]νωτός.

Hesych. (III.299 Schmidt) πέλαινα· πόπανα, μειλίγματα (πέλαινα cod. πελάν(ε)ια Vogl.)

Commentary

This fragment is probably the end of a hexameter, since almost all the three-syllable forms beginning ἀνασσ- or ἀνακτ- occur as the final word of a line. The noun ἄνασσα is used of Demeter in the *Iliad* (14.326) and of Athena in the *Odyssey* (3.380), but also of Nausicaa, whom Odysseus suggests might be a goddess (*Od.* 6.149; 175). The word also occurs in the *Homeric Hymns*, i.e. *Hy. Aphr.* 92; *Hy. Dem.* 75; 440; 492; *Hy.* 32.17 (Selene).

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[16] This hairstyle seems to be depicted on statuettes from the Samian Heraeum, *cf.* Bowra, *Hermes* 85, 395-6 (= *On Gk. Margins*, 127).

[17] See O'Sullivan, 332.

Antimachus is probably using it of Artemis (*cf.* F99), who is frequently so-called by the dramatists, e.g. Eurip. *IT* 1230; *IA* 1482; 1522; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 971; *cf.* Callim. *Hy.* 3.204; 240 (of Oupis). The goddess may also be called ἄνασσα on a coin of the second century B.C. from Perge, where she was worshipped as Artemis Pergaea.[18]

The word πελάνεια is a new form, but I am inclined to agree with Vogliano that the entry in Hesychius *s.v.* πέλαινα (cod.) should read πελάν(ε)ια.[19] Hesychius explains this word as πόπανα, μειλίγματα, 'sacrificial cakes, propitiatory offerings'. The word can thus be seen as an alternative form of πελανός, which can be either (1) a mixture offered to the gods and the dead, of meal, honey, and oil, liquid enough to be poured, (e.g. Aesch. *Ch.* 92; *Pers.* 24; Eurip. *Ion* 226), or (2) meal made from barley and wheat, used to make this mixture (e.g. A.R. 1.1077) or (3) round cakes offered to the gods (e.g. A.R. 4.712; Paus. 8.2.3).[20]

The explanations of πελάνεια presented by our commentator closely resemble those for πελανός found in the scholia and lexica, e.g. Schol. Eurip. *Or.* 220 (I.119 Schwartz); Schol. Eurip. *Rhes.* 430 (II.337); *Etym. Magn.* 659.15. Firstly they are called τὰς ἱκετηρίας, 'suppliant offerings', from πελάζειν, 'to draw near', as is the word ἱεροπελάτης. Secondly, some said that πελάνεια were πέμματα, 'cakes', or ἀπαρχάς, 'first fruits'. Finally, we are told that πελανός is anything solidified, such as frankincense. The derivations offered here are that cakes are called πελανοί from (1) πεπλατύνθαι, i.e. being broadened and flattened or from (2) παιπάλη, the fine flour from which they are made, or from (3) παλῦναι = λευκᾶναι (*Il.* 10.7), the cake being λευκόν, or from (4) πελάζειν, because the gods are approached and supplicated by means of them.[21]

For the infinitive δέχθαι *cf.* Eurip. *Rhes.* 525. The goddess receives or accepts the sacrificial cakes.

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[18] I.e. if the Pamphylian inscription may be properly rendered ἄνασσα Περγαίας; see Head, *Hist. Num.*[2] 585.

[19] Vogliano, *PRIMI* I.17.54.

[20] *Cf.* LSJ[9] 1356 *s.v.* πελανός.

[21] *Cf.* Schol. Eurip. *Alc.* 851; Schol. *Hipp.* 145; Harpocrat. (= Photius; *Suda*) *s.v.* πελανός.

102 (177 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 8-9:

ν[η]λείταις

ἀναμαρτήτοις. καὶ ["Ομη[ρ]ος· 'αἵ τὲ σ' ἀτιμάζουσ[ι] καὶ αἳ νηλ[εί]τιέ[ς εἰσι]ν'.

P.Oxy. XXII 2328 (ed. E. Lobel et C.H. Roberts, London 1954) saec.i-ii p.C. [Pack² 2124]: νηλείτης· ἀναμάρτητος.

Hesych. (II.710 Latte): (478) νηλιτεῖς· ἀναμάρτητοι. παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἀλιτεῖν. καὶ νηλίτιδες τὸ αὐτό. (481) νηλιτέες· [ἀνηλεεῖς. ἄνοικτοι] ἀναμάρτητοι. ἀναίτιοι.

Commentary

This word ν[η]λείταις is of interest as a form of a word which occurs thrice in the *Odyssey* in the line αἵ τέ σ' ἀτιμαζουσι καὶ αἳ νηλίτιδές εἰσιν (16.317 = 19.498; with μ' for σ' 22.418).

There are problems both with the meaning of the word and with its form. As for meaning, the word has been interpreted either as reinforcing the idea in αἵ ... ἀτιμάζουσι or as contrasting with it, i.e. the element νη- is seen as either ἐπιτατικός, 'intensive', or as στερητικός, 'privative', or 'negative'. Aristarchus preferred the intensive interpretation,[22] but most sources agree with our commentator in choosing the other, e.g. a papyrus glossary from the late first or early second century (*P.Oxy.* XXII 2328) gives only the meaning ἀναμάρτητος, as does Hesych. s.vv. νηλιτεῖς and νηλιτέες and Schol. B *Od.* 16.317. Apollonius Sophista presents the negative explanation (116.22) before citing Aristarchus for the intensive one(23). Schol. BV *Od.* 19.498 offer both interpretations, but prefer the negative one. *Etym. Magn.* (603.49) presents both meanings, the intensive one first, but does not state a clear preference.

It is a reasonable assumption from the explanation of our commentator that the Antimachean context here did not permit the intensive meaning of the word and also that Antimachus himself must have interpreted the Homeric passages in the sense of 'guiltless', or 'blameless'.

As to the form of the word, Homeric editors have usually printed

[22] For Aristarchus see Schol. B *Od.* 19.498 (πολυαμαρτήτους); Apoll. Soph. 116.23 (ἁμαρτωλοί).

νηλ(ε)ίτιδες,[23] but there is a staggering number of *variae lectiones*, e.g. on *Od.* 16.317: νηλιτέες, νηλιτεῖς, νειλιτεῖς, νηλητεῖς, νηλήτεις, νηλειτεῖς, νηλείτιδες; on 19.498: νηλιτεῖς, νηλητεῖς; on 22.418: νηλητέες, νηλιτεῖς, νηληλεῖς, νητεῖς.[24] Our papyrus has νηλείτιες, which may well be preferable. Lobeck had suggested that the proper form was νηλίτιες.[25] The νηλ(ε)ίτιδες forms may be explained as feminizations in keeping with the Homeric contexts, while the common -εις readings may be seen as Atticizations.

The fact that the word does not occur in any case other than the nominative plural in Homer meant that several versions of a nominative singular might be supposed. Only two ancient sources, however, actually supply one: *Etym. Magn.* offers νηλήτης, analogous to εὐσεβής as an adjective in -ης, -ες, i.e. with plural in -εις or -εες; the papyrus glossary (*P. Oxy.* XXII) has νηλείτης, with no additional information beyond the meaning ἀναμάρτητος.

The formation of the word from the prefix νη- and the verb ἀλιταίνειν suggests that the only valid forms should be νηλείτ- or νηλίτ-, not νηλήτ-, *cf.* Homeric ἀλείτης (*Il.* 3.28; *Od.* 20.121; vv.l. ἀλίτ-) but *Etym. Magn.* explains the νηλήτ- form as an Aeolism. LSJ[9] lists νηλεῖτις, -ιδος as a feminine adjective, although mentioning the variant nominative plurals νηλιτέες and νηλητέες (and in LSJ[9] *Suppl.* νηλ[ει]τιε[ς]). But the only support for such a feminine form is ἀλεῖτις, cited by Herodian (*Gr.* 2.67). We can say, however, that whatever the nominative singular of the Homeric word may be, it is certainly a third declension form.

Antimachus' νηλείταις, on the other hand, is clearly a first declension word, whose nominative singular would appear to be the νηλείτης found in the papyrus glossary, i.e. it may be seen as a masculine form of νηλεῖτις.[26] There is, of course, an obvious Homeric analogy for such a form in ἀλείτης (*Il.* 3.28; *Od.* 20.121).

103 (178 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 9-11:

μ[...]ν

[23] *Cf.* Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II, 279 on 16.317.
[24] See Ludwich's *apparatus*, *Homeri Odyssea* II.107; 208; 290.
[25] Lobeck, *Pathol. Prol.* 377.
[26] See LSJ[9] *Suppl.* 104.

<–> τρ–<ε>ισκαὶδ[ε]<κ>άτην τέκνων καὶ ἳν λελο[χ]υῖα

πιν [?] ἡμέ[ρ]α[ ] τὴν δὲ ἳν ἐν τῶι Χ [κα]τ' Ἀριστοφάνη ἔ[στι]ν εὑρεῖν. Ἡσίοδος δ[ὲ ἐν τ]ῶι ε´ "ἳν δ' αὐτῷ θανάτοι[ο' (F245 M-W).

'In litteris μ[...]ν quae in extremo hexametro fuisse statuit, aut nomen proprium aut vocabulum pro nomine proprio positum latere ci. V; idem post μ[...] monosyllabum longum omissum esse ob spatium vacuum suspicatur' Wyss <τὴν> Vogl. τρισκαιδ[ε]κάτην Vogl. –ματην pap. λελο[χ]υῖα Maas

Hesych. (II.584 Latte): λελοχυῖα· λεχὼ γενομένη.

Commentary

It is difficult to improve upon or to supplement the text as printed by Wyss and Vogliano. I suspect that Vogliano' s suggestion <τὴν> is correct in view of τὸν τρεισκαιδέκατον (*Il.* 10.561).[27]

The fragment is notable for the use of the third person reflexive pronoun ἳν, which is one of the features that the commentator chooses to elaborate on, citing a reading of Aristophanes in *Il.* 22 (i.e. v. 410), τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον, ὡς ἳ (i.e. for ὡς εἰ) ἅπασα /Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης, and an example from Hesiod, ἳν δ' αὐτῷ θανάτοι[ο] <ταμίης> (F245 M-W = F10a.62 *OCT*[2]; suppl. Apoll. Dysc.). Apollonius Dyscolus quotes this same Hesiodic example of ἳν along with the Doric τίν, but it is preferable to view Antimachus as following the epic models of Homer and Hesiod rather than using Dorisms drawn from lyric poets.[28]

A notice in Hesychius is the only other instance of λελοχυῖα, the perfect participle of λέχομαι. It is explained as λεχὼ γενομένη, 'having given birth' and it seems likely that Hesychius found the word in Antimachus. In view of this, it is preferable to assume Antimachus' ἳν to be a dative (as in Hesiod), rather than an accusative agreeing with τρεισκαιδεκάτην. Some woman appears to have delivered her own baby in the birth of her thirteenth child, whose name appears to be concealed or alluded to in μ[...]ν at the end of the previous line.[29] From the reference to Physadeia which follows (F104), she seems to have been an Argive.

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[27] For the spelling see LSJ[9] *s.vv.*τρεισκαίδεκα, τρεισκαιδέκατος.

[28] *Cf.* Giangrande, *Scr. Min. Alex.* I.72 (= *Hermes* 98, 264). West (*The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, 167 n.86) views the Hesiodic example as taken over from an antecedent regional (i.e. West Greek) tradition. So too R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, 224.

[29] *Cf.* Vogliano, 55.

104 (179 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 12-14sqq.:

(– ⏑⏑) ὕδ[ατι] τῶι, τό ῥά οἱ Φυσαδειόθ[εν ἠ<ε>ν.
τ]ῶι γὰρ κα[ὶ π]ροτερẹιπ[..] Ἀχαιΐδα̣ ως [?]. φι[ζε
[....]λ̣ωοιο λύθρων δὲ αλυ̣[.....]

οὐκ ἀ[πὸ] τῆς Φυσ[αδ]είας φησὶν ὁ Καλλ[ίμα]χο̣ς τὰς λεχοῦς λ[ούεσθ]αι, ἀλλ' [ἀπ]ὸ τῆς Αὐτομάτης· κ.τ.λ. (F65 Pf.)

ὕδ]ατι] Maas Φυσαδειόθ[εν Lobel, Maas ἠ<ε>ν Wyss ἤιει Maas τ]ῶι γὰρ κα[ὶ π]ρότερ' εἶπ[ον Vogl. πρότερα̣ι π[Wyss Π[αν]αχαιΐδα Von der Mühll Ἀχαιΐδα γωσ [.]. φιζε Vogl. Ἀχαιΐδα ως[?]. φι[ ]ζε Wyss π̣ως? Matthews π[ρότερ' εἴπ[ερ] Ἀχαιΐδ' ἀ[γ<ο>ς <προσ>[έ]φιζε [λεκ]χώ< ι>οιο λύθρων δέ <τ'> ἀλυ̣[σκ(ε)] Snell προτερ' εἴ π[οτ'] Ἀχαιΐδα [̤ ἐ]φίζ(ο)[ι λεκ]χωίοιο Latte δέ <τ> ἀλυ[σκέμεναι (κηλῖδα θέλοιεν)] Latte

Commentary

This three-line fragment is unfortunately lacunose at critical points, but we can learn more from the commentator who shows that Callimachus disagreed with Antimachus and told that women who had given birth washed not with water from Physadeia, but from Automate, relying on information apparently obtained from the Argive historians Hagias and Dercylus.[30]

In v. 12 ὕδ[ατι] τῶι seems certain, *cf.* ἤματι τῶι in same *sedes Il.* 6.345; 13.234; 19.110. A woman washes herself with water which she had from Physadeia. This is our earliest reference to this fountain, elsewhere mentioned only by Callim. *Hy.* 5.47; F66.7 Pf.; Euph. F23.3 Powell; probably Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 188, Φυσά<δεια>.[31] Callimachus at *Hy.* 5.47-8 links Physadeia and Amymone, daughter of Danaus, as springs at Argos. A scholiast tells that both were Danaids and that the springs were called after them.[32] At F66.7-8 Pf., Callimachus addresses πότν' Ἀμυμώνη καὶ Φυσάδεια φίλη /Ἵππη τ' Αὐτομάτη τε, all four being Argive fountains. These perhaps are the same four wells (φρεάτα) which Strabo mentions as being sacred and particularly revered at Argos (8.6.8 C371).[33] He says that these

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[30] Callimachus may have used these same authorities in *Hy.* 5; *cf.* Wyss, 88; Bulloch, *Callim. The Fifth Hymn*, 16-17 and 156 on v. 47.

[31] *Cf.* Bulloch, 156.

[32] Pfeiffer II.75.

[33] Perhaps Αὐτομάτη should be supplied in the lacuna at the end of Schol. *Phoen.* 188.

wells and others were ascribed to the daughters of Danaus.[34]

Outside of Callimachus, Amymone is of course by far the best known of the daughters associated with springs.[35] Of the four eponyms, only she and Automate are listed among the brides of the sons of Aegyptus by Apollodorus (2.1.5) and she alone by Hyginus (*Fab.* 170; *cf.* 169; 169A). Euphorion refers to καλὰ νάουσαν ... Φυσάδειαν (F23.3 Powell) in what is merely a learned use of the particular for the general in describing the return of the horses of Amphiaraus to Argos.[36] But that he may owe the detail to Antimachus is suggested by his use of Antimachean vocabulary in the previous line (κονισαλέῃσιν, *cf.* Antim. F36).

The only other word of the Antimachus fragment which the commentator chooses to elucidate is λύθρων. He tells us that Antimachus used it only in the specific sense of the λῦμα, i.e. the blood or discharge after childbirth (*cf.* τόκοιο / λύματα Callim. *Hy.* 1.16-17). The commentator adds that the word can also mean sweat combined with dust, as in the Homeric phrase αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον (*Il.* 6.268; *Od.* 22.402; 23.48). Callimachus too (*Hy.* 5.7) uses λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένα referring to the blood or gore on Pallas' armour, contrasted with the sweat and grime on her horses (ἱδρῶ καὶ ῥαθάμιγγας, v. 11), although his phrasing is clearly modelled on Homer.[37]

The explanation of Hesychius *s.v.* λύθρῳ (II.611 Latte) is very similar to our commentary: φόνῳ. ἢ τῷ ἐκ μάχης μολύσματι συνισταμένῳ δι' ἱδρῶτος καὶ κόνεως καὶ αἵματος. But the fact that the lemma is λύθρῳ, not λύθρων, suggests that he is explaining the word in its Callimachean context, not the Antimachean. The presence of the word αἵματος in his second explanation indicates that he was not dealing with the Homeric example, in which αἵματι and λύθρῳ are distinct entities.

Convincing supplementation is difficult. In l. 12, the possibilities appear to be τ]ῶι γὰρ κα[ὶ π]ρότερ' ε̣ἶπ[ον] (favoured by Vogliano, who suggests that a god is speaking about an oracle given to someone) or τ]ῶι γὰρ κα[ὶ π]ρότερ' ε̣ἴ π[οτ'] 'Αχαιΐδα (suggested by Latte

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[34] Since Strabo's wells are unnamed and since the spring Amymone is usually placed at Lerna, Bulloch (157) is reluctant to identify the four springs with the wells.

[35] *Cf.* in addition to references already given, Eurip. *Phoen.* 187 ff; Paus. 2.37.1; 4; 38.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4.

[36] *Cf.* v. Groningen, 87-8 on Euph. F25.3 (= 23.3 Powell).

[37] *Cf.* Bulloch, 118.

ap. Wyss). I am, however, unwilling to accept the rest of Latte's attempted restoration since it ignores the undisputed]λ̣ωοιο in 1.13. This form seems to be a 'Doric' optative second person singular, which implies that someone is being addressed. A deity (Eileithyia or Artemis?) is the most likely candidate. For a suitable verb, I can think only of λώοιο from λούομαι, *cf.* λώοντο (Callim. *Hy.* 5.73).[38] The sense might be 'with which <water> if ever previously you cleansed an Achaean woman of her blood etc.' But perhaps one should not rule out a possible genitive in -ωοιο.

105 (180 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 26-32:

σ̣[.....]ιν δμω[ῇ]ισ' ἐνδέξεται

ἀντι τοῦ ἐπ[ιτ]άξη<ι>. Μίμνερμ[ος] δ' [ἐν] τῆι Σμυρηνίδι· 'ὡς οἱ πὰρ βασιλῆος, ἐπε[ί ῥ' ἐ[ν]εδέξατο μῦθο[ν], ἤ[ϊξα]ν κοίλῃι[σ' ἀ]σπίσι φραξάμενοι'. καὶ Ἑκατ[αῖ]ος ὁ Μειλήσι[ό]ς φησιν [οὕ]τως· 'εἶνα[ι δ]ὲ τὸν ὄφιν δοκέω οὐ μέγα[ν] ο[ὕ]τως ο[ὔτε] πελ[ώρ]ιον, ἀλ[λ]ὰ δειν[ό]τερον τῶν ἄλλων ὀφίων, καὶ τού[τ]ου [ἕ]νε[κεν] τὸν Ε[ὐ]ρυσθέα [ἐ]νδέξασθαι ὡς ἀμήχανον ἐ[όν]τα'. καὶ Ἡ[σ]ίοδος· 'ἐ[ν δ]' ἄρα κούραις δ[έξ]ατο'.

σ̣[υνάγε]ιν West

Commentary

The verb ἐνδέξεται is explained by the commentator as ἐπιτάξῃ, i.e. as an aorist subjunctive. It is actually an old form of the subjunctive of the sigmatic aorist, for which there are several Homeric parallels, e.g. ἀμείψεται (*Il.* 9.409), ἀλεύεται (*Od.* 14.400; 24.29); βήσομεν (*Il.* 1.144); ἀγείρω (*Il.* 16.129); ἀγείρομεν (*Il.* 1.142; *Od.* 16.349); τίσετε (*Il.* 21.134); τίσωσι (*Il.* 1.510).[39]

Antimachus' use of the word, along with the accompanying examples ἐνεδέξατο (Mimnermus F13 Allen = F13a West), ἐνδέξασθαι (Hecataeus, *cf.* *FGrHist* 1F27) and ἐν ... δέξατο (*tmesis*, Hesiod F242 M-W), shows a meaning in the Ionic dialect of 'command', 'order' not hitherto attested for the middle of ἐνδείκνυμι.[40] As Vogliano

[38] *Cf.* Vogliano, 56.
[39] *Cf.* Monro. *GHD*, 69 §80.
[40] *Cf.* LSJ[9] *Suppl.* 54. Note that the verb is ἐνδε(ί)κνυμαι, not ἐνδέχομαι, with Ionic aorist ἐνεδεξάμην.

suggests, probably something like ὄφρα preceded. West's supplement ϛ[υνάγε]ιν seems reasonable. The line appears to mean 'in order that (s)he might command servant women to bring together etc.' (*cf.* δμωῇσι κέλευσε, *Il.* 9.658; 24.643).

106 (181 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 32-33:

γυμνῆι ἀνὰ σφετέρ[ηι κεφ]αλῆι· (⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏓)

τῆι ἀκρηδέμνωι.

σφετέρ[ηι Maas κεφ[αλῆι Maas, Lobel

Commentary

A woman perhaps puts or already has something 'on her bare head' (*cf.* γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, Plato *Phaedr.* 243b). Wyss suggests that the phrase stood at the beginning of the line, like χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ (*Il.* 1.15).

The word used in the commentator's explanation, ἀκρήδεμνος, is employed by [Oppian] (*Cyn.* 1.497) in a description of a girl about to give birth, with her hair and clothing loose.

107 (182 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 33-36:

ὄφρ' ὑπὸ μ[ὲν] Λαθρίαι θύσηι λόχια τριθ[άλεια]ι

τῆι λεγομένηι Προθυραίαι. ἵνα [θύ]ση<ι> τὰ λόχια καὶ τριθά[λ]ι[α ἢ τὰ πολυθαλῆ λοχεύ[μ]ατα, τὰ [ἐ]πὶ τῆι [λο]χείαι πολυθαλῆ δῶρα. οἱ δ[ὲ γράφουσι τῆι [λ]οχ[ε]ίαι καὶ [τ]ῆι τρι[θ]αλείαι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς.

τριθά[λεια]ι ita pap. τριθά[λεια] ⟦ι⟧ accus. restit. Vogl.

Hesych. (II.609 Latte): <λόχια> · ἄρτος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι γενόμενος καὶ <...> ἀδροὺς ἀστάχους ἔχουσα.

sic Matthews fort.<γῆ>, cf. λοχίαν (1311)· τὴν εὐτραφῆ γῆν καὶ ἀδρ. στάχυας ἢ καρπὸν φέρουσαν. λοχια· κρυφαία || γεννᾷ. αὔξει || καὶ ἄρτος τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι γινόμενος. καὶ ἀδρὺς ἀστάχυας ἔχουσα cod. (λοχια et λοχιαι confunduntur – Latte)

Hesych. (IV.174 Schmidt): τριθαλείαι· μεγάλως τοῦ θάλλειν αἰτίαι.

τριθαλείαι Wyss τριθαλλίαι cod.

Commentary

The commentator tells us that Λαθρία is equivalent to Προθυραία as a title of Artemis. The title Lathria was already known from an epigram of Leonidas of Taras (*AP* 6.300 = Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.* XXXVI). That it referred to Aphrodite was assumed from the imitations of the epigram by Gaetulicus (*AP* 6.190.1 = Page, *FGE*, 181 Κυθηριάς) and Cornelius Longus (*AP* 6.191.2 = Page, *FGE*, 246 Κύπρις), but our papyrus is evidence that these later poets were mistaken.[41] The papyrus also proves that there is no need to emend the text of Leonidas to read Λαφρία or Λαφρίη, a well-known title of Artemis at Calydon.[42]

At the end of the hexameter, the lemma presents λόχια as an accusative and τριθαλείαι as a dative, presumably agreeing with Λαθρίαι.[43] Our commentator, however, paraphrases: ἵνα [θύ]σηι τὰ λόχια καὶ τριθά[λ]ια ἢ τὰ πολυθαλῆ λοχεύ[μ]ατα, τὰ [ἐ]πὶ τῆι [λο]χείαι πολυθαλῆ δῶρα, clearly taking both λόχια and τριθάλε(ι)α as accusatives. He goes on to say that some wrote them both as datives, incorrectly. We are faced with the problem of deciding which is the proper reading.

Cazzaniga sees four possible readings:[44]

1) the reading of the lemma: λόχια as a noun (accus. pl.), τριθαλείαι as a dative agreeing with Λαθρίαι;

2) the explanation of the commentator: both λόχια and τριθάλεια as neut. accus. pl., with two possible interpretations: a) λόχια as noun (= λοχεύματα) and τριθάλεια as an epithet in agreement (= πολυθαλῆ); b) τριθάλεια as noun (= τὰ ... πολυθαλῆ δῶρα) and λόχια as epithet (= τὰ ἐπὶ τῆι λοχείαι);

3) the reading given by οἱ δέ: both λοχ(ε)ίαι and τριθαλείαι as datives agreeing with Λαθρίαι (rejected by the commentator).[45]

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[41] *Cf.* LSJ[9] *Addenda et Corrigenda* 2086 and *Suppl.* 91, s.v. λάθριος II: "for 'Aphrodite' read 'Artemis' "; Gow-Page, *Hell.Ep.* II.346.

[42] Λαφρία, Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hell.* II.381, n.; Λαφρίη, Reiske. R. Arena, in *Scritti storico-epigraphici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli* (Univ. di Macerata Pubbl. Fac. di Lett. e Filos. V 1978), 3-16, argues unconvincingly for the original identity of the epithets λάθρια and λάφρια. His article refers mistakenly to F128W instead of to F182.

[43] *Cf.* Vogliano, 58.

[44] I. Cazzaniga, *La Parola del Passato* 22 (1967), 64-5.

[45] Probably rightly, since λοχίαι likely results from attraction and assimilation to λαθρίαι and τριθαλείαι, helped by the fact that Lochia is a known title of Artemis, e.g. Plut. *Quaest. Symp.* 659A; Eurip. *Suppl.* 958; *CIG* 1768 (Phocis); *CIG* 3562 (Pergamum). *Cf.* Cazzaniga, 70.

I am not satisfied with Cazzaniga's treatment of 2). I agree that the commentator makes two suggestions, but in my opinion they are to be found on either side of ἤ, which marks a clear division. The first suggestion is that both λόχια and τριθάλεια are neuter plurals. The second (after the disjunctive ἤ) is that the phrase means πολυθαλῆ λοχεύματα, τὰ ἐπὶ τῆι λοχείαι πολυθαλῆ δῶρα. I would suggest that the two parts of this latter explanation are simply two ways of expressing the same thing. There is no ἤ or any other indication of two diverse interpretations. In both parts πολυθαλῆ is the epithet (= τριθάλεια) while τὰ ... λοχεύματα and τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ λοχείαι ... δῶρα serve as the respective substantives (= λόχια). In other words, the commentator is saying, in two ways for clarity, that in Antimachus λόχια is the noun and τριθάλεια its epithet. This to me is a much more satisfactory explanation than Cazzaniga's suggestion that the second phrase shows τριθάλεια to be the noun and λόχια its adjective. The words preceding the disjunctive should indicate an explanation different from the one which follows. I suggest (*pace* Cazzaniga) that they mean that λόχια and τριθάλεια are both nouns.

Leaving aside the rightly rejected double dative reading, there remain three versions to consider 1) the lemma λόχια τριθαλείαι, 2) the commentator's λόχια τριθάλεια as either a) two nouns or b) noun and epithet. In all three λόχια is neuter plural.

Two glosses in Hesychius undoubtedly apply to our text. The first, *s.v.* λοχια (λ 1308) is unfortunately confused. Cazzaniga arranges it as follows:[46]

1) <λοχίαι>· κρυφαία<ι>
2) λοχιᾶι· γεννᾶι, αὔξει [καί]
3) <λόχια>· <λόχιον (ὁ)> ἄρτος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι γενόμενος καὶ <...> ἁδροὺς ἀστάχους ἔχουσα.

Perhaps better might be:

1) <λοχ<α>ία>· κρυφαία
2) λοχίαι·[47] γεννᾶι, αὔξει [καί]
3) <λόχια>· ἄρτος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι γενόμενος καὶ <...> ἁδροὺς ἀστάχους ἔχουσα.[48]

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[46] Cazzaniga, 68.

[47] *Cf.* λοχίῃσι (Euphor. F9.11 Powell). Otherwise λοχ<ε>ίαι *cf.* λοχείῃ (Callim. *Hy.* 4.251).

[48] *Cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* ἄγρωστις· βοτάνης καὶ ἄρτος τις, ὃς πρότερον λοχία ἐκαλεῖτο (I.32 Latte) and λοχίαν· τὴν εὐτραφῆ γῆν καὶ ἁδροὺς ἢ καρπὸν φέρουσαν (II.609 Latte).

The third of these is both neuter plural and suitable in meaning to our context, 'bread made for Artemis'.[49] Antimachus' λόχια appear to be cakes offered to Artemis (*cf.* the πελάνεια F101).[50]

Arena, however, thinks quite improbable the connection of λόχια in the Antimachean fragment with λοχία (as he prints it) = ἄρτος.[51] But in view of the uncertainty in the text of Hesychius, it is surely unwise to reject such an identification on the basis of a mere accent.[52] I suggest that it is in fact the neuter plural (τὰ) λόχια that is said to mean ἄρτος, commonly a collective word.[53]

Arena would prefer to take (τὰ) λόχια in its normally accepted meaning of the discharge after childbirth. He suggests that the Antimachus fragment could refer to a sacrifice for the purification of the λόχια, an interpretation which, he says, would be in keeping with other fragments where washing on the occasion of birth is mentioned (*cf.* F103; 104).[54] He also suggests that λόχια could mean simply 'birth', as in Ἀρτέμιδος λέλυται λοχίων χάρις (*AP* 9.311.7). With the phrase θύειν λόχια in the sense of to celebrate a birth by offerings and sacrifices *cf.* γενέθλια ... θύει (Plato, *Alcib.* I 121C); γάμους (Plut. *Pomp.* 55); so too with names of festivals such as Λύκαια, Ἡράκλεια etc.[55]

Our commentator renders λόχια as λοχεύματα and τὰ ἐπὶ τῆι λοχείαι ... δῶρα, which, as we have seen, appear to be two ways of referring to the same thing. The use of the word δῶρα favours the interpretation that λόχια means the special bread made for Artemis and possibly other sacrificial gifts.

We may turn now to the second Hesychian gloss. Here τριθαλλίαι· μεγάλως τοῦ θάλλειν αἰτίαι should be corrected to τριθαλείαι and read as a dative, i.e. interpreted as an epithet of Artemis as the goddess responsible for the thriving growth of children,[56] *cf.* her

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[49] For this use of γενόμενος *cf.* Phot. *s.v.* πέλανος· γίγνεται πέμματά τινα τοῖς θεοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀφαιρεθέντος σίτου ἐκ τῆς ἅλω.

[50] Cazzaniga, 68-9; *cf.* the ψαιστά offered to Lathria in the epigram of Leonidas (*AP* 6.300.3), repeated in the imitations (to Aphrodite) of Gaetulicus (*AP* 6.190.6) and Cornelius Longus (*AP* 6.191.4).

[51] R. Arena, *Scritti stor.-epigr.*, 3.

[52] *Cf.* λόχ( ), Latte's *apparatus* I.32.

[53] *Cf.* other terms for such sacrificial bread which are usually plural, e.g. πελάνεια, πόπανα, πέμματα, ψαιστά.

[54] Arena, 3-4.

[55] *Cf.* Cazzaniga, 72; Arena, 4.

[56] *Cf.* LSJ[9] *Suppl.* 143; for this use of αἰτία *cf.* ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ... τοῦ τρεῖν καὶ εὐλαβεῖσθαι αἰτία (Phot. *s.v.* τριτογένης); τοῦ φρίττειν καὶ τοῦ ναρκᾶν αἱ δαίμονες αἰτίαι (Schol. Soph. *OC* 681).

titles παιδοτρόφος and κουροτρόφος, but especially κορυθαλία at Sparta (Athen. 4.139a-b).

Taken together, the Hesychian glosses λόχια and τριθαλείαι support the reading of the lemma rather than those preferred by the papyrus commentator. But while the text of the lemma may be preferable, a good case can still be made for the second explanation of the commentator, i.e. τριθάλεια as a neuter plural epithet modifying λόχια. That it can be understood as an epithet = πολυθαλής is suggested by the use of the τρι- prefix as an indefinite intensive in such words as τριβάρβαρος, τρίβαφος, and τρίδουλος.[57] The words λόχια τριθάλεια, rather than meaning simply 'very rich' or 'plentiful' offerings, may refer to offerings for the future growth of children, as suggested by Cazzaniga.[58]

As for the force of ὑπό in the fragment, Wyss seems to take it with the dative Λαθρίαι.[59] I feel however that Cazzaniga is right in interpreting ὑπό as *clam*, seeing it as a possible allusion to the root λαθ- inherent in the title Λαθρία.[60] He suggests that a heroine is making secret sacrifices to the goddess Lathria for her childbirth and that she makes clandestine offerings in keeping with a clandestine birth. He aptly compares the lines of Callimachus in which Hera insults Leto, οὕτω νῦν, ὦ Ζηνὸς ὀνείδεα, καὶ γαμέοισθε / λάθρια καὶ τίκτοιτε κεκρυμμένα κ.τ.λ. (*Hy.* 4.240-1). I cannot however accept his tentative suggestion that Antimachus' Lathria could be a 'pre-Artemis' Artemis and that the person giving birth could be Leto herself.[61] Cazzaniga seems to have misread Callim. *Hy.* 4.278 and 283, thinking that the tithes of first-fruits and corn-stalks and holy sheaves are brought to Leto, when in fact in that passage the island of Delos is being addressed.

The Antimachean context is obviously one of birth, but we cannot prove that the woman giving birth was Leto. The mention of Physadeia in F104 suggests that the mother may have been an Argive.

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[57] *Cf.* LSJ[9] *s.v.* τρι- (1815).
[58] Cazzaniga, 71.
[59] *Cf.* 100, Index IIA.
[60] Cazzaniga, 71-2; *cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* III.618 *s.v.* λανθάνω (Dérivés:A).
[61] Cazzaniga, 72. In response to Cazzaniga's suggestion, A. Henrichs considers it "impossible to think of Leto as offering a sacrifice to her daughter or, for that matter, to any other goddess of birth" (*GRBS* 13 [1972], 75 n.22).

108 (183 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 36-39:

ἔνδοθ[ι] γ[ω]ρυτοῖο τιθα[ι]βώσσοισα κά[λυ]ψε·

τιθεῖσα καὶ ἀποθησαυρίζ[ου]σα. ὁμοίως [καὶ] Ὅμηρος· 'ἔνθα [δ'] ἔ[π]ειτα τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι'. τὸ[ν δὲ] γωρυτὸν [ἀντὶ τῆς] φ[α]ρέτρ[ας] τίθησι. δῆλος δ' ἐν ἄλλοις· (F109)

Commentary

To explain the word γωρυτός, our commentator says that Antimachus used it in place of φάρετρα, 'quiver', as is clear from another Antimachean passage which he quotes (F109). In this usage, Antimachus differs from Homer, for whom γωρυτός (another Homeric *hapax*) was a bow-case (τοξοθήκη), *cf. Od.* 21.54.[62] Later writers followed the lead of Antimachus, e.g. Lyc. 458; Rhianus F66.3 Powell (*AP* 6.34.3); Quint. Smyrn. 3.35.[63]

The commentator glosses the word τιθαιβώσσοισα as τιθεῖσα καὶ ἀποθησαυρίζουσα, illustrating it with ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα τιθαιβώσσουσι· μέλισσαι (*Od.* 13.106), yet another Homeric *hapax*. His explanation resembles that of Hesychius (IV.156 Schmidt) τιθαιβώσσουσιν· ἐναποτίθενται, ἀποθησαυρίζουσι τὴν τροφὴν αἱ μέλιτται, τὸν λεγόμενον μελίκηρον.[64]

As can be seen, Homer uses the word of bees storing up their food. LSJ[9] suggests that Antimachus extends its meaning to a more general sense of 'put away'.[65] Certainly the later writers Nicander (*Ther.* 199) and Lycophron (622) employ the word in an extended sense of 'fostering', 'supplying with food'.[66] Notable is Antimachus' use of the Aeolic-Doric form in -οισα.

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[62] *Cf.* Hesych. γωρυτός· τοξοθήκη, θύλακος; Apoll. Soph. 56.1. γωρυτός. ἡ τοξοθήκη.

[63] *Cf.* Schol. Lyc. 458: γωρυτός· ἡ τῶν βελῶν θήκη; *Etym. Magn.* 244.7. LSJ[9] *Suppl.* 36 is wrong in saying "so prob. in Lyc. 458" for γωρυτός in the sense of "bow-case".

[64] *Cf.* Apoll. Soph. 152.33 (wrongly τηθαιβώσσουσιν) ... ἐπὶ τῶν μελισσῶν, οἷον ἀποτίθενται τὴν βόσιν, τουτέστι τὴν τροφὴν ἀποθησαυρίζουσι. So too Schol. Q *Od.* 13.106: τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι. τὴν βόσιν, τὴν τροφήν, ἀποτιθέασιν, ὅ ἐστι τὰ κηρία. Schol. V: ἀποτίθενται τὴν βόσιν, ὅ ἐστι τὸ μέλι, οἷον θησαυρίζουσι τὰ κηρία καὶ νεοττοτροφοῦσιν.

[65] LSJ[9] *s.v.* τιθαιβώσσω. Hoekstra (*A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II, 171) says "exact sense and etym. unknown".

[66] *Cf.* Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 199a,b (103 Crugnola); Schol. Lyc. 622 (209-10 Scheer); *Etym. Magn.* 758.16; Schol. V *Od.* 13.106: ... καὶ νεοττοτροφοῦσιν.

Cazzaniga detects a connection with the previous fragments concerning Artemis and childbirth and compares ἄτερ τόξου, πότνια νισσομένη (*AP* 6.271.4) and τόξα μὲν εἰς κόλπους ἄγν' ἀπόθου Χαρίτων (*AP* 6.273.2), in both of which the absence of Artemis' bow denotes a painless childbirth.[67] According to his interpretation, then, Artemis may be putting her arrows back in their quiver.

The commentator's use, however, of the word ἀποθησαυρίζουσα to explain τιθαιβώσσοισα suggests the laying by or storing up of some sort of food, the usual meaning of ἀποθησαυρίζειν.[68] In that case, Antimachus' use of τιθαιβώσσειν is essentially the same as the Homeric. The reference may be to the goddess taking the offerings (λόχια) made to her (F107) and storing them in her quiver. The verb κάλυψε, suitable for a goddess called Lathria, also suggests the concealment of something other than arrows, for which a quiver could not be thought a hiding-place.

The use by Antimachus of a verb applied in Homer to bees is particularly suitable to a context involving Artemis, whose attendants were called μελισσόνομοι (Aesch. F87 Radt); *cf.* the word ἐσσῆνες applied to the priests of Artemis at Ephesus,[69] but properly meaning the queen bee.[70] Moreover, the bee is found as a symbol of Artemis on Ephesian coins from the sixth century down.[71]

109 (184 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 39-41: δῆλος δ' ἐν ἄλλοις·

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –) μετὰ το[ῖ]σι δὲ Λη[τόος υἱός],
σ[κ]αιῆι τ[ό]ξ[ο]ν ἔχων, ἑτέρηφι δὲ γωρυτοῖο
δέσμ' ἀπο]αινύμ[ενος·

(δέσμ]α δ[ὲ φ]αρ[έ]τρας ἤτοι τὸν δεσμὸν ἢ τὸ πῶ[μα).

Λη[τόος υἱός] Maas τ[ό]ξ[ο]ν Maas

[67] Cazzaniga, *P d P* 22 (1967), 72 n.15.

[68] See LSJ[9] *s.v.* ἀποθησαυρίζω. *Cf.* e.g. Diodorus 3.29.3; 5.40.5. This is also how the word is used by Hesychius, Apoll. Soph., and Schol. V *Od.* 13.106.

[69] *Cf.* Paus. 8.13.1; *SIG* 352.6 (4th C); 363.10 (3rd C). On Artemis and bees, see A. B. Cook,, *JHS* 15 (1895), 11-13.

[70] Schol. Callim. *Hy.* 1.66a (II.45 Pf.); *Etym. Magn.* 383.30.

[71] Head, *Hist. Num*[2]. 571-5; *cf.* Cook, *JHS* 15, 13.

Commentary

This fragment is quoted by the commentator to show clearly that Antimachus uses γωρυτός to mean 'quiver' in F108. This second fragment is said to be ἐν ἄλλοις. The commentator finds it necessary to explain a word, δέσμ(α), within the fragment which he uses as an illustration. This may suggest that ἐν ἄλλοις means 'in another passage' of the same work, an impression strengthened by the precision which the commentator shows later when he refers to a passage from *Thebaid* Bk.3 (F16).

He defines the word as τὸν δεσμὸν ἢ τὸ πῶμα of the quiver, i.e. either the fastening or the lid or cover. For the use of the word πῶμα *cf.* αὐτὰρ ὁ σύλα πῶμα φαρέτρης (*Il.* 4.116), a phrase very similar in sense to this fragment, 'he stripped the lid from his quiver' (Pandarus before he attempts to shoot Menelaus), *cf.*ἐσυλα τόξον (*Il.* 4.105), of taking the bow out (of its case).[72]

Not only does Antimachus use γωρυτός for the Homeric φάρετρα and δέσμα for πῶμα,[73] but his verb ἀποαίνυσθαι can be revealed as equivalent to συλᾶν. In the Homeric phrases δούρατα ... / ... / Τρώια, τὰ κταμένων ἀποαίνυμαι (*Il.* 13.260-2), ἀποαίνυτο νόστον (*Od.* 12.419), and ἡμίσυ ... ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς / ἀνέρος (*Od.* 17.322-3), the verb has a meaning identical to συλᾶν. Antimachus' words can thus be seen as deliberate variation of the Homeric, a view which is reinforced by the fact that the Homeric passage has a connection with Apollo, the subject of the Antimachean lines. Pandarus is advised by the disguised Athena to pray to Apollo κλυτοτόξος (v.101), which he in fact does (v.119).

In v.2 of the fragment, the language is very similar to the Homeric σκαιῇ ἔγχος ἔχων· ἑτέρηφι δὲ λάζετο πέτρον (*Il.* 16.734), which is clearly Antimachus' model.[74] At line-end γωρυτοῖο produces a spondaic fifth foot, not uncommon in Antimachus. This line may have influenced Callimachus in his *Aetia*:

> σκαιῇ μὲν ἔ]χεις χερὶ Κύνθιε τ[όξον,
> τὰς δ' ἐπὶ δεξιτερῇ] σὰς ἱδανὰς Χάριτας; (F114.8-9 Pf.)

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[72] *Cf.* Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 341.

[73] Homer never uses the singular form δέσμα, only the plural δέσματα, *Il.* 22.468 (articles of head dress); *Od.* 1.204; 8.278 (bonds).

[74] *Cf.* σκαιῇ (same *sedes*), δεξιτερῇ δέ (A.R. 2.599); σκαιῇ (s.*s*) μὲν ῥ' ἐνὶ χειρὶ ... / τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ (4.222-3).

This is an *aition* of why the statue of Apollo at Delos held his bow in his left hand and the Charites in his right, the explanation being that the god was more inclined to offer blessings than to inflict punishment.[75] This arrestingly paradoxical image of the bow and the Charites may be contrasted with the traditional description of Apollo the archer by Antimachus. The lines of Antimachus show Apollo preparing to shoot, holding his bow in his left hand and opening his quiver, no doubt to select an arrow, with his right. For a likely context, one might think of the killing of the Niobids.

110 (185 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 42-43:

. [....]αδειγ[......]ι ψυχη[....]σι[..]τι ἔθεντο

ἀντὶ κτίσματα τῆ[ς ψυ]χῆς

ω[ς παρ[αδείγ[ματα τῆ]ι ψυχῆ[ι dubitanter Matthews ἀν]τὶ ἔθεντο Wyss ἀν]τί᾽ Vogl. ἀντὶ κτίσματα τῆ[ς ψυ]χῆς Maas ἀντικτίσματα τα[ρα]χῆς Vogl. Wyss ἀντικνίσματα Castiglioni

Commentary

Our understanding of this very lacunose fragment may be helped by Maas' correction of the commentator's explanation in which he reads ἀντὶ κτίσματα τῆ[ς ψυ]χῆς in place of ἀντικτίσματα τα[ρα]χῆς (Vogliano, followed by Wyss).[76]

In the lemma, we clearly require a noun equivalent to κτίσματα. The most likely candidate is παρ[αδείγ]ματα and we should also supplement τῆ]ι ψυχῆ[ι.

While no very close parallels between παράδειγμα and κτίσμα are recorded in the lexica,[77] κτίσμα in the sense of ποίημα (Hesych.) is perhaps not far from παράδειγμα meaning 'model' or 'example'.

The sense may be something like 'they set models for life etc.' The subject of the verb may well be 'the gods'. For the idea of divine

[75] The point is not that the bow is in the left hand rather than the right. A right-handed person would normally hold a bow in his left and draw it with his right. In the statue, the right hand, which might be expected to hold an arrow, is engaged in the non-hostile act of holding the Charites.

[76] See Vogliano, *PRIMI* I.59, with n.l.

[77] E.g. παράδειγμα = "model or plan of a building", Hdt. 5.62 etc; κτίσμα commonly = "building".

models *cf.* τὰ τῶν βίων παραδείγματα ... θεῖναι (Plato *Rep.* 618A); παραδειγμάτων ... ἐν τῷ ὄντι ἑστώτων, τοῦ μὲν θείου εὐδαιμονεστάτου, τοῦ δὲ ἀθέου ἀθλιωτάτου (*Theaet.* 176E); ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται (*Rep.* 592B).

But a major problem with this interpretation is that the explanation of (παρα)δείγματα by κτίσματα requires κτίσματα to be used in a sense which is in fact more unusual than the word which it is supposed to explain.

The word δεῖγμα and its compounds are unepic, comparatively late forms, found most frequently in Plato and the Attic orators, with a few earlier instances in historians and dramatists.[78]

111 (186 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 43-44:

ὄ[φρα κε π]οιπνύτρ[ο]ισι θ[ε]ῇ σφετέροισι χαρείη
τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν[ ] ⟦τουσ⟧ [ ]μ̣ασιν.

ὄ[φρα κε (vel τε) Vogl. Morel π]οιπνύτρ[ο]ισι Maas 44 θεραπεύ]μ̣ασιν vel διακονή]μ̣ασιν Morel προσκυνή]μ̣ασιν Vogl.

Hesych. (III.352 Schmidt): ποιπνύτροισι· σπουδαίοις

Commentary

The commentator's explanation of ποιπνύτροισι is unfortunately incomplete, but the form is listed by Hesychius, presumably with this passage in mind.[79] Hesychius also has ποιπνυός· θεράπων. Both forms are derived from the Homeric ποιπνύειν (*Il.* 1.600; 8.219; 14.155; 18.421; 24.475; *Od.* 3.430; 20.149), usually used of servants or attendants going busily about a task.[80]

Since ποιπνυός is a noun, equivalent to θεράπων, it seems likely

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[78] E.g. δεῖγμα, Aristoph. *Ach.* 988; Eurip. *Suppl.* 354; *cf.* Renehan (*Gk. Lex. Notes*, 61) for Plato *Phd.* 110B "one of the earliest extant examples of this word"; παράδειγμα, Hdt. 2.86.2; 5.62.3; frequent in Thuc. e.g. 1.2.6; Soph. *OT* 1193; Eurip. *El.* 1085; Aristoph. *Thes.* 670.

[79] Our papyrus thus proves groundless Schmidt's suspicions about the correctness of the Hesychian lemma (see his *apparatus*).

[80] G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 113 on 1.600, curiously renders ποιπνύοντα as "hobbling", presumably because it refers to Hephaestus. In II, 317 on 8.219, he translates ποιπνύσαντι more appropriately as "bustling" or "hastening", and suggests a derivation from πνέω, "as causing one to breathe heavily".

that ποιπνύτρος is an epithet as Hesychius indicates. In this fragment, it may be a neuter plural, *cf.* such forms also derived from verbs as ἴατρα, ἐκτίματρα, εὕρετρα, θεώρητρα, σιτοποίητρα, οἰκοδόμητρα, etc. Vogliano, however, believes that the Hesychian gloss is corrupt, presumably thinking that a noun has fallen out after σπουδαίοις.[81] Morel does not detect a corruption, but prefers to take ποιπνύτρος personally as 'eifriger Diener', 'a zealous servant'.[82] The line would thus mean 'that the goddess might rejoice in her zealous servants'.

This interpretation however is difficult to reconcile with what the commentator seems to say, unless we are to read [ ]μ̣ασιν as the dative plural of a participle, e.g. διακονή]σ̣ασιν, ποιπνύ]σ̣ασιν *vel sim.* On the other hand, Morel is probably on the right path in suggesting θεραπεύ]μ̣ασιν or διακονή]μ̣ασιν. With such a reading, the line would mean 'that the goddess might rejoice at the zealous observances (services) accorded her'.

The form θεῇ is a hyper-Ionism, but Richardson is wrong to suggest that the singulars θεῇ etc. occur only in later epic poetry (citing this fragment and Callim. *Hy.* 3.119 etc.). In fact θεῆς is found in the Cologne papyrus of Archilochus (F478.13 *SLG*) and is the reading of cod. M in *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 183 and 279.[83]

112 (65 *SH* + 187 Wyss)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516 (ed. Lobel) saec. ii p.C. F4 + *Comment. in Antim.* ii 47-49:

F4 . . . . .

δὴ τότ' Ἐρεινὺς ἦλθεν ἀσ]ὴ̣τ̣[ορος
Ἄϊδος ἐκπρολιποῦσα θοὸν⌋ δ̣ό̣μ]ον [
χάλκεοι Ἀράων θά⌋λ̣αμοι ο[ ][ν̣
γ]εραραὶ τεκ[
]τουτ' επιφεγ[
]ειαν ὑπὲρ κεφ[αλ-
]. ηοποσα. . [

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[81] Vogliano, 59.

[82] Morel *ap.* Vogliano, 59.

[83] Despite cod. M, Richardson adopts θεᾶς (*Hom. Hy. Dem.*, 206). But *cf.* M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomerica* XII (Leiden 1981), 42, who defends θεῇ etc., listing also copious examples later than Antimachus, including Callimachus and Apollonius.

]ι̣δ' ιερη υ̣π̣ατουτ̣[
]. ηπειρων τετο[
]αδην μήλοισιν[
]π̣[..]. δικοισιν[
]. κ̣ [
. . . . .

1-3 suppl. Lobel e commentario in Antimachum Hermoupolitano (Appendix A)
1 ἀσήτορος· τοῦ ἀνιωμένου τὸ ἦ[το]ρ *Comment. Antim.* 1.44: sed pot. nomen agentis ad ἀσᾶν, cf. Wyss p. xxxii. ad fin. <Οἰδιπόδαο> Maas; his autem sine intervallo succedit (F187 Wyss) (huius fragmenti vv.1-3), ut eiusdem carminis esse videntur.
2 citant *Epimer. Hom.* ap. *Anecd. Oxon.* 1.201.7 Cramer (= F[97] Wyss); θοὸν δόμον citat *Glossar. Hom. P. Oxy.* 2517 V 8: θοόν· τὸν μέλανα ἢ ἀπ̣' ἐκ̣δοχῆ<ς> ἐ[κ τοῦ Κ [*Comment. Antim.* 45 suppl. Carrara] οὐ τὸν μέλανα ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀκίνητον *Epimerismi l.c.* ad fin. e.g. <ἔνθα μιν εἶχον> Maas, Vogliano. 5]τουτ' pap. ἐπιφεγ[: aut fort. ϛ[,ρ[*SH* 6 κεφαλῆς, κεφαλῆφι(ν) *SH* 7] fort. σ, τ. ὀπὸς pot. quam ὀπόσ' (nulla in pap. apostrophus); vix legi potest ὀπὸς αὐδ[ήσαντος (cf. *Il.* 16.76) *SH* 8]ι̣δ' pap. ἱερὴ, ἱερῇ<ι>, ἱερῇ' (nulla in pap. apostrophus) *SH* 9 ἠπείρων, πειρῶν, πείρων *SH* 10]ᾶδὴν pap.: ἅδην West 11 fort. [εὐθ]υδίκοισιν Lobel vel [ὀρθ]οδίκοισιν Matthews

Commentary

The text from the Hermoupolis commentary has now been augmented by *P. Oxy.* 2516 F4 (F65 *SH*). The second verse had long been known from *Epimer. Hom.* Another recent discovery is the phrase θοὸν δόμον preserved in a Homeric glossary (*P. Oxy.* 2517, Verso 8).[84]

The attribution to Antimachus of the fragments from *P. Oxy.* 2516 rests entirely on the coincidence in F4 of five syllables in the first three lines with identical syllables in the three verses of the Hermoupolis commentary. This identification is complicated by the fact that twenty-one letters in the second line take up the same space as only fourteen in the third line.[85] There are, however, no compelling reasons to reject it.

Unfortunately the nine new verses are very lacunose and add very little to our understanding of the fragment. It is also rather disturb-

[84] K. Alpers attributes the glossary to Apollonius Sophista, (*Hermes* 94 [1966], 430-4); M. W. Haslam suggests that this papyrus glossary (and six others which he discusses) made its own selection of material from the lexicon of Apollonius, which in its original form had many more entries than are found in the several papyrus texts (*CP* 89 [1994], 108-9).

[85] *Cf.* Lobel; *SH* 28. The fact that δόμον in v.2 precedes bucolic diaeresis at the end of the fourth foot, while θάλαμοι directly below it in v.3 is at the end of the third foot does not fit well with the assumptions of West concerning the metrical placing of small papyrus fragments (*Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists* (London 1975), 341-7).

ing that fragments 113 and 114 which follow directly after vv. 1-3 in the Hermoupolis commentary cannot be fitted into these lines.[86] Since ὑψικραν[ά]εσσα seems certain in F113, it is hard to see the point of West's suggestion that πέτρην ὑψικράν]ειαν ὑπὲρ κεφ[αλ- might be read in v.6.[87] To restore ὑπὲρ κεφ[αλῆς, however, is reasonable in view of Homeric usage, since the phrase occurs five times in each of the two great poems and ὑπέρ is never used with any other form in κεφαλ-.

In v.l, where an Erinys comes from the Underworld, Maas suggested <Οἰδιπόδαο> at line end.[88] If this is correct, the lines would appear to belong to the proemium of the *Thebaid* in a context similar to Stat. *Theb.* 1.46ff., where Oedipus calls up Tisiphone from the Underworld. Wyss denies any debt to Antimachus on the part of Statius, writing 'in Statiana Thebaide Tisiphonam ab inferis excitat Oedipus, hic ipsius Oedipodis anima (si Maasio fidem habeamus) ex Tartaro resurgit.' but, as Barber has pointed out, 'The Erinys of Oedipus' could mean the Erinys invoked by Oedipus (*cf.* Ἐρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενής Aesch. *Sept.* 70).[89] But the earlier fragments from the papyrus commentary (F99-111) perhaps come from the *Artemis* and, since F112 follows on without any break, it seems to be part of the same poem as the earlier fragments. We might add that F16, which is explicitly stated to belong to *Thebaid* Bk. 3, is mentioned in a way which suggests that F113-4 (also about the Underworld) do not come from the *Thebaid.*

Without Maas' supplement, nothing in these lines clearly indicates the Erinys of Oedipus. It, is however, frequently mentioned in Aeschylus' *Septem*, e.g. Ἀρά τ' Ἐρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενής (70; *cf.* 723, 791, 887, 978-9). If our commentator's explanation of the word ἀσήτωρ is correct, τοῦ ἀνιωμένου τὸ ἦτορ, 'sick at heart', it must be admitted that it suits Oedipus perhaps better than any other candidate.[90]

On the meaning of ἀσήτωρ, a word not otherwise attested, *cf.* the

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[86] *Cf.* West, *CR* 16 (1966), 22; *SH* 28.

[87] West, *CR* 16, 22.

[88] Maas *ap.* Wyss, 85.

[89] Barber's review of Wyss, (*Gnomon* 1938,547).

[90] Another possibility may be the Erinys invoked by Althaea when she curses her son Meleager (*Il.* 9.571-2).

use of ἀσώμενος at Theocr. 25.240;[91] Hesych. *s.v.* ἀσᾶται. λωβήσεται, ἀνιᾶται; *s.v.* ἀσηθείς. λυπηθείς.

In v.2, ἐκπρολιποῦσα, Antimachus exploits yet another Homeric *hapax*, ἐκπρολιπόντες (*Od.* 8.515).

Much attention has been paid both to Antimachus' phrase θοὸν δόμον and to the Homeric θοὴν διὰ νυκτὰ μέλαιναν by critics ancient[92] and modern.[93] There can be little doubt that Antimachus had the Homeric phrase in mind and that he saw here an opportunity to show how he understood θοήν in it.[94]

Several diverse etymologies and meanings are offered by the ancient commentators. Three are concerned specifically with the Antimachean phrase: the epithet means θεῖος (*P. Oxy.* 2517), not μέλας but ἀκίνητος (*Epimer. Hom.*), or μέλας (*Comment. Hermoupol.* citing Antimachus in support of his interpretation of the Homeric θοὴν νύκτα).[95] Our papyrus commentator does not seem to offer an etymology. I think that Carrara is correct in thinking that the following lines of the commentary contained alternative explanations for the meaning μέλας rather than another epithet parallel to μέλας as Vogliano and Morel supposed.[96] Carrara's restoration ἢ ἀπ' ἐκδοχῆ<ς> ἐ[κ τοῦ K̄ seems very likely. He also suggests that οἱ δὲ δέχονται is a form of *anacoluthon*, equivalent to ἢ ὡς ... δέχονται. διότι

[91] See G. Chryssafis, *A Textual and Stylistic Commentary on Theocritus' Idyll XXV* (Amsterdam 1981), 233.

[92] *Cf.*, in addition to the sources for our fragment, Schol. *Il.*10 394b-c (III.85f. Erbse); Eustath. *Il.* 814.15 (III.97.25ff. van der Valk); Hesych. *s.v.* Θ15-18 (II.20 Latte); *Epimer. Hom.* (*Anecd.* Graec. 1.200.16ff. Cramer); Heracl. *Quaest. Hom.* 45; Crates Mall. F289 Mette.

[93] *Cf.* Buttmann, *Lex.*1.65; Maas, *JHS* 52 (1932), 151; West (ed.), *Hesiod: Theogony*, 299 on v.481; Hainsworth offers the attractive explanation that θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν may have resulted from a transference of the epithet from the formula θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα μέλαιναν (*The Iliad: A Commentary* II, 193). The most helpful recent discussion is that of P. Carrara, *Prometheus* IX (1983), 29-35.

[94] *Cf.* West, 299; Carrara, 30ff.

[95] *Cf.* Haslam, *CP* 89 (1994), 117 v.40. But I am not sure whether Haslam (following Lobel) is correct to refer ἐπὶ] τοῦ Ἕκτορος λέγ[ει (*P.Oxy.* 2517 V9-10) to *Il.* 12.462-4; ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔσθορε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ/νυκτὶ θοῇ ἀτάλαντος ὑπώπια· λάμπε δὲ χαλκῷ / σμερδαλέῳ. Haslam sees φαίδιμος and λάμπε as signs that the meaning "black" is being refuted. But despite the stock epithet φαίδιμος, Hector's complexion, dark with rage, contrasts with the terrifying gleam of his armour (*cf.* Hainsworth, *The Iliad: A Commentary* III, 365). A more likely reference for the papyrus glossary may be *Il.* 10.394, where Hector is the subject: ἠνώγει δέ μ' ἰόντα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν. Here the presence of μέλαιναν could be interpreted as a clear indication that θοήν does *not* mean 'black'.

[96] Carrara, 31 n.10; Vogliano, 59; Morel, *ap.* Vogliano, 59.

κ.τ.λ. The sense is 'the word means μέλας, either through an interpretation of Homer (with the quotation of *Il.* 10.394) or, as some people think, because it happens that the sun does not <shine in the underworld>.'

I would suggest that our commentator is right, that μέλας is in fact what Antimachus intended for the meaning of θοόν. Of the other suggested meanings, θεῖος, while quite suitable for the house of Hades, is rather weak and insipid when applied also to night, as the Oxyrhynchus glossary suggests. Nor is the meaning ἀκίνητος, 'unmovable', 'steadfast', very convincing as a description of both night and the house of Hades. Carrara has presented a good argument that the combination of θοός and μέλας is an example of *coppia contigua*, the coupling of a rare word with a more familiar one of similar meaning.[97]

Another example of θοός with an unexpected noun supports the meaning of 'dark', 'black'. An anonymous fragment in *Etym. Magn.* 453.7 *s.v.* θοός (*cf. Epimer. Hom.*. ap. *Anecd. Oxon.* 1.201.20 Cramer) reads: θοὴ δ' ὑπεδέξατο γαῖα (= 1048 *SH*). The fragment has been unconvincingly attributed to Philetas (F *dub.* 26 Powell),[98] but one can make a case for Antimachus.[99] In both *Etym. Magn.* and *Epimer. Hom.* θοή is glossed μεγάλη.[100] This epithet, however, is never used with γαῖα in Homer and only once in Hesiod (*Theog.* 622). On the other hand, a common epithet of γαῖα is μέλαινα, especially in contexts of death, *cf.* τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχε κατὰ γαῖα μέλαινα (*Il.* 2.699); ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ γαῖα μέλαινα / πᾶσι χάνοι (17.416-7).[101] The obvious conclusion is that in the anonymous fragment θοή = μέλαινα, not μεγάλη as the ancient lexica suggest.

In v.3, Wyss thinks that χάλκεοι θάλαμοι has the flavour of choral poetry, but I cannot find anything similar in that genre. Carrara has made the valuable suggestion that Virgil's phrase *ferrei Eumenidum*

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[97] Carrara, 34.

[98] It does not appear in the edition of Kuchenmüller.

[99] For further discussion, see F203 dub.

[100] The form μεγάλη rather than μεγάλην argues against Rostagni's emendation θοή<ν> (*Scr. Min.* I.248), since it was the practice of the ancient lexicographers to use in the lemma the same form which appeared in the passage being considered; *cf.* M. Naoumides in *Class. Stud. presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (Urbana 1968), 194-5; also *GRBS* 9 (1968), 274.

[101] *Cf.* γαῖα μέλαινα (*Il.* 15.715; 20.494; *Od.* 11.365; 587; 19.111; Hes. *Theog.* 69; F90.4 M-W).

thalami (*Aen.* 6.280), also of course from an Underworld scene, is modelled on the words of Antimachus.[102]

The word θάλαμοι probably means the 'abode', 'living-quarters' of the Arae, within the larger δόμος of Hades, much like the use of the plural to mean 'women's quarters' in Homer (*Il.* 18.492). But the word is also used by the dramatists for quarters in the Underworld, e.g. θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς (Aesch. *Pers.* 624); γᾶς ... θαλάμων (Eurip. *HF* 807); Περσεφονείας ... θαλάμους (Eurip. *Suppl.* 1022). Very close to our context is Ἀραὶ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαὶ κεκλήμεθα (Aesch. *Eum.* 417), which also shows that Antimachus' Ἀραί are equivalent to Virgil's *Eumenides.*[103]

As for χάλκεος and *ferreus*, the correspondence may not lie in their precise meanings of bronze and iron respectively,[104] but in their metaphorical sense of *durus* and *crudelis*,[105] often associated with death; *cf.* ὣς ὁ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον (*Il.* 11.241, death of Iphidamas) and *olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget / somnus* (*Aen.* 10.745-6, death of Orodes). For other Underworld connections *cf.* σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός (*Il.* 8.15, the threshold of Tartarus); also μαρμάρεαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός (Hes. *Theog.* 811); οὐδὸν / χάλκεον (749-50); θύρας ... / χαλκείας (732-3); χαλκόπους Ἐρινύς (Soph. *El.* 491).

Little sense can be made of the remainder of the fragment. In v.4 the supplement γ]εραραί seems secure, but we do not know to whom it refers. In Homer, the word means 'worthy of honour', 'reverend', e.g. *Il.* 3.170; 211 (compar.); *Hom. Epig.* 13.3 and 5 (compar.), but in Apollonius it has come to mean 'aged' (as is clear from 1.683; *cf.* 1.620; 4.203). This is also its sense in later epic, e.g. Quint.Smyrn. 9.90; 10.40; Opp. *Hal.* 2.501. Given our context, the Homeric sense seems more appropriate.

In v.6 there may be a reference to Tantalus (*cf.* 970.5 *SH*), but since vv.1-3 say that then the Erinys came, leaving the house of Hades

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[102] Carrara, *Prometheus* VI (1980), 271-3.

[103] For Eumenides = Erinyes *cf.* *Aen.* 4.496; *Georg.* 4.282-3; and for Arae = Erinyes, the Hermoupolis commentary and the derivation παρὰ τὸ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀνύειν (Schol. Lyc. 406).

[104] But one may wonder whether Virgil knew the theory (put forward by Apollonius in the first book of his *Hypomnemata*, Schol. A.R. 1.430a) that χαλκός in Homer and the early poets could mean iron as well as bronze. *Cf.* Apoll. Soph. 166.17; West (ed.), *Hes. W. and D.*, 188-9 on v.150.

[105] *Cf.* Carrara, *Prom.* VI, 272.

<where are> the dwellings of the Arae etc., we may no longer be in the Underworld in v.6.

In v.8 perhaps]ιδ' ἱερὴ ὑπάτου can be read. The epithet ὕπατος is frequently applied to Zeus (e.g. *Il.* 5.756; *Od.* 1.45), so the sense might be 'the holy ? of Zeus most high', *cf.* Δήμητρός ... ἱερὴ ὄψ (F79). In v.9 it remains unclear whether to have ἠπείρων, ἢ πειρῶν, or ἢ πείρων. For v.10, West suggests ἄδην.[106] Is μήλοισιν 'apples' or 'sheep'? In v.11, Lobel puts forward [εὐθ]υδίκοισι, *cf.* Aesch. *Agam.* 761; *Eum.* 312; Bacch. 5.6, but one might equally have [ὀρθ]οδίκοισι, *cf.* Bacch. 11.9: 14.23. So too at Bacch. 24.7 either epithet is possible.

Worth noting in the fragment is the frequency of hiatus, with θάλαμοι ο- (v.3), -η ὀπὸς (v.7 prob.), and -η ὑπ- (v.8), which suggests that this feature was more common in Antimachus than Wyss (XXXIX) thought.[107]

113 (188 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 49-50:

.....]ρα (?)ὑψικραν[ά]εσσα·

[λ]αμπρὰ καὶ τραχεῖα. ὑφ' ἓν δὲ ὑψικραν[άεσσα.

Commentary

The augmentation of F112 by F65 *SH* shows that this fragment and the next did not follow as closely upon F112 as one would have imagined from the papyrus commentary.

There is little doubt about the correctness of the reading.[108] The word is a new compound epithet, as the commentator shows by telling us that it is written as one word (ὑφ' ἕν). It is a compound form of the Homeric κραναός, usually used of Ithaca (*Il.* 3.201; *Od.* 1.247; 15.510; 16.124; 21.346), but also of Delos (*Hy. Ap.* 16; 26).[109] This derivation suggests that Vogliano's concern about the correption of -αεσσα is needless. The epithet seems to be similar in sense to ὑψηλόκρημνος, found in Aesch. *Prom.* 5 in the phrase πέτραις /

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[106] West, *CR* n.s. 16 (1966), 22.

[107] West, *ibid.*

[108] *Cf.* Vogliano, 60; Wyss, 89.

[109] Also as the name of an island (*Il.* 3.445).

ὑψηλοκρήμνοις. Antimachus has a fondness for epithets in -εις, *cf.* ἠνεμόεις (F2); ἀρπεδόεις (F5); οὐατόεις (F64); ὑλήεις (F77); ὀφιόεις (F91).

The commentator's explanation reads λαμπρὰ καὶ τραχεῖα, with λαμπρά apparently equivalent to ὑψι- in the sense of 'conspicuous', and τραχεῖα = κρανάεσσα (*cf.* Homeric κραναός -ή -όν).

Vogliano thinks that ὑψικρανάεσσα could belong to a description of an entrance to Hades, comparing Λευκὰς πέτρη (*Od.* 24.11). But Wyss, more suitably in view of the mention of Styx which follows, suggests the cliff from which Pausanias tells us the water of Styx flows (8.17.6).

Near the ruins of ancient Nonacris in Arcadia is a lofty cliff, κρημνός ... ὑψηλός, higher than any other known to Pausanias. Down this cliff trickles water which the Greeks call ὕδωρ Στυγός. Later Pausanias tells that the water which trickles down the cliff falls first to πέτραν ὑψηλήν and descends from there into the river Crathis (8.18.4). Scharfe describes it as 'a magnificent waterfall, which falls about 600 feet'.[110]

Although it is clear from the commentator that the Antimachean reference to Styx which follows (F114) is to the one in Hades and also that elsewhere (in *Thebaid* Bk. 3) Antimachus told of the Arcadian Styx at Nonacris (F16), his description of the mythical river may contain elements derived from the geography of the Arcadian river.[111]

For another description of the mythical river possibly influenced by real geographical features, we may compare that of Hesiod, *Theog.* 778ff. The abode of Styx is μακρῇσιν πέτρῃσι κατηρεφέ(α) (778); it is propped up to heaven all around κίοσιν ἀργυρέοισι (779); the water trickles down ἐκ πέτρης ... ἠλιβάτοιο / ὑψηλῆς (786-7); it flows ἐκ πέτρης (792); it issues καταστυφέλου διὰ χώρου, 'through a rugged place' (806).[112] As with Antimachus' ὑψικρανάεσσα, Hesiod's emphasis is on the height and ruggedness of the place.

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[110] H. Scharfe, *Zeits. für Vergleich. Sprachforschung* 86 (1972), 117.

[111] *Cf.* West's coments on Hesiod's description of Styx (*Hesiod: Theog.* 371-2 on vv. 778ff).

[112] *Cf.* Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥεέθρα, "steep currents of Styx-water", (*Il.* 8.369); Στυγός ... μελανοκάρδιος πέτρα (Aristoph. *Ran.* 470).

114 (189 Wyss)

Comment. in Antim. ii 50-52:

....]ης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ·

ὑποτίθεται ἐν Ἅιδου καθάπερ καὶ Πανύασσ[ις λέγων περὶ τ]οῦ Σισ[ύ]φου ἐν Ἅιδου [ὄ]ντος φησίν· 'ὥς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα κατασ[τέγασε Στυγὸς] ὕδωρ' (F26 Davies = 15 Bernabé).

50 ὠγυγί]ης Matthews ὠγενί]ης Cazzaniga Στύξ· τὸ δὲ τ]ῆς Στ. ὕδ. ὑποτίθεται (ut nomen tantum Stygis Antimachi sit) Maas

Commentary

The commentator remarks that Antimachus puts Styx in Hades just as Panyassis does, the latter in a description of the punishment of Sisyphus.

The fragment also shares with that of Panyassis the formulaic phrase Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, probably at line-end as in Panyassis, *Il.* 14.271, and *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 259.[113] Perhaps closer to the context of our fragment is ὤμνυε δ' ἐκ πέτρης κατ[αλ]ειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (*Il.* 14.279a, an extra verse recorded by Schol. T and Eustathius). It is surely preferable to accept that Antimachus used this common epic formula than to adopt Maas' supplement Στύξ· τὸ δὲ τ]ῆς Στυγὸς ὕδωρ ὑποτίθεται which would attribute to Antimachus only the name Styx.

Vogliano (followed by Wyss) compares the fragment with ὠγενίης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, also at line-end (Parthenius F7 Martini = F621 *SH*), from which Cazzaniga suggests ὠγενί]ης in our fragment.[114] But the Parthenius fragment is preserved by Steph. Byz. (705 Meineke) solely because of the form ὠγενίης. Since Stephanus cites Antimachus eleven times and Parthenius only five,[115] we might expect him to have quoted Antimachus had the Colophonian used the word. As Meineke indicates,[116] Parthenius is drawing on Hesiod, *Theog.* 805-6, Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ, / ὠγύγιον and so too may Antimachus. So why not ὠγυγί]ης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ in Antimachus?

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[113] For this formula "Styx-water", invariable in Homer (*Il.* 2.755; 8.369; 14.271; 15.37; *Od.* 5.185; 10.514; *Hy. Dem.* 259; *Hy. Ap.* 85, see West, *Hesiod: Theog.* 377, on 805. *Cf.* Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* 440-2; H. Scharfe, *Zeits. für Vergleich. Sprachforschung* 86 (1972), 116-20.

[114] Cazzaniga, *PdP* 22 (1967), 363.

[115] *Cf.* Meineke's index to Steph. Byz.

[116] *Anal. Alex.*, 264.

115 (62 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516 (ed. Lobel). saec. ii p.C.

F1 i
(a)

]ον ὑμνείουσαι
ἐν]τύνειαν ἀοιδήν
ἀ]μφήριστον
]. ς Ἀχελῶιος
]υργων

ii

του̣ ε̣ [
ολβωι[
εσπερ[
κουρη[
λεκτρ̣ [
αιγε̣ . [
πατρο̣ [
τωιγε̣ [
λεκτ̣ [
ηπ[
. . . . .

(b) αι̣ [

4]ϙς pot. quam]ω̣ς *SH* 5 π]ύργων, -π]ύργων? *SH* col. ii 2 ὄλβωι? *SH* 3 ἑσπερ- cf. F118.6. *SH* 5 λεκτρο̣-, λεκτρω̣- *SH* 7 πατροκ̣[ασιγνητ-? West 8 τῶι γε[aut pot. γελ̣[9 λεκτρ̣[poss. *SH*

Commentary

There are signs that this fragment preserves the ends of the hexameters, e.g. with ὑμνείουσαι (v.1) *cf.* Hes. *Op.* 2 (the only other instance of this participle); ἀοιδήν (v.2) *cf. Il.* 2.599; 13.731; 24.721; all but one of nine occurrences in *Od.*; Hes. *Theog.* 22; 31; 104; *Op.* 583; F357.2 M-W; π]ύργων (v.5) *cf.* seven of ten instances in *Il.*; Hes. *Scut.* 242. For the tetrasyllabic Ἀχελῷος (v.4), also suitable for line-end, rather than the Homeric Ἀχελώιος (*Il.* 21.194; 24.616),[117] *cf.* Ἀχελῷόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην (Hes. *Theog.* 340) and Ἀχελῴῳ (Nonn. 13.313, line-end).[118]

While the verb ὑμνε(ι)ω is perhaps suggestive of a proemium (*cf.* Hes. *Op.* 1-2; ὑμνεῦσαι κ.τ.λ. *Theog.* 11), the third person plural verb ἐν]τύνειαν is not in keeping with the known beginning of Antimachus' *Thebaid* (ἐννέπετε κ.τ.λ. F1).[119] We may have in fact fragments of the beginning of another Antimachean poem, possibly

[117] The Homeric form is popular in later poetry, *cf.* Panyassis F3.1 *Dub.* Davies *EGF* (= °31 Bernabé); *Ep. Adesp.* F5.2 Powell; Callim. *Hy. Dem.* 13.
[118] See West (ed.), *Hes. Theog.* 261-2.
[119] *Cf.* West, *CR* 16 (1966), 22.

the *Artemis*. As is suggested by *SH*, we might think of the singing of the Sirens. The language is very similar to λιγυρὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν used of the Sirens at *Od.* 12.183.[120] Nonnus refers to the Siren song as ὕμνον (2.11) and to the Sirens themselves at ὑμνοπόλοι (22.12).

The Sirens moreover are often called daughters of Achelous, but there was considerable dispute in antiquity as to who their mother was. The usual answer was that she was one of the Muses, e.g. Terpsichore (A.R. 4.895; Tzetzes Schol. Lyc. 712; Eustath. 1709 *ad Od.* 12.47; Schol. *Od.* 12.39); Melpomene (Hyg. *Fab.* 141; Myth. Vat. 1.186; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.4; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 7.18); Calliope (Myth. Vat. 1.42; Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 5.864; Serv. Auct. Verg. *Georg.* 1.8). Another candidate was Sterope, daughter of Amythaon or Porthaon (Eustath. 1709 *ad Od.* 12.47; Schol. *Od.* 12.39).[121]

That this dispute may have been the subject of vv.3ff. is suggested by ἀ]μφήριστον,[122] *cf.* the use of the word by Callimachus, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον (*Hy. Zeus* 5, line-end). It is difficult to tell from the remains whether Antimachus used ἀμφήριστον in the same *sedes* as Callimachus, (*cf.* πέλεν ἀμφήριστον A.R. 3.627; 4.345), or whether it bridged the fourth and fifth feet as in Homer (ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκε, *Il.* 23.382; 527, *cf.* ἀμφήριστα πέλοιτο, Arat. 712). It is unnecessary to make any distinction between the Callimachean and Homeric meanings for the word. 'Disputed' is fine in both contexts, as in Aratus and Apollonius and probably in Antimachus here.[123] For the Homeric passage, *SH* suggest *certamen aequum*, but the sense is not so much a 'dead-heat' (LSJ[9]) or 'even finish' as a result over which the onlookers might argue.

If the reference is to the Sirens, then the name Achelous probably refers to the river rather than being another name for Oceanus or a poetic way of expressing the general sense of 'water'.[124]

In v.5, we appear to have either π]ύργων or -π]ύργων. The only

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120 *Cf. Hom. Hy.* 6.20; ὕ̣μ̣ν̣ο[ν....]/γ̣α̣ίης παρθενι̣κ̣αὶ Λ[ι]βηθρίδες ἐντυ[ν- (-νοιτε Latte, -νεσθε Vitelli-Norsa) Euphor. F416.1-2 *SH*; also λιγ[υρ- ἀ]οιδη[- F938.6 *SH*; ἐς χορὸν ἐντύναιτο Mosch. *Eur.*30.

121 On the mother of the Sirens see Roscher, *s.v.* Seirenen, 604.

122 As is seen by *SH.*

123 *Cf.* McLennan, *Callim. Hy. Zeus*, 31-2.

124 For the name used in the latter senses, *cf.* Panyassis F3 *Dub.* Davies; *Ep. Adesp.* F5 Powell; Callim. *Hym. Dem.* 13; also e.g. Schol. Ven. A *Il.* 21.195 and Schol. T *Il.* 21.194.

compound forms attested in epic are εὔπυργος (*Il.* 7.71; Hes. *Scut.* 270) and πολύπυργος (*Hy. Ap.* 242).

In col. ii, κουρη[(v.4), λεκτρ.[(v.5), and πατρο.[(v.7) suggest a genealogy. Since all the initial syllables are long, we may well have the beginnings of the verses. If this is so, West's πατροκ̣[ασιγνητ- may well be correct,[125] since forms of that word are invariably in the initial position in Homer. Also supporting the argument for the beginnings of verses is the frequency in that position of several other words from the fragment, e.g. ὄλβῳ (v.2), *cf. Il.* 16.596; 24.536; *Od.* 14.206 (all instances); ἑσπερ- (v.3), *cf. Il.* 21.560; 22.318 (all instances); seven of fourteen instances in *Od.*; four of five in *Hom. Hymns*; κουρη- (v.4), thirteen of forty-five occurrences in *Il.*; twenty-one of fifty-eight in *Od.*; two of fifteen in *Hom. Hymns*.

116 (63 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F2

. . . . .
...]π̣.[
..]λ̣υπ̣[
.]δεκ[
σπερχ[
ουτιν[
αιειοι̣.[
χειμ[
. . . . .

4 σπερχ- Σπερχ[ει- Lobel. 6 αἰεί. ad fin. fort. οι̣ᾳ[. *SH*

Commentary

Little can be made out other than σπερχ[or Σπερχ[ει- in v.4 and perhaps αἰεί in v.6.

117 (64 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F3

. . . . .
]. θο̣νος [.]. αμελ̣.[

[125] West, *CR* 16 (1966), 22.

] ὑπονιφέ. ς ακρωρε[ι
] παραὶ συμ[π]λῆγα θα[
ἐ]καρτύναντο μελικ[
]αμοις ἐδνώσατ' α. [
].. ου[.] ἠνέγκατο πα[
]. στενομ[
]. νομ[
].[

. . . . .

1 e.g. ἀπὸ] χθονὸς α[ἴ]ψα μελα[ίνης Lobel 2 ὑπονιφέας, ὑπονιφέος; ἀκρωρε[ίας, 'Ακρωρε[ι- Lobel 3. e.g. Εὐξείνοιο] παραὶ συμ[π]λῆγα θα[λάσσης Lobel 4 μελικ[Lobel μελικτής haud ad rem *SH*; Μέλιν [αν (urbem Argolicam) minus prob. Lobel 5. e.g. γ]άμοις, θαλ]άμοις *SH*; ατ [pot. quam απ[*SH* ἀκ[οιτιν Matthews 6].γου[,].σου[*SH* ἠνείκατο desiderat Lobel.

Commentary

In v.1, Lobel says that] χθονος is acceptable and suggests e.g. ἀπὸ] χθονὸς α[ἴ]ψα μελα[ίνης, comparing ῥίμφα δ' ἀρ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης (F136.1).

In v.2, we appear to have ὑπονιφέας or ὑπονιφέος, from a nominative ὑπονιφης, a new word of novel form. Hitherto, only compounds in -νῖφος and -νῖφης have been attested, e.g. ἀγάννιφος (*Il.* 1.420; Epich. 130); πολύνιφος (*Etym. Magn.* 7.9); δύσνιφος (Nonn. 2.685); ἀκρονιφής (*Paean Delph.* 1.16, 141 Powell); πολυνιφής (Eurip. *Hel.* 1326). The sense of this new epithet seems to be 'covered with snow', a use of the prefix ὑπο- similar to e.g. ὑπάργυρος and ὑπόχρυσος. One might suppose ὑπονιφέας ἀκρωρε[ίας or ὑπονιφέος ἀκρωρε[ίης. The apparent reference to the Symplegades which follows suggests that ἀκρωρε[is unlikely to be a proper name. At any rate, it can hardly refer to the mountain in Sicyon mentioned by Steph. Byz. 64.1 Meineke: 'Ακρώρεια. Antimachus thus appears to present our earliest example of the noun ἀκρώρεια, 'a mountain ridge', otherwise first attested by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.2.10) and repeated among Alexandrians only by Callimachus (*Hy.* 3.224) and Theocritus (*Id.* 25.31), in both authors at line-end, as is probable here.[126]

The accusative form συμπλῆγα from a nominative συμπλήξ is another new word. The use of the singular number, however, is par-

[126] *Cf.* C. Chryssafis, *A Textual and Stylistic Commentary on Theocritus' Idyll* XXV (Amsterdam 1981), 65-6, who cites later examples from the Orphic literature and Heliodorus.

alleled by Eurip. *Andr.* 794 and *IT* 241[127] (*cf.* F944.5 *SH*; Lucan 2.718 etc.). Lobel is probably correct in supposing παραὶ συμπλῆγα, rather than e.g. λιπαραί, -ᾶι, or Λιπάραι.

Lobel's suggested restoration Εὐξείνοιο] παραὶ συμ[π]λῆγα θα̣[λάσσης is reasonable. If correct, it is difficult to see how such a reference can have fitted into the *Thebaid*, which supports our belief that these fragments belong to another hexameter poem.

In v.4, it is difficult to determine what followed ἐ]κ̣αρτύναντο. One could have an accusative, as in ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας (F39; *Il.* 11.215; 12.415; 16.563; Hes. *Theog.* 676) and ἐκαρτύναντο μέλαθρον (A.R. 2.1087), or a dative, e.g. ἐκαρτύναντο κεραυνῷ (A.R. 1.510). Nor is any help forthcoming from the baffling μελικ̣[. The positions of μελα̣[ίνης (v.1), ἐ]κ̣αρτύναντο (v.4), ἑδνώσατ' (v.5), and ἠνέγκατο (v.6) all suggest that we are dealing with the ends of the hexameters, so that we must have μελῖκ̣[. But no form of μελικτής 'singer' seems appropriate to the context. If we are dealing with the end of the hexameter, there is unlikely to be any stop after ἐ]κ̣αρτύναντο.[128]

There appears to be an abrupt change of context in v.5, where there is reference to a wedding. As *SH* suggests, γ]άμοις or θαλ]άμοις could stand. The use of the verb ἑδνώσατ(ο) does not quite conform to the traditional epic pattern. The usual form is ἐεδνόομαι, *cf.* ἐεδνώσαιτο θύγατρα (*Od.* 2.53); ἐε]δ[ν]ω̣σαντο γυναῖκας (Hes. F190.5 M-W); ἐεδνώσ[ασθαι ἄκοιτιν (F200.7). When ἑδνόω, -όομαι occurs, it is only after hiatus, i.e. ἵνα ἑδνώσειε̣ν̣ ἄ̣κ̣[ο]ιτιν (Hes. F280.14); γάμον ὄρνυται ἑδ̣ν̣ώσασθαι (F280.17); καὶ ἑδνώσαιτο γυναῖκα (Leonid. *AP* 7.648.3 = *Hell. Ep.* 2006). But with Antimachus *cf.* ἑὰς ἕδνωσε θύγατρας (Theocr. 22.147).

Although Lobel and *SH* suggest ατ̣[rather than απ̣[, it is tempting to read ἄκ̣[οιτιν in view of the two Hesiodic examples cited above.

In v.6, Lobel would prefer ἠνείκατο to the transmitted ἠνέγκατο, but it is worth noting that for ἠνείκαντο (*Il.* 9.127), the best-attested variant is ἠνέγκαντο.[129]

[127] In both instances these are MSS readings which have been 'corrected', by Hermann and Bentley respectively.

[128] The only Homeric parallels for such late punctuation are *Il.* 24.556 (athetized by Aristarchus) and perhaps *Od.* 2.111; *cf.* West (ed.) *Hes. W. and D.* 282 on v.192; Maas, *Gk. Metre*, 61.

[129] See Ludwich's *apparatus*, I. 354.

118 (66 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F5

. . . . .
] . ω[.]ϙ[ ] . [
]εξαρχ . [ ]ϙσυ[
] βασιλῆα δορι [ ] . ντασε̣[
] . ατοσεθ̣[ ] . . . μητοισιδε . [
] . . . [.]ησι[ν] ἵν᾿ ἀνέρας ἐγχριμπ[– ×
στῆ]λ̣αι καὶ τέρμονες Ἡρακλῆος
. . . . .

2 χ̣[ ]ϙ: fort. *SH* 3 δορι[σθενέ᾿] ὄντα Matthews 4] : ϕ pot. quam ρ Lobel θ̣[aut ε̣[Lobel . [: π̇ aut fort. τ Lobel 5 γαίης ἐσ]χ̣α̣τ̣[ι̣]ῆισι[ν] Matthews, sed 'vix legi potest ἐσ][χα̣τ̣ι]ῆισι[ν (AR 2.418)' *SH* ἐγχρίμπ[τουσιν *SH* 6 στῆ]λ̣αι Lobel καὶ στῆ]λ̣αι Matthews

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Commentary

This fragment mentions a king and the Pillars of Heracles. Nothing can be made of the first two lines, but in v.3 perhaps we can have βασιλῆα δορι[σθενέ᾿] ὄντα, *cf.* δορισθενές voc. sing. (*v.l. Hom. Hy.* 8.3); βασιλῆες δορισθενέες (*AP* 9.475). It is probable that βασιλῆα precedes a third-trochee caesura.[130]

In vv.5-6, it would appear that the dative -ῃσι is governed by ἐγχριμπ[τ- 'bring near to', with ἀνέρας as object and στῆ]λ̣αι καὶ τέρμονες as subject.[131] Despite the reluctance of the editors of *SH* I would suggest γαίης ἐσ]χ̣α̣τ̣[ι̣]ῆισι[ν] ἵν᾿ ἀνέρας ἐγχρίμπ[τουσι, i.e. 'where the columns and limits of Heracles bring men near to the ends of the earth', a reference to the extreme west.[132]

There is but a single example in Homer of ἐγχρίμπτειν used transitively in the active, namely τέρματι ἐγχρίμψας ἅρμα (*Il.* 23.334), 'bringing the chariot close to the turning-post'. All other Homeric examples are intransitive and in the passive. Apollonius uses ἐγχρίμπτειν intransitively, ἐνιχρίμψῃσιν ὀδοῦσιν 'come near to its teeth' (4.1512), but we also find the simple verb transitive in the phrase χρίμψε σφυρόν 'grazed his ankle (on a rock)' (4.1679). Elsewhere Apollonius uses the simple verb intransitively, but one passage is

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[130] *Cf. Il.* 2.188; 7.180; 10.494; 11.46; 283; 16.660; *Od.* 18.85 = 116 = 21.308.

[131] *Cf.* Lobel, 23.

[132] *Cf.* ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἵν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι (Hes. *Theog.* 275) and (a reference to the far east) Αἶα δὲ Κολχὶς / Πόντου καὶ γαίης ἐπικέκλιται ἐσχατιῇσιν (A.R. 2.417-8).

reminiscent of our fragment, βαρείαις / χρίμψαντες γαίης ἐπὶ πείρασι τῆσδε θυέλλαις, 'by heavy storms touching upon the borders of this land' (4.1566-7). The author who comes closest to our use of ἐγχρίμπτειν with accusative and dative is Herodotus, who twice uses it of bringing a boat or ship close to land (2.60; 9.98).

In v.6, στῆ]λ̣αι seems certain and I would venture καὶ στῆ]λ̣αι. The columns of Heracles are not mentioned in Homer or Hesiod, but by Pindar's time they were used proverbially to indicate the ends of the earth, *cf.* Ἡρακλέος σταλᾶν (*O.* 3.44); στάλαισιν ... Ἡρακλείαις (*I.* 3(4).12); κιόνων ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέος (*N.* 3.21). All three Pindaric passages are metaphorical, referring to the extent of the fame won by Theron, Melissus, and Aristoclidas respectively. The fact that we also find πρὸς ἐσχατιὰν (*O.* 3.43), ἐσχάταισιν (*I.* 3(4).11), ἐσχάτας (*N.* 3.22) may support the supplement ἐσ]χ̣α̣τ̣[ι̣]ῆισι[ν] here. Pindar is referring to the same western limit in *N.* 4.69 Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν, the same location indicated by Herodotus (2.33; 4.8; 42).[133]

The word τέρμων = τέρμα is unepic, belonging to the vocabulary of Attic tragedy, *cf.* Aesch. F191.2 Radt, Eurip. *Hipp.* 3; 746; 1159; *HF* 37. Comparable to our passage is *Hipp.* 3, Πόντου τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν, another reference to the eastern and western limits of the οἰκουμένη.

It is striking that the fragment exhibits language derived largely from fifth-century sources, which we may add to the list of Wyss (101).

119 (67 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F6

  ].ον..[
]. ετητυματ[
]. ηρενεγρα[
]. δετα̣ι̣ ..[
. . . . .

2]: ι̣, ν̣. fort. ἐτήτυμα *SH* 3 ἐνεγρά[ψατο Matthews 4]: ι prob. Lobel

[133] Strabo (3.5.5. C170) mentions the belief of the people of Cadiz regarding the two capes forming the Strait of Gibraltar: τέρμονας εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλέους στρατείας and that the capes themselves were what the oracle called Στῆλαι.

Commentary

Little can be said about this fragment. In v.2 ἐτήτυμα seems possible. Common epic usage suggests that it stands in the fourth foot of the hexameter, after a weak caesura.[134]

In v.3 some form of γράφειν is indicated. In view of the metrical length of -ηρ, the strongest possibility is ἐνĕγράψατο – ⏑. For a similar shortening *cf.* ἐνĕκρυψε (*Od.* 5.488, in the same *sedes* if our placement of ἐτήτυμα is correct; also κĕκρύμμενα *Od.* 23.110). The simple verb ἐγράψατο occupies the same fifth-foot position (– – ⏑⏑) in Callim. *Hy.* 6.56 and Nonn. 1.481 and 37.423. Perhaps in]̣ ηρ we should see the remnant of a nominative in -τηρ.

120 (68 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F7

. . . . .
]̣[̣]̣ ̣ ̣[
]κεκάυ ̣[
β]ασιληιο[
]δεπλε ̣[
. . . . .

2 ̣[: α pot. quam δ, λ. κεκαύα[ται, ἐ]κεκαύατο Lobel

Commentary

In v.3 we have perhaps κεκαύα̣[ται or ἐ]κεκαύα̣[το 'they are, were burnt'. In v.4 β]ασιληιο[seems probable, *cf.* γένος βασιλήιόν ἐστιν (*Od.* 16.401); γέρας βασιλήιον ἔσχον (Hes. *Op.* 126). These examples (as well as κεκαυμένος [Callim. *Hy. Ap.* 49]) suggest that the fragment shows the fourth and fifth feet of the verses.

121 (69 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

[134] *Cf. Il.* 1.558; 13.111; 18.128; 22.438; *Od.* 1.174 (= six other lines in *Od.* and *Hy. Ap.* 467); 4.157; *Hy. Ap.* 64; 176; Hesiod *Op.* 10; F278.11 M-W; Callim. F617.1; and six of eight instances in A.R.

F8

]ωσα ταδ' ὡς ἴδον ἔργμ[α-
]ν̣.χ̣ [.]ν πλόον ου̣ αρ[.]ολλ̣..
]οισιν ἔτ' εὔνισιν ἆσσον ἱκ̣ε̣σθα̣ι̣
]. .ο καὶ ῎Αργεος ἔλλιπον οἴας
].ο Λυκάονος ἧιχι θυωρόν
]. π̣[ ].θεισι μέλεσσι
]υμπο[
] .ι̣π̣.[
. . . . .

1 δ' ωσϊδον·ἐργμ[pap. τάδ', τὰ δ' *SH* ἔργμ[ατα Lobel ἐργμ- (ἔρδω) pot. quam ἐργμ- (εἴργω) *SH*, ubi de aspiratione in pap. citatur e.g. Herodian., περὶ παθῶν F8a (2.168 Lentz) 2]ν ἔ̣χ̣[ο]ν possis *SH* (ἔ̣χ[lapsu manus) fort. δο]λι̣χ[ὸ̣]ν Matthews ad fin. οὐ γαρ pot. quam οὔτ̣' ἄρ' Lobel; tum]ολλε̣,]ολλο̣, fort.]ολλα̣ *SH*; ἀ]ολλε- Lobel, sed ἀ]ολλε̣ι̣ς legi nequit *SH*; π[ολλα̣ί̣ Matthews 3 fort. ἐσσομέν]οισιν Matthews 4 fort.]ν̣τ̣ο Lobel ῎Αργεος pot. quam ἄργεος *SH* ῾οιας pap., quae et nescioquid suprascripsit *SH* 5 fort.]τ̣ο *SH* 6 fort.]π̣α̣ςθεισι,]π̣[ ]ν̣θεισι *SH* e.g. δια]σπ̣α̣σθεῖσι Lobel

Commentary

Some sense can be gleaned from this fragment, but its precise context cannot be determined. Some people leave the villages of Argos for Arcadia (vv.4-5).

In v.1, ἴδον is more likely to be third person plural than first person singular. The rough breathing, indicated in the papyrus, is found in ἕργμα in Pindar (*N.* 1.7; 4.6; *I.* 1.27; 47), while Antimachus himself shows ἕρκτορες (F87). As Bury remarks, the word ἔργμα is stronger than ἔργον.[135] The verb from which the noun is derived (i.e. ἔρδειν / ἕρδειν, not εἴργειν/εἵργειν) is found in both aspirated and unaspirated forms in Homer.

The phrase ὡς ἴδον appears to be in the fourth foot, as it is at *Il.* 23.202 (*cf.* ὅπως ἴδον in the same position at *Il.* 12.208; *Od.* 22.22; the verb is also frequent in the same *sedes* after ἔπει).

In v.2 ἔ̣χ̣[ο̣]ν is possible, *cf.* καὶ στρατιαὶ πλόον εἶχον ἀκυμάντου ποταμοῖο (Nonn. 23.128). But perhaps we should consider δο]λι̣χ̣[ο̣]ν πλόον in view of *Od.* 3.169 (same *sedes*). The word πλόον could refer to a land journey instead of to a sea voyage, as in F77 and Callim. *Hecale* F74.26 Hollis (= F260.67 Pf.).[136] οὐ γὰρ seems probable rather than οὔτ̣' ἄρ'. At the line-end *SH* says that ἀ]ολλε̣ῖ̣ς cannot be

[135] J. B. Bury, *Pindar: Nemean Odes* (London 1890, repr. Amsterdam 1965), 10-11 on *N.* 1.7

[136] In which case δολιχὴν ὁδόν (*Od.* 4.393; 483; 17.426; *Hy. Herm.* 86) may be relevant.

read, but perhaps, remembering Antimachus' fondness for the σπονδειάζων, we can suggest π]ολλαί (*cf.* οὐ γὰρ πολλαί, *Od.* 14.513, first two feet) in keeping with the argument below that εὔνισιν is masculine.

In v.3 εὔνισιν appears to mean 'bed-fellows' rather than be the adjective meaning 'bereft'. Although *Etym. Magn.* 393.38 indicates that the word can be either masculine or feminine, the fact that the masculine sense is nowhere attested in literature has led the commentators to conclude that it is probably feminine here, leaving]οισιν rather difficult to explain, unless we are to assume that it is not a qualification of εὔνισιν at all. But it is worth noting that one of the stories linking Argos and Arcadia is that of the Proetids (*cf.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.2.2; Hes. Fs. 130-33 M-W; Bacchyl. 11.40ff, espec. 82ff; Callim. *Hy. Artem.* 233-6; Paus. 8.18). While the three daughters of Proetus seem to have been unmarried prior to their madness, they did have suitors (the Panhellenes, *cf.* Hes. F130 M-W), so that we might read ἐσσομέν]οισιν ἔτ' εὔνισιν, 'their husbands to be'. Another possibility arises from the story in Apollodorus that the rest of the Argive women went mad too, abandoning their homes, killing their children, and following the Proetids to the desert. A context of women no longer wishing to associate with their husbands could refer to them.

Lobel can find no other example of ἆσσον with a dative after a verb of motion, but *cf.* ἆσσον ἔρχεται / Κρέων ὅδ' ἡμῖν (Soph. *OC* 722-3). Every instance of ἱκέσθαι (forty five) in the *Odyssey* is at line-end, as are all but two (of eleven) in the *Iliad*, *cf.* especially ἆσσον ἱκέσθαι (*Od.* 23.44) and ἆσσον ἱκοίμην (14.247). This fact, along with ἔλλιπον οἴας (v.4), ἦιχι θυωρόν (v.5), and μέλεσσιν (v.6),[137] suggests that the fragment presents the ends of the hexameters.

At the beginning of v.4, a 3rd person plural in -ντο is likely. At verse end we have the very rare word οἴας meaning 'villages'. The only other instance in literature is at A.R. 2.139 ἠδ' οἶαι, where as here, κῶμαι would be metrically unsuitable. The word is elsewhere attested only in a fourth-century inscription from Chios and by lexicographers.[138] The noun οἰήτας 'villagers' occurs in Sophocles

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[137] *Cf. Il.* 24.359; *Od.* 11.394; 668; 13.398; 430; 18.77; 21.283; 23.191; *Hy. Aphr.* 238; Hes. *Theog.* 152 (= 673 = *Op.* 149 = *Scut.* 76).

[138] *GDI* 5661.46 and, e.g., Hesych. *s.v.* οἰατᾶν· κωμητῶν, οἶαι γὰρ αἱ κῶμαι. *Cf.* Theognost. *Can.* 18; Schol. A.R. 2.139; Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* III.781.

(F134 Radt), *cf.* οἰᾶται of the inhabitants of a deme in Arcadia (Paus. 8.45.1).

In v.5, it is tempting to take Λυκάονος with θυωρόν, but in clauses with ἧχι it is very unusual to find a word from the relative clause brought forward in front of the conjunction (no Homeric instances). There is an example in Callimachus, βόες ἧχι γέγειαι (*Hecale* F102.1 Hollis = F277.1 Pf.). Perhaps Λυκάονος goes with what precedes, possibly something like ἀλλ' ὅτε δῶμαθ' ἵκον]το, *cf.* *Od.* 3.388; *Hy. Dem.* 184; for ἵκοντο followed by a genitive in this *sedes cf.* ἱκ. Διοκλῆος (*Od.* 3.488 = 15.186).

The word θυωρός is fairly rare , but is used by Callimachus in *Hy.* 3.134 (also at line-end). The scholiast *ad loc.* (II.62 Pf.) explains it as ἡ φιλικὴ τράπεζα, κυρίως δὲ ἡ θεοῖς ἀνατιθεμένη.[139]

The people apparently come to that part of Arcadia where Lycaon (or his sons) had served up human flesh to Zeus.[140] In v.6 Lobel's δια]σπ̣α̣σ̣θεῖσι is on the right track. A link between the Proetids and this part of Arcadia may be seen in Pausanias, who tells that the maddened girls fled to a cave above Nonacris (8.18.7), a city which he says was called after Lycaon's wife (8.17.6), and were healed at Lusi in a temple of Artemis by Melampus. Bacchylides gives a version of the healing at Lusus /-i which involves only Artemis (11.95ff.). Such a version would suit the *Artemis* of Antimachus, but he is known to have mentioned Nonacris in Bk. 3 of the *Thebaid* (F16).

122 (70 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F9

. . . . .
]κ̣α̣κ̣[
]ακρυο̣ [
]φυδ[
. . . . .

2 δ]ακρυοε̣[,]α κρυοε̣[,]α κρύος̣[Lobel

[139] *Cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* θυωρόν· τράπεζαν τὴν τὰ θύη φυλάσσουσαν.

[140] For the story *cf.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1; Frazer *ad loc.*; Eratosth. *Catast.* 8.

Commentary

Little can be said other than that v.2 may contain δ]ακρυο[or]α κρυο[or]α κρυος̣[.

123 (71 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F10

. . . . .
] . [
]λι[
]αι̣ [
]δ̣η [
. . . . .

3 fort.]αιρ̣[. sub h.v. fort. paragraphi vestigium Lobel

Commentary

No words can be made out.

124 (72 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F11

. . . . .
]ιαροιο[
]̣ ντοκο̣ [
] ἐριώλας
]ήριον ου[
]νοιδ̣ [
] . ιω̣[
. . . . .

1]ιαροιο,]ιαροιο[- - - *SH* 2 fort.]ν̣ *SH* 3]εριώλας pap. hoc accentu Herodian (1.324 Lentz), alii (H. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* § 126). 4]ήριον,ου[pap.

Commentary

The only discernable word is ἐριώλας in v.3, 'whirlwinds', a word also attested in the singular in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 511; *Vesp.* 1148) and later in the plural in Apollonius (1.1132 and 4.1778, where the scho-

liast explains it as αἱ τῶν μεγάλων ἀνέμων καταίγιδες καὶ συστροφαί).

125 (73 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F12

. . . . .
]ο . . . . . [
]δεσμωια[
] . ιηστεκαι.[
] . ντακιε.[
]ης σκυλακ[
]απτοτμον[
]ουτι κυνο[
]εριδ' ἤιε [
] . περι.[
]ουρακα[
]καιαμ[
] . . . . [
. . . . .

2 δεσμῶι, δ' ἑσμῶι, μ' ωια[*SH* 3]α,]λ,]χ *SH* ad fin. ε[, ο[*SH* γ]αίης τε καὶ ο[ὐρανοῦ – ⏑⏑ – – West 4] ο poss. ε [, θ [Lobel 5]ης,]σις *SH* 6]α πότμον [,] ἄποτμον[*SH* 7 κὺνὸ[pap. *SH* 8 δ' ηϊε,[pap. π]έρι δ' ἤιε [– ⏑⏑ – –,]εριδ' *SH* 9 πὲρὶ pap. η[, κ[Lobel

Commentary

Very little can be clearly ascertained. In v.2 δεσμῶι seems most likely, but δ' ἑσμῶι, 'swarm' or 'flock' is possible, or even δεσμ' ὤια, *cf.* περιζωσάμενος ᾦαν λουτρίδα, κατάδεσμον ἥβης, a type of bathing suit (Theopomp. Com. F38 Kassel-Austin). In v. 3, West's suggestion γ]αίης τε καὶ ο[ὐρανοῦ – ⏑⏑ – – is worth consideration. Some form from σκύλαξ is probable in v. 5 (*cf.* κυνο- in v.7). In v.6 it is impossible to judge whether to read]α πότμον [or]ἄποτμον [. In v.8 does ἤιε come from εἶμι or ἀΐω? The former verb form occurs in what appears to be the same *sedes* at *Il.* 1.47 and 24.596. The latter is attested only as a Zenodotian reading, ἤιον for ἔκλυον at *Od.* 2.42. If ἤιε (εἶμι), we might have π]έρι δ' ἤιε[– ⏑⏑ – –; if ἤιε (ἀίω), -]εριδ' ἤιε[would be suitable. Nothing in the passage suggests that we might have ἤιε [Φοῖβε (as at *Il.* 15.365; 20.152; *Hy. Ap.* 120).

126 (74 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F13

. . . . .
]ελωρ. [
] . οῦσαι[

1 ạ[poss. Lobel πέλωρạ[aut πέλωρ ạ[Matthews 2]η aut fort.]ει Lobel οῦ pap. Δ]ηοῦς West.

Commentary

In v.1, π]έλωρạ[or π]έλωρ ạ[seems possible. West has suggested Δ]ηοῦς in v.2. While this genitive is not attested earlier than Sophocles (*Ant.* 1121; *cf.* Eurip. *Suppl.* 290; Aristoph. *Plut.* 515), it does occur in epic in Apollonius (3.413; 4.896; 986). The presence of η or possibly ει in front of οῦσαι with the circumflex accent would appear to rule out a participial form.

127 (75 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2516

F14

. . . . .
] . . . . . [
]σιπονουι[
] . ωπιδο[
] . ροτ. [
. . . . .

3]ḳ,]ϛ Lobel γλαυκ-, ἑλικ-, καλυκώπιδο[ς; λυσσ-, χρυσώπιδο[ς *SH*

Commentary

In v.3 an adjective in -ώπιδος is indicated. The traces suggest]ḳώπιδος, although]ϛώπιδος cannot be ruled out. Thus γλαυ]ḳώπιδος, ἑλι]ḳώπιδος, καλυ]ḳώπιδος are possible, or perhaps λυσ]ϛώπιδος or χρυ]ϛώπιδος.

128 (104 Wyss)

Hesych. (II.37 Latte): †Εἰσκονιανοί· οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος.

εἰκονιανοί per irrisionem? (Latte)

Commentary

Antimachus is said to have used the name Εἰσκονιανοί to refer to the Ephesians. Mention of Ephesus suggests that the fragment might belong to the *Artemis*.

Most early editors have sought to explain this word from some early alternative name for Ephesus, either by emendation, e.g. οἱ Σαμονιανοί[141] or by supposing a lost name for Ephesus, Εἰσκόνιον or Εἰσκονία (Stoll, 95). This latter solution in particular is not convincing.

In view of a probable connection with Artemis, it is perhaps best to accept the suggestion of Latte, Εἰκονιανοί, meaning 'men of the εἰκόνες or images', a reference to the fondness of the Ephesians for images of their great goddess.[142]

For the form of the word, Stoll rightly compares such ethnics as Σαρδιανός and Παριανός.[143] For the use of such a form in epic *cf.* Κιανοί, 'men of Cius' (A.R. 1.1354).[144]

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[141] Kuester, cited by Stoll, 95, from Σαμονία, an old name for Ephesus according to Hesych. *s.v.* Σάμον.

[142] K. Latte (ed.) *Hesych. Lex.* II.37 N° 1155, *apparatus.*

[143] Wackernagel, *Sprach. Unters.* 181, prefers to restore Εἰσκονιηνοί.

[144] *Cf.* Wyss and Wackernagel, 184.

129 (74 Wyss)

Athen. 7.300c (2.161 Kaibel): ὅτι δὲ καὶ αἱ Στρυμόνιαι ἐγχέλεις δι᾿ ὀνόματος ἦσάν φησιν ἐν Θαμύρᾳ Ἀντιφάνης (F105 Kock) ... καὶ περὶ τὸν Εὐλέα (Schweighaeuser: εὐκλέα codd.) δὲ ποταμὸν οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀντίμαχος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Δέλτοις οὕτως·

ἐλθὼν †εὐλείας πηγὰς ἔπι δινήεντος

Δημήτριος [δ'] ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου (F11 Gaede) ἐγχέλεις φησὶ διαφόρους γίνεσθαι.

εὐλείας codd. Εὐλεῖος Bergk (*Opusc.* 2.284) Κιλλεῖος cunctanter Matthews

Commentary

This is the only fragment ascribed by an ancient source to a work of Antimachus entitled *Delti*. Indeed it is the only mention of such a work. From its single hexameter we cannot tell whether the poem was in epic metre or elegiac couplets. The numerous spondaic feet convey a feeling of slow movement, perhaps of the traveller rather than the river.

It is unfortunate that the name of the river is corrupt in the words both of Athenaeus (εὐκλεα codd.) and of Antimachus (εὐλείας codd.). The name is generally thought to be Euleus, with Antimachus employing Εὐλεῖος, an Ionic genitive.[1] The only known river of this name is the Eulaeus or Euleus, a river in Sousis mentioned by Strabo.[2] This river, however, was unknown to the Greeks before the time of Alexander (Wyss).

Since Demetrius of Scepsis mentioned Antimachus' river in his voluminous discussion of the Trojan Catalogue, it is a reasonable assumption that this particular river was in western Asia Minor. There are none that come readily to mind. If we might assume a

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[1] Bergk, *Opusc.* II.284-5. His emendation is based on the comments of Choeroboscus (in Theod. I.213.23 Hilg.) on the use of later Aeolic and Ionic forms, and on the fact that Nicander used the genitive Περσεῖος from Perseus (Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 764). Nicander was known as a ζηλωτής of Antimachus and is said to have adopted many of his readings (Schol. *Ther.* 3 = T35 = F159).

[2] 15.3.4 C728; *cf.* 15.3.22 C735, where it is said to have the lightest of all waters; also by Arrian, *Anab.* 7.7.1.

more serious corruption in the text, a possible candidate could be the river Cillaeus, Κίλλαιος, which flows from Mt. Ida past Cilla (mentioned in the prayers of Chryses *Il.* 1.38; 452), where there was a temple of Cillaean Apollo. The river is named by Strabo (13.1.62 C612)[3] and it is interesting that the codices in Strabo have different forms of the name: for Κιλλαίου (gen.) Κιλλεούς, Κιλλέους, Κιλλεός, Κιλλεου; for Κίλλαιος (nom.) Κιλλεός, Κίλλεος; for Κίλλαιον (neut. nom.) Κιλλέου. These versions suggest that a form Κίλλευς -εος (Ionic -εῖος) may well have existed. All that can be said is that the river is in the right place.

The language of the line is Homeric. The participle ἐλθών in its various numbers, genders, and cases is frequently first word in the Homeric hexameter.

Equally δινήεντος (-α, -ι), the stock epithet of rivers,[4] is frequent at line-end.[5] For πηγαί and δινήεντος used in conjunction *cf.* ἔνθα δὲ πηγαὶ/δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσουσι Σκαμάνδρου δινήεντος (*Il.* 22.147-8).

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[3] *Cf.* Eustath. 33.31 ff., on *Il.* 1.38 (I.55 van der Valk).

[4] E.g. used generally of all rivers, Τηθὺς δ' Ὠκεανῷ ποταμοὺς τέκε δινήεντας (Hes. *Theog.* 337).

[5] Apollonius uses the epithet six times, never at line-end.

INCERTAE SEDIS

130 (80 Wyss)

Etym. Gud. 351.57 Sturz: s.v. Κυθέρεια . . . (352.8) καὶ τὸν παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ τινες κυθώνυμον Οἰδιποῦν οὐχ ὡς ἡ κοινὴ ἔννοια, οὗ ἔδει ἀποκεκρύφθαι τὸ ὄνομα διὰ τὰ κακά , ἀλλ' οὗ κέχυται τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούουσι.

(– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑) κυθωνύμου Οἰδιπόδαο

κυθ. Οἰδ. in fine hexametri coni. Stoll

Commentary

Antimachus is said to have applied to Oedipus the epithet κυθώνυμος which must mean 'of hidden name', i.e. whose real name and origin are hidden,[1] not whose name must be concealed because of his misdeeds. What is meant is that when Oedipus turned up at Thebes, the name he was known by did not reveal who his parents were or what his place of origin was.

Stoll conjectured, perhaps rightly, that the phrase was in the form κυθωνύμου Οἰδιπόδαο and stood at line-end. In fact in Homer and the remains of the Hesiodic corpus the name is only found in the genitive, and in three of the four instances at line-end, i.e. δεδουπότος Οἰδιπόδαο (*Il.* 23.679); Οἰδιπόδαο (*Od.* 11.271, not line-end); Οἰδιπόδαο (Hes. *Op.* 163); πολυκηδεὸς Οἰδιπό[δαο] (F193.4M-W). There is also a possible example in Antimachus himself, [Οἰδιπόδαο], supplied at line-end by Maas (F111).

The story of Oedipus was certainly a subject in the *Lyde* (*cf.* F84), but of course he could easily have been mentioned in the *Thebaid.*

131 (53 Wyss)

Strabo 13.1.13 C588: ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ χώρα αὕτη Ἀδράστεια καὶ Ἀδραστείας πεδίον, κατὰ ἔθος τι οὕτω λεγόντων τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον διττῶς, ὡς καὶ Θήβην καὶ Θήβης πεδίον, καὶ Μυγδονίαν καὶ Μυγδονίας πεδίον.

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[1] *Cf.* Schneidewin, *Exercit. Crit.*, 28.

φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης (*FGrHist* 124F28) ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος Νεμέσεως ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο, καλεῖσθαι Ἀδράστειαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις μεταξὺ Πριάπου καὶ Παρίου, ἔχουσα ὑποκείμενον πεδίον ὁμώνυμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκταίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος κατὰ τὴν †Πυκάτην: . . . ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἱερὸν Ἀδραστείας δείκνυται, οὐδὲ δὴ Νεμέσεως, περὶ δὲ Κύζικον ἔστιν Ἀδραστείας ἱερόν. Ἀντίμαχος δ' οὕτω φησίν·

ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεός, ἣ τάδε πάντα
πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν· βωμὸν δέ οἱ εἵσατο πρῶτος
Ἄδρηστος, ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσήποιο,
ἔνθα τετίμηταί τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται.

Verba Antimachi incorrupta servavit Strabo. Ex quo Eustath. *Il.* 355.24 (I.557 van der Valk)

Harpocrat. (7 Keaney): Ἀδράστειαν· οἱ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν λέγουσι τῇ Νεμέσει, λαβεῖν τε τ' οὔνομα παρὰ Ἀδράστου τινὸς βασιλέως *ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ νεμεσηθέντος ἐφ' οἷς τῶν Θηβαίων κατηλαζονεύσατο,* <εἶτα> ἐκ τινων μαντειῶν ἱδρυσαμένου ἱερὸν Νεμέσεως, ὃ προσαγορευθῆναι μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀδραστείας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τούτοις δηλοῖ· ἔστι . . . καλεῖται. ἔνιοι μέντοι ὡς διαφέρουσαν συγκαταλέγουσιν αὐτὴν τῇ Νεμέσει ὡς Μένανδρος (F266K) καὶ Νικόστρατος (F35 Kassel-Austin *PCG*). Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Σκήψιος (F18 Gaede) Ἀρτεμίν φησι εἶναι τὴν Ἀδράστειαν, ὑπὸ Ἀδράστου τινὸς ἱδρυμένην.

Verba dextrorsum inclinata sola in Epitoma leguntur. παλαιοῦ E Ταλαοῦ Kuhn ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀδρ. – κατηλ. (Epitomae interpolator) seclus. Kalkoff νεμεσ. – κατηλ. seclus. Wyss ἱδρυσαμένου H, ἱδρυσαμένων E (interpolator) Δημήτρ. – ἱδρυμ. hac sede H, statim post μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀδρ. E

Ex Harpocrat. verba Antimachi afferunt *Anecd. Graec.* Bachmann 1.28.15 (= *Anecd. Graec.* Bekker 1.342.6); Photius *Lex.* α 385, (I.45 Theodoridis); *Suda* (I.54.18 Adler), quorum omnes ex Antimacho Αἰσήποιο et versum quartum omittunt et ex Harpocrat. ἐκ τινων μαντεῖων. Probabiliter ex Epitomae Harpocrat. Natalis Comes 9.19 (1022 ed. Franco 1584) cf. 'ab Adrasto antiquo illo rege' et ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου τοῦ παλαιοῦ (E). Ex Harpocrat. (haud interpolato) Apostolius 1.31 (= Arsenius 1.47) (*Paroem.* 2.247.2 Leutsch-Schneidewin). Antimachi locum spectare videntur Paus. Attic. A 26 Erbse (*Untersuch. zu den attizistischen lexica,* 154) et Schol. [Eurip.] *Rhes.* 342 (2.334 Schwartz, qui lacunam indicavit in qua Antimachi nomen fuisse possit)

Commentary

That this is the best-known fragment of Antimachus can be seen from the numerous ancient sources who quote it.

The oldest and best source is Strabo, who preserves the text free

from corruption. As Wyss suggests, the geographer was probably dependent on Demetrius of Scepsis, who himself drew on Callisthenes.[2]

Wyss has little to say about the context of the passage. He assumes that it is from the *Thebaid*, although none of the sources actually says so.[3] He also fails to discuss the identity of the Adrastus mentioned in the fragment, apparently assuming him to be Adrastus of Argos, leader of the Seven against Thebes.[4] I would suggest that this identification is far from certain.

Strabo, our best source, identifies Adrastus only as Ἄδραστος βασιλεύς. Hence the derivative sources use the phrase ἀπὸ/παρὰ Ἀδράστου τινὸς βασιλέως.[5] Some, noticing the geographical location of the Aesepus and the city and plain of Adrastea, use the phrase ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου Μυσοῦ.[6] The interpolator in the text of Harpocration who added ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου κ.τ.λ. was merely making an 'educated' guess in suggesting the best-known Adrastus, a guess which he backed up with a plausible explanation involving the verb νεμεσάομαι.[7]

I would suggest that it is best to exclude from the text of Harpocration the entire passage ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου ... κατηλαζονεύσατο which is attested only in the *Epitome*.[8] Its untrustworthiness is indicated by the reading ἱδρυσαμένων and by the placement of Δημήτριος ... ἱδρυμένην before the quotation from Antimachus. A reference to Artemis-Adrastea is an obvious intrusion into the context of Nemesis-Adrastea.

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[2] *FGrHist* IIB *Kommentar*, 426.27; *cf.* L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (New York 1960), 40.

[3] It is notable that Strabo never specifies a particular poem in any of his other references to Antim. i.e. F2; 27; 79; 145. The first two are known to be from the *Thebaid* from other sources, the latter two Wyss himself lists as *incertae sedis*.

[4] Note that Wyss does not bracket ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ in his text of Harpocrat.

[5] E.g. Harpocrat.; Apostol.; Phot.; Arsen.; *Anecd. Gr.* Bachmann etc.

[6] E.g. Eustath. *Il.* 2.828 (I.557 van der Valk): οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου Μυσοῦ ἱδρυσαμένου αὐτῆς ἱερόν. *Cf.* Schol. A.R. 1.1114-15b; Schol. *ap. Etym. Gen.* (A) (in Wendel, *Schol. A.R.* 98-99).

[7] This explanation is accepted by H. J. Rose, who takes the fragment as evidence for a local worship of Nemesis in Boeotia (*OCD*², 726). One cannot share the belief of Rossbach (Roscher III.1.122) that the words of Harp. are based on a more accurate knowledge of Antim.

[8] I follow Kalkoff, *De codicibus epit. Harpocrat.* (Diss. Hal. 1886), 29. One might go further than Kalkoff and also delete ἔνιοι ... Νικόστρατος as an interpolation. An adequate follow-up to οἱ μὲν ...is provided by Δημήτριος δὲ .... This is the position of C. Boysen, *de Harpocrationis lexici fontibus* (Diss. Kiel 1876), 3.

Maass, who would bring 'den Argiver Adrastos' to 'mysischen Adrasteia', cites as 'ein gut beglaubigter Bericht' the story from Harpocration, leaving out the well-attested παρὰ Ἀδράστου τινὸς βασιλέως and including only the spurious version of the *Epitome* about Adrastus, son of Talaus.[9] He goes on to state that, in the version of Antimachus, the divine steed was missing and that Adrastus reached Mysia without him. In view of the emphasis that Antimachus places on the horse Arion in F31 and 32, Maass' position seems untenable.

Nonnus (*Dionys.* 48.463) writes Ἀργολὶς Ἀδρήστεια. Rather than see this as a reference to an Argive Adrastea (and thus an Argive Adrastus),[10] I would suggest that what we have here is an allusion to Callimachus, *cf.* Schol. A.R. 1.116(98 Wendel): καὶ πεδίον Νηπήιον: πεδίον Νηπείας ἐστι περὶ Κύζικον. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἑκάλῃ (F116.2 Hollis = F299.2 Pf.)· 'Νηπείης ἥ τ' ἄργος, ἀοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια' ... . ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχός φησιν ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι (F464 Pf.) Νέμεσιν εἶναι τὴν τὸ πεδίον κατέχουσαν. Since ἄργος means πεδίον, then the epithet ἀργολίς can equally mean 'of the plain'.[11] Nonnus' ἀργολίς Ἀδρήστεια can thus be seen as a clever compression of Callimachus' statement that Nemesis/Adrastea was the deity who occupied the plain. Nonnus shows the influence of Callimachus in other references to Nemesis/Adrastea.[12]

There does not seem to be a single unambiguous ancient reference linking Adrastus, son of Talaus, with the goddess Nemesis/Adrastea or the river Aesepus.[13] Antimachus, with his intimate knowledge of and respect for Homeric tradition, is more likely to have connected the river Aesepus (*Il.* 2.825), and the town of Adrastea (828) with the Adrastus, son of Merops, mentioned by

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[9] E. Maass, *Byzant.-Neugriech. Jahrb.* V (1926-27), 181.

[10] H. J. Rose, in a note in the Loeb Nonnos *Dionysiaca* 3.458-9, writes 'Nonnos is showing off his knowledge, whether first-hand or not, of Antimachos's learned poem, the *Thebaid*'.

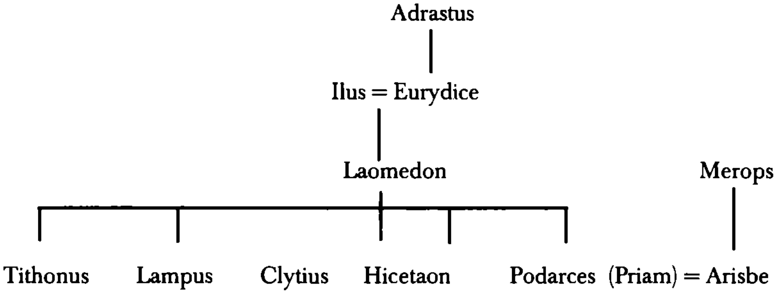
[11] Strabo 8.6.9 C372: ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις. *Cf.* ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἄργος (Dionys. Epic. F15b Heitsch = Steph. Byz. 257.15 Meineke); perhaps Eurip. *El.* 1 (but obelized by Diggle, *OCT*; see Pfeiffer I.275 on F299.2 and Hollis on *Hecale* F116, 303).

[12] *Cf.* Νέμεσις δὲ κακὰν ἐγράψατο φωνάν (Callim. *Hy.* 6.56); Νέμεσις δὲ τόσην ἐγράψατο φωνὴν (Nonn. 37.423); Ἀδρήστεια τόσην ἐγράψατο φωνὴν (1.481).

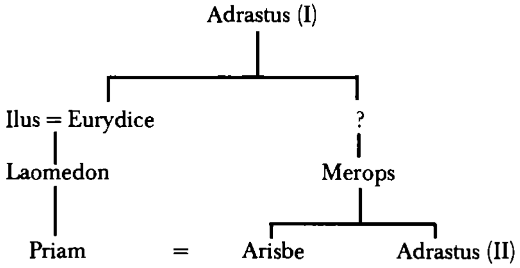
[13] One early commentator on Harpocration, Ph. Jac. Maussac (*Annotationes ad Harp.* 17 in *Harp. Lex.* II ed. Dindorf) went so far as to change Αἰσήποιο to Ἀσώποιο to better fit the river to the famous Adrastus, saying in fact that there was no river Aesepus.

Homer (830), or a homonymous ancestor of his.

Just such an ancestor may be the Adrastus, father of Eurydice, wife of Ilus, mentioned by Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.12.3). Apollodorus presents the following genealogy:



Since Homer's Adrastus is a son of Merops, he is probably a brother of Arisbe. Merops may well be descended from the earlier Adrastus, as in the following stemma:



It is pleasing to find that this suggestion that Adrastus, father of Eurydice, may be the one who founded the temple to Nemesis has been anticipated by Heyne.[14]

The fragment appears to be the introduction to an admonitory passage, such as is often introduced by a phrase like ἔστι δέ τις, e.g. ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις (Alcm. 1.36 *PMGF*); ἀλλ' Ὅρκου πάϊς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος (Hdt. 6.86); ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος θρόνων/Αἰδὼς ἐπ' ἔργοις πᾶσι (Soph. *OC* 1267-8); ἔστιν γάρ, ἔστιν ὃς τάδε σκοπεῖ

[14] C. G. Heyne, *Ad Apollodori Bibliothecam Observationes* (Göttingen 1803), 299. He notes that the father of Eurydice must be earlier than Adrastus son of Merops, but does not attempt to link them genealogically.

δαίμων (Cercidas (?) 18.34 Powell); and (surely derived from Antim.) ἔστιν τις θεὸς ἡ Ἀδράστεια, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁρᾷ (Lucian *Het. Dial.* 312).[15]

For the way in which such a passage might develop *cf.* Hes. *Op.* 256ff. (Dike) and *Il.* 9.502ff. (the Litai) and 19.91ff. (Ate).

In this fragment of Antimachus, there is no way of knowing whether one character is giving a warning or advice to another (as Phoenix to Achilles in *Il.* 9) or whether the author is speaking in his own person (as Hesiod at *Op.* 256ff.).

The passage could of course come from the *Thebaid*, in spite of the mention of a second Adrastus, but one could argue that it could just as easily come from another hexameter poem.

The *Artemis* is a possibility in view of the tradition recorded by Demetrius of Scepsis that Adrastea was Artemis.[16] Antimachus may be refuting that opinion; *cf.* the fact that Oupis is a common name for Artemis (e.g. Antim. himself F99; Callim. *Hy.* 3.204; *Etym. Magn.* 641.55), yet is also attested as a title of Rhamnusian Nemesis (*CIG* 6280).[17] It is also notable that Strabo mentions an oracle of Apollo Actaeus and Artemis in the plain of Adrastea (13.1.13).

Of the contents of the poem called *Delti* (F129), nothing is known, but a work entitled *Tablets* might well contain passages of an admonitory nature.[18]

Both Nemesis and Adrastea are mentioned by fifth and fourth century writers as deities of very similar nature, particularly concerned with the consequences of intemperate or unwise speech,[19] but Antimachus is the earliest source to identify them as one and the same (*cf.* Stoll, 63).

What is Antimachus' concept of Nemesis/Adrastea? He calls her μεγάλη θεός, ἣ τάδε πάντα πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν. Wyss thinks μεγάλη here no more than a poetic epithet, but it may be both a reflection of her great power and of a connection with or similarity to Cybele.[20] The relative clause is interesting in that it brings out

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[15] *Cf.* West, *Hes. Op.*, 142 note to vv.11-46; Davies, *PMGF*, 29.

[16] *Cf.* Farnell, *Cults* II.499 and 595 n.138.b.

[17] On the nexus Artemis-Oupis-Nemesis, see Farnell, *Cults* II, 487-498 with notes; also Rossbach in Roscher III.1.120-21.

[18] There are no substantial grounds for the assumption that it was in elegiacs, as Wyss suggests (XXV).

[19] *Cf.* e.g. Eurip. *Rhes.* 342; Plato *Phaedr.* 248c; *Laws* 717d. Note the proverbial saying προσκυνεῖν Ἀδράστειαν (e.g. Aesch. *Prom.* 936; Plato *Rep.* 451a).

[20] *Cf.* Farnell, *Cults* II, 499-500 and 595 n.138a and b; H. Posnansky, *Nemesis und*

both the deity's all-embracing power and her essential 'neutrality' as 'distributer' of everything, both good and evil.[21] From the blessed gods, Nemesis has been allotted or assigned τάδε πάντα. Wyss suggests that this phrase means either 1) *regionem, cuius praesidium Nemesis sortita est* or 2) *honores qui ei a ceteris dis concessi sunt.* There can be little doubt that the first suggestion is preferable, but Wyss does not define what he thinks the *regio* to be. Stoll fittingly refers to the Rhamnusian goddess *quae res naturales et humanas regit.* I would suggest that τάδε πάντα means 'everything here on earth', *cf.* ἐκ τῶνδε, 'from earthly things', contrasted with τῶν ἐκεῖ (Plato *Phaedr.* 250a; also ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὁμοιώμασιν, 250b).[22]

Antimachus' phrase μεγάλη θεός is applied by Callimachus to a rather similar goddess, Ἀναγκαίη μ. θ. (*Hy.* 4.122, which in turn is borrowed by Nonnus [10.90], both in the same *sedes).* Callimachus also uses μεγάλα θεός of Athena (*Hy.* 5.19) and of Demeter (*Hy.* 6.121), both again in the same *sedes.*

The epithet μάκαρες (v.2) occurs only once in Homer without θεοί (*Od.* 10.299), but it is found so quite frequently in the *Homeric Hymns* (i.e. *Hy. Dem.* 303; *Hy. Ap.* 315; *Hy. Aphr.* 92; 195; *Hy.* 12.4; *Hy.* 29.8) and in Hes. *Op.* 136 and F204.102 M-W. This use is more common in Hellenistic writers. Callimachus has μακάρων twice (*Hy.* 3.65; F119.1), but μακάρεσσιν four times (*Hy.* 1.72; 2.25-25; F85.12). Apollonius shows even greater liking for this absolute use of the epithet, employing μακάρων eight times.[23] Two of these instances, τὰ μὲν οὕτω ἐναίσιμα πάντα γένοιτο/ἐκ μακάρων (1.900-1) and ὃ δὴ καὶ μόρσιμον ἦεν/ ἐκ μακάρων (2.605-6), are quite similar to Antimachus.

For ἔλαχε in the sense of having jurisdiction over something by lot there is an outstanding example in Homer, *Il.* 15.190-92:

> ἤτοι ἐγὼν (Poseidon) ἔλαχον πολιὴν ἅλα ...
> ... Ἀίδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα
> Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ...

Adrasteia. Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen V.2 (1890), 68; 71. In later cult the epithet was used of Nemesis at Smyrna, Alexandria, and Rome, see B. Müller, Μέγας θεός (*Diss. philol. Halens.* XXI.3 (1913) 336-7, Nos. 202-205; *cf.* B. Schweitzer, *Jahr. Archäolog. Inst.* 46 (1931), 178f.

[21] On this latter aspect see Farnell, *Cults* II, 496.

[22] The use is similar to that of ἐνθάδε e.g. Aristoph. *Ran.* 82; Plato *Apol.* 40c; *Phaed.* 61e; *cf.* V. J. Matthews, *LCM* 8 (1983), 61-2.

[23] A.R. 1.681; 901; 1094; 2.325; 606; 1223; 3.701; 4.1592. Also μακάρεσσιν 1.481; 885; 2.531; 4.1128; 1612; μάκαρες 1.1102.

For wording recalling that of Antimachus *cf.* λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον (Pind. *N.* 9.45) and ἣ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἔλαχε (of Athena, Plato *Tim.* 23d).

As Wyss notes, phrases like εἵσατο βωμόν are not unusual in the fifth century in sources ranging through poets, historians, and inscriptions. Closest to the words of Antimachus are Λάκιος τὸν βωμὸν ε(ἵ)σατο (*IG* XII (5) 615, from Iulis); ἔσσατο βωμόν (Pind. F140a64 Snell-Maehler).[24] Apollonius (4.118-119) clearly shows Antimachean influence:

> ἐγγύθι δ' αἰθαλόεντα πέλεν βωμοῖο θέμεθλα,
> ὅν ῥά ποτ' Αἰολίδης Διὶ Φυξίῳ εἵσατο Φρίξος.[25]

The latter part of v.2 exhibits a series of metrical irregularities, hiatus in δέ οἱ, correption in οἱ εἵσατο, and an uncommon shortening in εἵσατο πρῶτος, for which *cf.* ὅν τινα πρῶτον (*Od.* 3.320) and ἠὲ σὺ πρῶτος (*Od.* 17.275). No form of πρῶτος is ever found at line-end in Homer, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, or Apollonius, but Callimachus in *Hy.* 4 has both πρώτη (v.6) and πρῶτοι (v.283), in both instances with the same shortening as here.

In v.3 there are numerous echoes of Homeric phrasing, *cf.* ἀμφὶ ῥοὰς *ποταμοῖο Il.* 11.731; *ποταμοῖο* κατὰ δεινοῖο ῥέεθρα *Il.* 21.25; *παρὰ ῥόον* Ὠκεανοῖο *Il.* 16.151; *Od.* 11.21; ὕδωρ μέλαν *Αἰσήποιο Il.* 2.825; ἀπ' Αἰσήποιο ῥοάων 4.91 (italicizing denotes same *sedes*).[26] Similarly, once again Apollonius echoes Antimachus, e.g. *ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον* Ἐργίνοιο (1.217); *ποταμοῖο* μέγαν *ῥόον* (2.1265); ποταμοῦ *ῥόος Αἰσήποιο* (1.1115); ὑπὲρ ὕδατος *Αἰσήποιο* (1.940).

The third person singular passive τετίμηται occurs only once in Homer (*Od.* 7.69), where it is followed by τε καὶ as in Antimachus.

Allusions to this fragment persist from Callimachus and Apollonius until much later times. A scurrilous epigram of Meleager (*AP* 12.33) ends with the line ἔστι καὶ ἐν γλουτοῖς φυομένη Νέμεσις. An epitaph on the tomb of Herodes Atticus reported by Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* 2.15) read:

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[24] *Cf.* ἥν (Artemis) Ἀγαμέμνων / εἵσαθ' (Theogn. 11-12); ἔσσαντ' ... τέμενος (Pind. *P.* 4.204); ἱρὸν εἱσάμενοι (Hdt. 1.66).

[25] *Cf.* εἴσομαι ἱερόν (A.R. 2.807, the only instance of this fut. middle); ἱρὸν ἄγαλμα / Κύπριδος ... ἥν ποτε Θησεύς / εἵσατο Callim. (*Hy.* 4.307-9); τὴν ὠγαμέμνων, ὡς ὁ μῦθος, εἵσατο (F200b.1, *cf.* Theogn. 11-12, previous note); *Ep.* 33.1; 39.5-6.

[26] Also suggestive of Antimachus is Pind. *N.* 9.9: ἄθλων ... ἅτε Φοίβῳ θῆκεν Ἄδραστος ἐπ' Ἀσωποῦ ῥεέθροις (the Sicyonian river).

Ἀττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὗ τάδε πάντα,
κεῖται τῷδε τάφῳ πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος.

There is also an inscription from the town of Cotiaeium in Phrygia (*Epig. Gr.* 367.9) which reads: ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις Νέμεσις μέγα, ἔστ' ἐπὶ τύμβοις. Kaibel, who discusses all three of these allusions, suggests that the writer wanted to write μεγάλη θεός, but realised that it would make his verse too long.[27]

132 (71 Wyss)

Schol. A. R. 1.1008 (88-9 Wendel): 'δύπτοντες κεφαλ<άς>' . . . . δύπτειν δὲ ἐστι τὸ δύνειν, <δύπται δὲ αἴθυιαι> (suppl. Bergk) ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ· (F522 Pf.) 'δύπται δ' ἐξ ἁλὸς ἐρχόμενοι'. πρότερος δὲ Ἀντίμαχος·

ἠύτε τις καύηξ δύπτῃ ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ (vel καύηξ ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ δύπτῃ)
ἁλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγος ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ (vel – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –)

τις L om. PV δύπτῃ A δύνῃ L δύπτει PV ἁλμ. ἐς πελ. Diehl ἐς ἁλμ. πελ. L εἰς (ἐς) ἁλμ. ὕδωρ PV

Commentary

Wyss, following the early editors, assigns this fragment to the *Lyde* because in the scholia to Apollonius no other poem of Antimachus is mentioned by name.[28]

But, as West states, the *Lyde* is always cited for story content (see F67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76).[29] The present reference has to do with a grammatical point, the use of the verb δύπτειν as an equivalent to δύνειν, and has nothing to do with subject matter. The simile could come from any of Antimachus' poems. The reference to the sea may suggest an Argonautic context, e.g. Wyss conjectures that

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[27] G. Kaibel, *Hermes* 15 (1880), 458-59. He sees a connection between this apparent revival of the memory of Antimachus in the second century and the known admiration of him by the emperor Hadrian (Dio. 69.4.6 = T30). But the *Hymn to Nemesis* of Mesomedes, a known friend of Hadrian, does not appear to owe much to Antimachus (*Hymn* 8 in *Mus. Script. Gr.* ed. C. Jan [Leipzig 1895], 468-72 = 2.3 in E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* I.2 [Göttingen 1963], 26. On Mesomedes and Hadrian see Jan, 455).

[28] *Cf.* Schellenberg, 96; Stoll, 88.

[29] West *IEG*^{2} II.43, on why he omitted this fragment from those related to the *Lyde*.

some sea-god is compared to the καύηξ diving into the water, citing the description of Ino, αὐτὴ δ' ἄψ ἐς πόντον ἐδύσετο κυμαίνοντα αἰθυίῃ εἰκυῖα (*Od.* 5.352). But the simile could also refer to someone taking a fall, whether at sea or on land. There is a close Homeric parallel at *Od.* 15.479, where, in Eumaeus' story, the Phoenician woman fell into the ship's hold ὡς εἰναλίη κήξ.

Nor is the metre of the fragment of any assistance in determining its provenance. Indeed there are difficulties in trying to arrange the words in suitable verses. Wyss follows Diehl in supposing a lacuna:

ἠύτε τις καύηξ δύπτῃ ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑
ἁλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγος ....

This arrangement in fact could accommodate either an elegiac couplet or two hexameters. Another possible arrangement (this time strictly elegiac) which avoids altering δύπτῃ is that of Jacobs:[30]

ἠύτε τις καύηξ ἁλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγος
δύπτῃ

Gentili-Prato print the fragment as a single hexameter, ἠύτε τις καύηξ δύπτῃ εἰς ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ, reading ὕδωρ (P). But as Wyss indicates (following Diehl) this word has crept in from the text of Apollonius 1.1007, ἐς ἁλμυρὸν ἀθρόοι ὕδωρ. Also against this reading are the facts that Homer never uses any preposition with ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ and carefully avoids placing the phrase (always found at line-end) after a long monosyllabic word.

The phrase ἁλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγος may be seen as a *variatio* for ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ, the only wording with this epithet used by Homer (and then only in the *Odyssey*).[31] Hesiod has ἁλμυρὸς ... πόντος (*Theog.* 964, *cf.* 107). The occurrence in A.R. 2.933 of – ⏑⏑ ἠύτε τις ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ κίρκος might suggest:

– ⏑⏑ ἠύτε τις ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ καύηξ
ἁλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγος δύπτῃ ....

This might be better as two hexameters, with caesura after πέλαγος. We cannot be conclusive here and I give these examples simply to show that the fragment could belong to an epic poem just as easily as an elegiac one.[32]

[30] F. Jacobs, *Anth. Pal.* IX.269 (*Notarum Criticarum in Corp. Epig. Pars Altera* 4.514) on v.3 τύψε. He suggests δύψε and compares A.R. 1.1007 and this fragment.

[31] *Cf.* Del Corno, 89; note also ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν (*Od.* 5.335).

[32] *Cf.* Del Corno, 75 n.52; 87.

Several forms exist for the name of the bird which Antimachus calls καύηξ. It is κήξ in *Od.* 15.479, κῆυξ in Babr. 115.2, and καύαξ in Hesych. *s.v.* But καύηξ is the regular form in the Hellenistic poets, clearly following Antimachus, e.g. Callim. F522.2 Pf.; Euphorion F130 Powell (= F429.48-9 *SH*); Lyc. 425; 741; Leonidas, *AP* 7.652.5.[33]

It is a type of sea-gull, sometimes differentiated from the αἴθυια and λάρος, e.g. οὐδ' αἴθυιαι οὐδὲ κρυεροὶ καύηκες/δύπται (Euph.); καύηξιν ἢ ἰχθυβόροις λαρίδεσσιν (Leon.); αἰθυίαις/λάροις τε καὶ κηύξιν (Babr.), but sometimes not, e.g. καύαξ, κήξ· ὁ λάρος κατὰ Ἀπίωνα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ καύηξ. τινὲς καὶ αἴθυιαν ἀποδιδόασιν. οἱ δὲ κέπφον, οἱ δὲ διαφέροντα ἀλλήλων (Hesych.).[34] All apparently are diving birds, *cf.* δύπται ... καύηκες (Callim.); δύπται λέγονται αἱ αἴθυιαι (*Etym. Gen.* B *s.v.* δύπτης).

Antimachus seems to be the earliest source for the verb δύπτειν, whether transitive or intransitive here. It was later used transitively and intransitively by Apollonius, ἐς ἁλμυρὸν ... ὕδωρ/δύπτοντες κεφαλὰς καὶ στήθεα (1.1007-8); νειόθι δύψας (1.1326) and intransitively by Lycophron, Τυρσηνικὸν πρὸς κῦμα δυπτούσας πτεροῖς (715).[35]

Others took from the verb the word δύπτης, used adjectivally by Callimachus, δύπται δ' ἐξ ἁλὸς ἐρχόμενοι/ἔνδιοι καύηκες (F522 Pf.) and Lycophron, δύπτην κηρύλον (387), and probably Euphorion, καύηκες δύπται (F429.48-9 *SH*). At other times it is used as a noun, e.g. Lycophron 73 (of a man, not a bird); 752 (again of a man, but one who has just been compared to a young unfledged κηρύλος, 750); Opp. *Hal.* 2.436 (men).

The fragment is instructive on how the Hellenistic poets used their predecessors, e.g. Apollonius in 1.1007-8 borrows ἐς ἁλμυρόν and δύπτοντες from Antimachus, but reverts to the Homeric ὕδωρ. Capovilla sees Antimachus as the source for Callimachus F522 Pf.[36] But while that appears to be true for δύπται ... καύηκες, the remaining words of the fragment, ἐξ ἁλὸς ἐρχόμενοι/ἔνδιοι, are clearly

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[33] The form used to be read in Hipponax, but the preferred reading is καύης, a Lydian word for 'priest' (F4 West); *cf.* Gentili-Prato, 121; O. Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris 1962, repr. New York/London 1987), 107-8.

[34] *Cf.* Apoll. Soph. 99.8, who also reports Apion's opinion, but thinks himself that Homer (*Od.* 5.51) distinguished the bird from the λάρος.

[35] It appears to be intransitive in Antimachus, but could be transitive if we suppose a lacuna and supply e.g. κεφαλήν.

[36] G. Capovilla, *Callimaco* (Rome 1967) I.113-4: *cf.* Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I 153.

modelled on Homer, as Pfeiffer has seen, *cf.* ἔνδιος δ' ὁ γέρων ἦλθ' ἐξ ἁλός (*Od.* 4.450); φῶκαι δ' ἐξ ἁλὸς ἦλθον ἀολλέες (448); also 400-1.[37]

133 (76 Wyss)

Etym. Magn. Auctum (I.13.18 Lasserre-Livadaras) (in *Etym. Gen.* A-i nulla fit mentio): ἀβολήτωρ· βολῶ καὶ ἀντιβολῶ, παρ' ὃ τὸ ἀβολήτων, <ὁ μὴ παρακαλῶν>. Ἀντίμαχος

†Ἰαχίνη† τοὶ δ' ἄρ οἱ ἀβολήτορες ἄνδρες ἔασιν.

οὕτως Φιλόξενος (F354 Theodoridis) εἰς τὸ Ῥηματικὸν αὐτοῦ. ἀντὶ τοῦ μάρτυρες συνηλλαχότες καὶ συντυχόντες. οὕτως εἰς τὸν Διογενιακόν. Cf. Hesych. (I.8 Latte): ἀβολήτορες· μάρτυρες, συνηλλαχότες; *Etym. Symeon.* (14.1 Sell): ἀβολήτωρ· βολῶ καὶ ἀντιβολῶ παρ' ἃ τὸ ἀβολήτων, ὁ μὴ παρακαλῶν.

Ἰαχίνη codd. Ἰναχίῃ Schellenberg, West Καταχήνῃ Bergk (sed postea revocavit *PLG* II [1882] 292) Ἰναχιώνῃ Ellis τοὶ δ' ἄρ οἱ ἀβ. codd. τό<θ>ι δή ῥ' ἀβ. West

Commentary

Most of the discussion on this fragment has been over whether †Ἰαχίνη is the title of an otherwise unattested poem by Antimachus or is really the beginning of the quotation.[38]

None of the attempts to find a title of a poem are convincing. The fact that the hexameter is otherwise acephalous is a strong argument that the corrupt word should belong to it. The most likely correction of the offending word is surely Ἰναχίῃ, which was seen as long ago as Schellenberg (32).[39] But whereas he interpreted it as a reference to Io, daughter of Inachus, West is more likely correct in seeing the word as an epithet following something like γαίῃ in the previous line.[40] One might read (with West): Ἰναχίῃ, τό<θ>ι δή ῥ' ἀβολήτορες ἄνδρες ἔασιν.

The phrase ἄνδρες ἔασιν at line-end is Homeric (*cf. Il.* 2.131) and is also used by Apollonius (2.468; 630; 874) and Callimachus (F721

[37] Pfeiffer I.379 on F522.

[38] See Wyss, XXVI f.; West, *Philologus* 110 (1966), 156.

[39] Adopted by West, *ibid.*; Schellenberg also thought of Ἰχναίῃ; R. Ellis (*Journ. of Philology* XXVIII), suggested Ἰναχιώνῃ; Dübner (44) Ἰναχίδαι, although in his text he adopted Bergk's Καταχήνῃ (as a title of a poem).

[40] West, *ibid.*

Pf.). Also Homeric is the combination of ἄνδρες, -ας with a noun of agency in -τωρ, e.g. θηρήτορες ἄνδρες (*Il.* 9.540);[41] ἡγήτορες (-ας) ἄνδρες (-ας) (*Il.* 11.686; 16.495; 532); βώτορας ἄνδρας (12.302); σημάντορες ἄνδρες ἔσονται (*Hy. Ap.* 542).

Antimachus liked such nouns of agency, *cf.* βασιλεύτωρ (F10), ἕρκτωρ (F87). But this one, ἀβολήτωρ, is puzzling.[42] It is glossed as μάρτυρες, 'witnesses', συνηλλαχότες, 'those who have contracted together', συντυχόντες, 'those who have chanced together, met'. The explanation ὁ μὴ παρακαλῶν, 'one who does not call (as a witness)' is surely an error by someone who thought that the α- was privative. The noun ἀβολητύς (F193) is explained as ἔντευξις, ἀπάντησις, 'encounter', 'meeting' and the verb ἀβολεῖν is used by Apollonius as an equivalent to the Homeric ἀντιβολεῖν (ἀβόλησαν 2.770; schol. ἐνέτυχον; ἀβολήσομεν 3.1145; schol. συντευξόμεθα) in the sense of 'meeting'. So too Callimachus presents ἀβόλησε (F24.5) and ἀβάλε μηδ' ἀβόλησα (F619 = *Hecale* F159 Hollis), explained by τουτέστιν εἴθε μηδὲ συνέτυχον· τὸ γὰρ ἀβολῆσαι συντυχεῖν ἐστιν.[43] These usages suggest that Antimachus used ἀβολήτορες to mean 'those who meet (met)'.

134 (81 Wyss)

Hesych. (II.284 Schmidt):

χηρήιον οἶκον

παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ, τὸν ἄτεκνον (em. Nauck, ἄτακτον codd.).

Commentary

Hesychius attributed to Antimachus the phrase χηρήιον οἶκον, the epithet meaning 'childless'. As Wyss suggests, the description could have been applied to a house which lost its sons in the Theban War or perhaps to the house of Polybus at Corinth before the discovery of the child Oedipus.

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41 Repeated by [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.453; 4.52; also τιθασεύτορες ἄνδρες at 2.543.

42 *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I.4.

43 Schol[2]. Dionys. Thr. *Gr. Gr.* III.430.29 f. *Cf.* Hollis' commentary on *Hecale* F159, 320-21.

44 Kirk calls it 'a powerful phrase unparalleled in the epic' (*The Iliad: A Commentary* II.124).

Antimachus' epithet is unusual both in form and in application. In Homer, the form is χῆρος, used only in the feminine χήρη, of widows, e.g. *Il.* 2.289; 6.408; 432; 22.484; 499; 24.725. The participle χήρωσας is used at *Il.* 17.36 of making a woman a widow, but there is an example of a more general application, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς (5.642), where the sense is 'to make desolate'.[44] Antimachus' χηρήιος is presumably an Ionic form, the closest parallel to which is λέκτροις/χηρείοις (Antiphilus, *AP* 9.192.5-6 = Gow-Page, *Garland* 1007-8).[45]

Callimachus displays the Homeric form χῆρος twice.[46] At *Hy.* 6.105, χῆραι μὲν μάνδραι bears the general sense of 'desolate' or 'empty'. But Callimachus uses the word to mean 'childless' at *Ep.* 20.6 (= *AP* 7.517) τὸν εὔτεκνον χῆρον ἰδοῦσα δόμον, 'seeing the house that had been blessed with children left childless'.[47] The earliest such use of χῆρος of a bereaved house is Eurip. *Alc.* 861-2 (although not of children).

One might compare the uses of the word ὀρφανος.[48] While normally applied to children who have lost a father, it can also be used of parents who have lost children (e.g. Pind. *O.* 9.61; Eurip. *Hec.* 149; F332.6), of a childless house (Eurip. *Alc.* 656-7), or of brides who have lost their husbands (Eurip. *Orest.* 1136).

135 (82 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. A (Reitzenstein *Ind. lect. Rostoch.* 1890/91,9) ἄσταχυς·Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 2.148) 'ἐπί τ' ἠμύει ἀσταχύεσσι' · καὶ παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ·

καὶ ἀσταχύων τέμνου**

τέμνου codd. τέμνουσι vel τέμνουσα Reitzenstein

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because Antimachus uses the word ἀσταχύων which occurs only once in Homer, ἐπί τ' ἠμύει ἀσταχύεσσι (*Il.* 2.148).[49]

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[45] *Cf.* Gow-Page, *Garland* II, 137.

[46] *Cf.* Hopkinson, *Callim. Hy. Dem.* 163 on v.105.

[47] Mair, in the Loeb *Callimachus: Hymns and Epigrams*, 153, bizarrely translates 'to see the home of happy children made desolate'.

[48] *Cf.* Hopkinson, *ibid.*

[49] Unless one reads περ ἀσταχύεσσιν in *Il.* 23.598 for περὶ σταχύεσσιν (see Ludwich's *apparatus*).

But Cazzaniga considers it '*semplice parola (non glossa)*' and argues that the gloss in question is ἡμύει, not ἀσταχύεσσι.[50] This suggestion is the basis of his attempt to remove τέμνου** from the vocabulary of Antimachus.[51]

He questions the association of τέμνειν with ἀστάχυς in the sense of ἀμᾶν or θερίζειν. It is true that there are no examples in early literature of the verb in this sense, but it is used by Euripides, γῆς τεμεῖν βλαστήματα (*Hec.* 1204) and by Xenophon, τόν τε σῖτον τέμνοντες (*Mem.* 2.1.13) of the cutting of crops by an enemy, 'laying waste'.

In his eagerness to introduce the verb ἡμύειν into Antimachus, Cazzaniga has not noticed the striking resemblance between the fragment in question and a passage of Callimachus ἱερὰ δράγματα ... /ἀσταχύων ἀπέκοψε (*Hy.* 6.19-20).[52] One might make the same objection against ἀπέκοψε which Cazzaniga makes against τέμνου**. Neither the compound form nor the simple κόπτειν is attested in earlier literature in the sense of cutting crops. But it is interesting to note the range of meanings which κόπτειν shares with τέμνειν/τάμνειν, e.g. hitting with a weapon, κόπτ. *Od.* 8.528; τάμν. *Il.* 5.74; slaughtering an animal, κόπτ. *Il.* 17.521; τάμν. *Il.* 19.197; cutting off head or hands etc., κόπτ. *Il.* 13.203; τάμν. *Il.* 3.273; felling trees, κόπτ. Thuc. 2.7.5; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.39; τάμν. *Il.* 11.88; laying waste land, κόπτ. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26; τέμν. *Mem.* 2.1.13. Thus it is not surprising that if Callimachus could use ἀπέκοψε of cutting handfuls (sheaves) of corn, Antimachus should use τέμνειν of a similar action.

We might also notice the use of yet another 'untraditional' word for cutting corn by Apollonius. At 3.1389, there is a simile of a farmowner who forestalls his foes from laying waste (προτάμωνται) his fields by taking a sickle and cutting the crop, κείρει στάχυν. Thus does Jason cut the crop of earthborn men, κεῖρε στάχυν (1391). Yet in the *Iliad*, κείρειν is itself used once of laying waste crops (κείρει βαθὺ λήιον, 11.560) and is otherwise restricted to the cutting of hair, severing things and the like.

Clearly the argument of traditional word-association cannot be used to reject τέμνου** in Antimachus.

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[50] I. Cazzaniga, *La Parola del Passato* 22 (1967), 364-5.

[51] *Cf.* F51 for his similar effort to get rid of τέμνων. The arguments against the stem τέμν- rather than τάμν- are answered in my discussion of that fragment.

[52] The similarity has been noticed by Hopkinson, *Callim. Hy. Dem.*, 97.

Cazzaniga's own conjecture moreover is itself open to criticism. He suggests (*le cime*) καὶ ἀσταχύων ἠμύου<σιν κάτ' ἔραζε>, comparing ἔρνεα ... νεόθρεπτα κατημύουσιν ἔραζε (A.R. 3.1400).[53] In the first place, in spite of Cazzaniga's best efforts, it is difficult to accept that ἩΜΥΟΥ could ever be corrupted to ΤΕΜΝΟΥ. Even if it could, would we not expect τῶν before ἀσταχύων? Also the examples of ἠμύειν in the 'Antimachean' Nicander which Cazzaniga cites are in contexts which do not remotely resemble either A.R. 3.1400 or this fragment.[54] I would suggest that a word such as δράγματα preceded ἀσταχύων as in Callimachus *Hy.* 6.19-20 (*cf. Hy.* 4.284). We should accept the reading καὶ ἀσταχύων τέμνου** and suppose τέμνουσι or τέμνουσα.

An interesting difference emerges between early epic and Hellenistic poetry concerning the use of ἀστάχυς and στάχυς and one wonders whether Antimachus had anything to do with this development. Homer (*Il.* 23.598) and Hesiod (*Op.* 473; *Scut.* 290) use στάχυς only in the plural, 'ears of corn'; so too ἀστάχυς (Homer and *Hy. Dem.* 454; 456; never used by Hesiod). But Callimachus uses ἀστάχυς only in the plural, 'ears of corn' (*Hy.* 4.284; 6.20; F75.46) and στάχυς only in the singular, '(crop of) corn' (*Hy.* 3.130; 6.136).[55] Apollonius unfortunately has no example of ἀστάχυς, but his usage of στάχυς is identical to that of Callimachus (1.688; 3.1338; 1389; 1391; 4.989). Antimachus' single instance of ἀστάχυς is identical to those of Callimachus. If Antimachus did originate the distinction between plural ἀστάχυες and singular στάχυς, one might suppose that he read περ ἀσταχύεσσιν for περὶ σταχύεσσιν at *Il.* 23.598.[56]

It may be idle to speculate on a possible context, *cf.* how in Callimachus the very similar phrases in *Hy.* 4.283-4 and *Hy.* 6.19-20 have to do with very different contexts of Delos and Demeter respectively. Wyss suggests a context of the slaughter of the Sparti (*cf.* A.R. 3.1389ff.), either those killed by Jason or those slain by Cadmus at Thebes. But an agricultural context is just as feasible.[57]

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[53] Cazzaniga, *op. cit.* 365.

[54] Nic. *Alex.* 453; F74.35.

[55] Hopkinson (*Callim. Hy. Dem.*, 186, on v.136) sees that Callimachus reproduces (vv. 20 and 136) the Homeric alternation of στάχυς and ἀστάχυς, but he does not notice his distinction of meaning between the singular and plural forms.

[56] Herodotus (5.92) has an example of the plural of ἀστάχυς where it seems to mean 'stalks of corn' rather than 'ears' (τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχοντα).

[57] *Cf.* Hopkinson, *Callim. Hy. Dem.* 97.

One might associate this fragment with F145 which is about pouring grain into sacks, probably prior to people setting out on a journey.

136 (84 Wyss)

Schol. Lycophr. 246 (2.110.19 Scheer): 'εἰς θῖν' ἐρείσας λοισθίαν'· τελευταῖος γὰρ τῆς νεὼς ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀπέβη διὰ τὸν χρησμόν, ὅθεν ὁ Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος τῆς νεὼς πηδήσας ἀπέθανε. 'κρηναῖον'· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι πηδήσαντος τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς νεὼς πηγὴ ἀνεδόθη, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος·

ῥίμφα δ' ἀπ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης ὑψόσ' ἀερθείς
Πηλείδης ἀνόρουσεν ἐλαφρῶς ἠύτε κίρκος.
τοῦ δ' ἔμπροσθε ποδῶν κρήνη γένετ' ἀενάουσα.

1 ἀπ' codd. ἐπ' Schellenberg 2 ἀνόρουσεν Schol. ἀπ- Tzetzes ἐπ- Hermann ἐλαφρῶς Bergk (sed iam prius in Nat. Com. *Myth.* 9.12 ed. Francof. 1584, 1002) ἐλαφρός codd.

Commentary

This fragment refers to Achilles disembarking at Troy. On landing, he leapt up again nimbly and in front of his feet was born an ever-flowing spring.[58]

Wyss has doubts as to whether the fragment should be attributed to the *Thebaid*, because it seems unlikely that Achilles could have been mentioned in that poem. He also expresses the opinion that the fragment echoes, in infelicitous fashion, *Il.* 22.138-9: Πηλείδης δ' ἐπόρουσε ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πεποιθώς /ἠύτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν, which was the reason that Wilamowitz referred it to the shadowy Antimachus of Teos.[59]

The story of Achilles' leap is mentioned by Schol. Eurip. *Andr.* 1139 (τὸ Τρωικὸν πήδημα), who says that οἱ συντεταχόντες τὰ Τρωικά told that a place at Troy was called Ἀχιλλέως πήδημα.[60] The scholiast says that Achilles jumped with such force that water was pro-

[58] Huxley (*GEP*, 142) argues that Achilles is not landing from a ship, but simply leaping from the ground. But *cf. contra* West, *Philol.* 110 (1966), 157.

[59] Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 34 (1899), 614-5; Huxley (*loc. cit.*) also has doubts about the ascription to Antimachus.

[60] This reference to 'those who arranged the *Troica*' was interpreted by Wilamowitz as supporting his theory about Antimachus of Teos (*Hermes* 34, 615).

duced. This fragment, however, emphasises the lightness of Achilles' jump, a point missed by both Schellenberg ('*tanto impetu... ut...*', 71) and Stoll ('*violento saltu*', 85).

Wyss himself does not regard the borrowing from Homer as a valid reason for not attributing the lines to Antimachus of Colophon. Indeed we can point to many such borrowings among the fragments. But, in any case, is the use of Homeric material in this passage so very infelicitous?

The Homeric lines to which the poet is most indebted come from the climax of the *Iliad*, the description of Achilles' pursuit of Hector, and they emphasise the speed and light-footedness of Achilles. This Antimachus fragment draws attention to these same qualities of Achilles in an episode from the very outset of the Trojan campaign.

In imitating Homer, the poet changes ἐπόρουσε (suitable to the hostility of the Homeric passage) to ἀνόρουσεν, itself used thrice by Homer of Achilles, ταφὼν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς (*Il.* 9.193; 11.776; 23.101). The comparison to the hawk is effectively abbreviated by the use of ἐλαφρῶς in place of ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν.[61]

The first line of the fragment employs phrases from elsewhere in Homer. For example, ἠπείροιο μελαίνης occurs in *Od.* 14.97 and 21.109, and although ἐπ' ἠπείροιο is frequent in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 1.485 = *Od.* 16.325, *cf.* 359; *Od.* 1.162; 3.90 etc.), there is no need to read ἐπ' ἠπείροιο here as Schellenberg does.[62] The text does not refer to Achilles' actual leap from the ship to the ground, but to his light-footed rebound on landing and for ἀπ' ἠπείροιο *cf.* ἀπ' ἠπείρου (*Od.* 5.350, same *sedes*). The word ἤπειρος is commonly used in Homer of land as opposed to sea. If this is so in this fragment, it supports the case that Achilles has just landed from a ship. For ὑψόσ' ἀερθείς at line-end *cf.* *Od.* 8.375 (leaping in the Phaeacian ball-game) and 12.432 (Odysseus leaping to the fig-tree above Charybdis). *Cf.* too ὑψόσ' ἀειρέσθην ῥίμφα (*Il.* 23.501, of the horses of Diomedes).

In the third line, the participial-type form ἀενάουσα is very rare, a *hapax* in Homer, ὕδατ' ἀενάοντα (*Od.* 13.109) and occurring elsewhere only in Hes. *Op.* 550 ποταμῶν ... αἰεναόντων. The form may have been developed from the epithet ἀέναος (already in Hes. *Op.*

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[61] Wyss prints ἐλαφρῶς as suggested by Bergk for ἐλαφρός codd. But the fragment is quoted by Nat. Com. *Myth.* 9.12, the early editions of whom (Francof. 1584, 1002; Geneva 1641, 980; Geneva 1641, 990) read ἐλαφρῶς. Ed. Paris 1605, 988 has ἐλαφρῶν.

[62] The editions of Nat. Com. *Myth.* 9.12 all read ἀπ'.

595, κρήνης αἰενάου and 737, ἀενάων ποταμῶν) and the common epic formula αἰὲν ἐόντες (-ας, -ων).[63] A good argument against Antimachus of Teos and in favour of the Colophonian is provided by the adverb ἔμπροσθε, which is not attested before Herodotus (5.62; 7.144) and is not found elsewhere in epic before Apollonius (4.590). But compare αὐτοῦ πρόσθε ποδῶν (*Il.* 16.742, same *sedes*).

Another feature of the fragment which favours the authorship of Antimachus of Colophon is the fact that the sudden appearance of water after the ground has been struck is a common Hellenistic *topos*, of the sort likely to be found in his work.[64] The technique which the poet displays in constructing his version of the *topos* from a number of Homeric passages is identical to that used by Callimachus in his variation of the same *topos* (*Hy.* 1.30ff.).[65] Common in the *topos* is the idea of water appearing at the feet, *cf.* ἔμπροσθε ποδῶν (Antim.); ὑπὸ ποσσίν (Callim. 1.27); λὰς ποδί (A.R. 4.1446); ἐκ ποδός (Theocr. 7.6); πληγῇ προτέρου ποδός (Arat. 220; *cf.* ὑγρὸς ὄνυξ ἵππειος Nonn. 44.7); ποδορραγέα (Honestus, *AP* 9.225.2).

The problem of a context for the fragment remains. It is difficult to see how it could belong to the *Thebaid* and it cannot of course be from the *Lyde.* One possibility is the *Delti*, the only surviving fragment of which is about the springs of a river, probably in Asia Minor, perhaps in or near the Troad (F129). There can be little doubt that the lines are part of an *aition* for a place-name, perhaps Achilles' Leap or Achilles' Fount.[66]

137 (85 Wyss)

Hesych. (II.491 Latte): κλύμενος ... λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ κισσός, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος·

κισσοῦ τε κλυμένοιο καὶ ἀμπελίνης (⏑⏑ – ⏑)

[63] *Cf.* A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II. 172 on 13.109.

[64] This *topos* has been well illustrated and discussed by G. R. McLennan, *Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus*, 63-4, who cites our fragment as an example; *cf.* McLennan, *Corolla Londiniensis* II (1982), 115-6.

[65] *Cf.* McLennan, *Cor. Lond.* II, 116.

[66] *Cf.* Huxley, *GEP*, 142.

Commentary

There is no need to emend the text. Antimachus seems to be referring to a plant similar to the κισσός called κλύμενος. This plant is described by Dioscorides (4.13 RV)[67] κλύμενον· ... καυλὸν ἀνίησιν καὶ φύλλα πρὸς τὰ τοῦ περικλυμένου, κισσοειδῆ, θυλάκια δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καυλοῦ, ἐν οἷς τὸ ἄνθος λευκόν, εἰς ἄλληλα νεύοντα καὶ περιπλεκόμενα. ἄριστον δὲ τὸ ὀρεινόν· *Cf.* Pliny *NH* 25.70: ***Clymenos a rege herba appellata est, hederae foliis, nemosa, caule inane articulis praecincto, odore gravi et semine hederae, silvestribus et montuosis nascens.*** Pliny's 'king Clymenos' is probably the ruler of the Underworld.[68] If so, the plant may be the same as the μέλας κισσός mentioned by Theocritus in a line which resembles this fragment: ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ' ἄμπελος ἁ γλυκύκαρπος (11.46, of the cave of Polyphemus). As Wyss notes, ἄμπελος occurs earliest in Herodotus (1.212.2). Reminiscent of Antimachus is φύλλ' ἅτε κισσήεντα περικλυμένοιο φέρουσα (Nic. *Ther.* 510), where the περικλύμενον seems to be the same plant.[69]

Wyss suggests, with no good reason, that Antimachus' line could belong to the *ecphrasis* on Teumessus (F2-3), that the cave there had no ivy or vines. But could not the verse just as easily come from the description of Thebes 'teeming with fruit' (F37) or indeed from the depiction of the abode of any number of figures who were or who might have been mentioned by Antimachus?[70]

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[67] *Pedanii Dioscuridis De Materia Medica* ed. M. Wellmann, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1958) II.178.

[68] *Cf.* Callim. *Hecale* F100 Hollis (= F285 Pf.), with Hollis' commentary, 288; Lasus of Hermione F702[1] *PMG*; Philicus F676 *SH*; Paus. 2.35.9; *AP* 7.9.7 (Damagetus); 7.189.3 (Aristodicus); *Etym. Magn.* 521.4; *Etym. Gen.* AB *s.v.* Κλύμενος; *Suda s.v.* Κλύμενος.

[69] *Cf.* the descriptions in Dioscorides: 4.13 RV κλύμενον· οἱ δὲ..., οἱ δὲ περικλύμενον, οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ.; 4.14 περικλύμενον· οἱ δὲ..., οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κλύμενον καλοῦσι; 4.14 RV περικλύμενον· οἱ δὲ..., οἱ δὲ κλύμενον, οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ.; Also Hesychius *s.v.* Περικλύμενος identifies Periclymenus as Pluto. E. Emmanuel, in *Journal suisse de Chimie et Pharmacie* (Zurich, 27 Jan. 1912) 66 and 69, identifies both κλύμενον (181V) and περικλύμενον (280r), as *convolvulus sepium.* W. H. S. Jones (Loeb Pliny Vol. VII) in his Index of Plants identifies both *clymenos* and *periclymenon* as *lonicera*, honeysuckle.

[70] *Cf.* e.g. the Odyssean descriptions of Calypso's island (5.55-73); the orchard of Alcinous (7.112-131); the land of the Cyclopes (9.116-141).

138 (89 Wyss)

Etym. Magn. 770.7 (locus Antimachi etiam legitur in *Epimerism. Hom.* [*Anecd. Oxon.* 1.401.2 and 2.329.10 Cramer]; Herodian. 1.302.7 Lentz) : Τροία· τὰ διὰ τοῦ οια θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα μακροκατάληκτα διὰ τῆς οι διφθόγγου γράφεται καὶ ἐπὶ βαρυτόνων καὶ ὀξυτόνων· οἷον ποία, κοία· σημαίνει τὴν σφαῖραν· ἡ χρῆσις παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ·

κοίας ἐκ χειρῶν σκόπελον μέτα ῥιπτάζουσι.

εἰ μή πως (ita Wyss πή codd.) ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁ κοίας εὐθείας γένους ἀρσενικοῦ (εἰ πή – ἀρσεν. Cod. V om. ceteri). Hesych. (II.497 Latte): κοίας· σφαίρας, ἢ λίθους.

κοίας plerique codd. κρέας M εἰς ante σκοπ. codd. del. Schellenberg μέτα ῥιπτάζουσι Spohn μεταρ(ρ)ιπτάζουσι plerique codd. -ουσα M

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because it contains the word κοιάς, cited on a point of accentuation rather than meaning.

The word is glossed by *Etym. Magn.*, *Epimerism. Hom.*, and Herodian as σφαίρα, 'ball', which is how Wyss understands it. He repeats the suggestion of von der Muhll that the poet is comparing some warriors with children playing with a ball. There are no such similes in Homer. The Homeric passages which Wyss quotes for verbal echoes are simple descriptions of ball-games, i.e. σφαῖραν ἔπειτ' ἔρριψε μετ' ἀμφίπολον βασίλεια (*Od.* 6.115, of Nausicaa tossing a ball to one of her girl attendants); τὴν (i.e. σφαῖραν) ἕτερος ῥίπτασε ποτὶ νέφεα σκιόεντα (8.374, of one of the two young Phaeacians throwing a ball high in the sky for his partner to catch).

In both descriptions there is only one ball and it is caught (or is supposed to be caught) by a partner. Our fragment seems to involve people throwing balls (plural) at a rock, a rather curious practice.

But as West has noticed, Hesychius gives two meanings for κοίας, σφαίρας, ἢ λίθους. West suggests a rock in the sea, not far from the shore, with boys trying to reach it, not with balls, but with pebbles. He notes the word κοῖος, said by Athenaeus (10.445C) to be the Macedonian for ἀριθμός and compares the connection of ψῆφος and *calculus* with counting.[71] West's suggestion may well be right because

[71] West, *Philologus* 110 (1966), 156; *cf. JHS* CV (1985), 175.

Hesychius' alternative meaning λίθους is supported by Moschopolus: κοίαν, στρογγύλον λίθον, 'a round stone'.[72]

In addition to the Homeric parallels noted above, *cf.* ἀκοντίζουσι θαμειάς/αἰχμάς ἐκ χειρῶν (*Il.* 12.43-4, same *sedes*). Also for μέτα after its noun, ἐκ Θρήκης Ἐφύρους μέτα (*Il.* 13.301, same *sedes*; *cf.* 12.315).

139 (92 Wyss)

Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.* 1.82.24 Schneider: ἔστι καὶ ἡ ἑΐν ἀπὸ τῆς τεΐν παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ καὶ Κορίννῃ (F681 [28] *PMG*) ἐπὶ δοτικῆς (αἰτιατικῆς coni. Bekker) ἔσθ' ὅτε παραλαμβανομένη.

ἑΐν

Commentary

In this fragment, as in F56 (νῶε), Wyss (XIII) sees Antimachus imitating Corinna, this time in using the pronominal form ἑΐν. But as Giangrande has conclusively shown,[73] Antimachus need not be drawing on Corinna at all, but in all likelihood modelled the third person singular form ἑΐν on the Homeric second person singular τεΐν (*Il.* 11.201; *Od.* 4.619 = 14.199; 4.829; 11.560). The Homeric form is a dative and this is probably also the case in Antimachus. Therefore δοτικῆς should be retained in the text of Apollonius Dyscolus.

The Homeric τεΐν was explained by the ancient commentators as a Dorism (Schol. *Il.* 11.201; Schol. *Od.* 4.619). Bulloch suggests that Callimachus too probably considered it such since he uses it only at *Hy.* 5.37,[74] but he admits that the form is 'helpfully Homeric and Doric simultaneously'.[75] Chantraine notes that datives in -ιν can be seen in various dialects and wonders whether τεΐν in Homer should be considered an Aeolism.[76]

Antimachus surely saw τεΐν as a form authorized and authenticat-

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72 Cited by Stoll (91), but not noticed by West. *Cf.* Theognost. *Can.* 21: κοίας. στρογγύλος, LSJ[9] *Suppl.* 85. This would appear to be the masculine nominative form mentioned by Cod. V of *Etym. Magn.*

73 G. Giangrande, *Hermes* 98 (1970), 264 (= *Scr. Min. Alex.* I, 72); D. L. Page (*Corinna*, 70) also rejects Wyss' view.

74 A. W. Bulloch (ed.), *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge 1985), 149; on the dialect in the *Hymn cf.* 26-8.

75 Bulloch, 28.

76 Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.265 §124.

ed by Homer, as an epic form,[77] on the analogy of which he himself employed the third person form ἑΐν.[78]

140 (95 Wyss)

Pausan. 9.35.5 (III.69 Rocha-Pereira): Ἀντίμαχος δὲ οὔτε ἀριθμὸν Χαρίτων οὔτε ὀνόματα εἰπὼν Αἴγλης εἶναι θυγατέρας καὶ Ἡλίου φησὶν αὐτάς. Ex Antimacho videtur Hesych. (I.62 Latte) = Phot. *Lex.* (I.61 Theodoridis): Αἴγλης Χάριτες· πιθανῶς ἐγενεαλόγησαν τὰς Χάριτας Αἴγλης καὶ Ἡλίου, ἐπεὶ τὰς Χάριτας λαμπρὰς εἶναι δεῖ.

Commentary

Antimachus somewhere mentioned the Charites, giving neither their number nor their names, but saying that they were the daughters of Aigle and Helios.

Aigle is one of the Hesperides and her sister Erythea is mentioned in F86.[79] This reference may possibly belong to the same context. But the absence of number and names need not preclude a more detailed episode involving the Charites. For example, it is striking that Callimachus, in spite of dealing at some length on why the Parians sacrificed to the Charites without flutes or garlands (F3-7.14Pf.), does not seem to have presented any names.[80]

The parentage given by Antimachus is plausible, as Hesychius says, since it is fitting that the shining Charites be the offspring of Sunlight and Sun.[81] But this is not the usual genealogy. There are two more popular traditions about the parentage of the Charites: a) that they were daughters of Zeus (e.g. Pind. *O.* 14.14), although the

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[77] The pronoun τεΐν occurs in Herodotus (5.60 and 61) in two *hexameter* inscriptions on tripods in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes. But in Aristoph. *Aves*, after the poet in the play has described himself as a composer of songs "in the Simonidean tradition" (919), he uses the pronouns ἐμὶν τεΐν in a humorous parody of a Dorizing dithyramb. Bulloch (149), following L. P. E. Parker, *CQ* 18 (1968) 250, defends the retention of ἐμὶν τεΐν, against West, *CR* 18 (1968), 7-8.

[78] *Cf.* the form ἵν (F103), where again Antimachus follows epic models, *Il.* 22.410 (a reading approved by Aristoph. Byz.) and Hes. F245 M-W. See Giangrande, *loc. cit.*

[79] See F86, note 2.

[80] There is no sign of their number in those fragments either, but we can deduce from *Ep.* 51 that he thought them to be three.

[81] On the Charites and radiance *cf.* B. MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace: Charis in Early Greek Poetry* (Princeton 1993), 51-3.

name of their mother varies, Hera, Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus, or Euanthe, daughter of Uranus;[82] b) that they were daughters of Dionysus, by Coronis, a Naxian nymph.[83]

Antimachus may well be original in presenting this genealogy, although the association of the Charites with brightness is at least as early as Hesiod, who named the youngest one Ἀγλαΐη (*Theog.* 909; 945), an adjectival name from αἴγλη.[84]

A context cannot be determined, but Antimachus could have included the Charites in connection with Demeter, who is mentioned in F79 and probably alluded to in F78 (from the *Lyde*). In Euripides' *Helen*, the Charites were sent to console Demeter (1341ff.), while in the *Orphic Hymns* (43.7ff.) the Moirae and the Charites brought Persephone back to earth.[85]

141 (103 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 650.3 Meineke: Ὑπερβόρεοι· ἔθνος. Πρώταρχος (*FHG* IV 485 Müller) δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις Ῥίπαια ὄρη οὕτω προσηγορεῦσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη κατοικοῦντας πάντας Ὑπερβορέους ὀνομάζεσθαι. Ἀντίμαχος (ita codd. Καλλίμαχος Ruhnken) δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς φησιν εἶναι τοῖς Ἀριμασποῖς. Cf. Steph. Byz. 118.16 Meineke: Ἀριμασποί, ἔθνος Ὑπερβορέων.

Commentary

Antimachus is said to have stated that the Hyperboreans were the same people as the Arimaspi.

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[82] See Schol. Callim. F3-7 (Pf.I.13). Callimachus mentioned all three traditions about their mother. For Hera, *cf.* Nonn.31.186; Colluth. 174-5; for Eurynome, Hes. *Theog.* 907; for Euanthe, Cornut. *de nat. deor.* 15.

[83] See Schol. Callim. *ibid.* Callimachus claimed the authority of the Muse Cleo for his story that the Charites were the daughters of Dionysus and Coronis. Nonnus agrees with this parentage at 48.555-6, while at 15.91 and 33.11 he again mentions Dionysus as their father. H.J. Rose (Loeb *Nonnos* II.466-7) can now be seen to be in error when he says that Dionysus is the father of the Charites "only in Nonnos and one or two other late authors".

[84] Aglaea is the first of the three Charites named by Pindar, the others being Euphrosyne and Thalia (*O.* 14.13-15). The name Ἀγλαΐη was also used by some for the mother of the Charites (Cornut. *de nat. deor.* 15). They may have thought it identical to Aigle. Also worth noting is the statement of Isyllus 46 (134 *Coll. Alex.*) that Coronis was called Aigla because of her beauty.

[85] *Cf.* Richardson, *Hom. Hy. Dem.*, 83.

Wyss may be right to reject the conjecture of Ruhnken who would read Καλλίμαχος for Ἀντίμαχος in Stephanus.[86] Yet Callimachus may at least have implied that the Hyperboreans and the Arimaspi were the same.

In telling in *Hy.* 4 of the offering of first-fruits to Delos by the Hyperboreans he begins in v. 281 by mentioning that those who have their homes beyond the northern shore, οἳ καθύπερθε βορείης/οἰκία θινὸς ἔχουσι (i.e. Hyperboreans) first bring offerings to Delos. These offerings the Pelasgi of Dodona far the first receive (285). From there the route of the offerings lay by the holy town and mountains of the Malian land, thence to the Lelantine plain in Euboea, and not a long voyage from there, since Euboean harbours are near to Delos (290). Callimachus then tells that the first to bring to Delos these offerings ἀπὸ ξανθῶν Ἀριμασπῶν were Oupis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, the daughters of Boreas, accompanied by those who were then the best of their young men. They returned not home, but had a happy fate and are never without glory (295).

Callimachus' story in *Hy.* 4 is very similar, although not identical, to that told by Herodotus (4.33 ff.).[87] The historian tells that the Hyperboreans brought their offerings to Scythia and that they were then conveyed by each nation in turn until they reached the Adriatic. From there they came to Dodona, the inhabitants of which were the first Greeks to receive them. Thence they travelled to the Malian Gulf, to Euboea, through Carystus to Tenos and on to Delos. Herodotus then tells that on the initial journey of the offerings, the two (not three) Hyperborean maidens, Hyperoche and Laodice, along with five young men, were detained at Delos.[88] In the future therefore the Hyperboreans took their offerings only as far as their own borders, i.e. for the remainder of the journey the offerings were relayed by various peoples. Presumably these included the Arimaspi

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[86] *Cf.* J. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 23-4.

[87] Both versions present a route markedly different from that given by Pausanias (1.31.2). Writing of the temple of Apollo at Prasiae in Attica, to which the first fruits of the Hyperboreans were sent, he tells that the Hyperboreans gave them to the Arimaspi, they to the Issedones, they to the Scythians. Hence the offerings came to Sinope, whence they were conveyed by Greeks to Prasiae, from where they were taken by Athenians to Delos.

[88] Herodotus adds that two other maidens, called Arge and Opis, came even earlier than the first two mentioned. They came 'with the gods themselves' (Apollo and Artemis ?), bringing tribute to Eileithuia, and were honoured by the Delians. Their names are suggestive of Callimachus' Hecaerge and Oupis.

whom Herodotus believed lived between the Issedones and the Hyperboreans and to be distinct from both (4.13;27).[89]

Leaving aside minor differences of detail, a significant point in the accounts of both Callimachus and Herodotus is that there was an original occasion of offerings by the Hyperboreans in which those who brought them, two (or three) young maidens and a number of young men, did not return, whereupon in future the Hyperboreans sent their offerings to Delos in relay fashion. But whereas Herodotus expressly states that the Hyperboreans themselves went only as far as their own borders, Callimachus in *Hymn* 4 is less clear. He says that the Hyperboreans first bring offerings to Delos (283-4). He then says that the Pelasgi of Dodona are far the first to receive these offerings that come from afar. The former statement could refer to the Hyperboreans as the source of the offerings rather than as those who actually handed them on to the Pelasgi. But, when he refers to the original Hyperborean offerings brought by Oupis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, he says that they were brought ἀπὸ ξανθῶν Ἀριμασπῶν.[90] This latter statement suggests that the Arimaspi are the same as the Hyperboreans.

Despite this conclusion, there are no strong arguments for changing the undisputed reading of the MSS, thereby removing this fragment from the remains of Antimachus.[91] The wording of Stephanus suggests a direct statement from his source that the Hyperboreans and the Arimaspi were the same, rather than a mere deduction from separate references. If Callimachus in *Hymn* 4 implied that the Hyperboreans were identical to the Arimaspi, his source may have been Antimachus.

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89 *Cf.* Pliny, *NH* 4.88-9. He places the Arimaspi before the Rhipaean mountains, behind which and beyond the north wind dwell the Hyperboreans. At 6.34, he lists, in reverse order, the Hyperboreans, the Rhipaean mountains, and 'a people called the Arimphaei, a people not dissimilar to the Hyperboreans'. Strabo remarks (11.6.2, C 507) that some early Greek writers called those Scythians living above the Black Sea, the river Danube, and the Adriatic by the names Hyperboreans, Sauromatae, and Arimaspi.

90 In the *Aetia* (F186), however, Callimachus presents another version which is essentially the same as that of Herodotus. There he tells that the sons of the Hyperboreans send the offerings from the Rhipaean mountains. The Pelasgian Ellopies (i.e. Dodonians) are the first of the Greeks to receive these ἐξ Ἀριμασπείης ... κο[μ]ι[δῆς, which suggests that the Arimaspi are employed to relay the offerings. Then the offerings go to the cities and mountains of the Malian land. Here the fragment breaks off, but presumably the rest of the route is similar to that in *Hy.* 4.

91 *Cf.* Bolton, 23-4.

142 (105 Wyss)

Choerobosc. in Theod. 2.88.26 Hilgard (= Herodian. 1.535.32 Lentz; *Anecd. Oxon.* 3.296.11; 4.415.23 Cramer; [Draco Straton.] 33 Hermann): οὕτως οὖν καὶ τετύφασι καὶ πεποιήκασι καὶ γεγράφασι δι᾽ ἐκτεταμένου τοῦ α. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πολλάκις ἐπὶ τούτων οἱ ποιηταὶ συστολὰς ἐποιήσαντο, αἷς οὐ δεῖ χρήσασθαι ὡς ... (Hom. *Od.* 11.304; Xenophan. F14G-P) Ἀντίμαχος·

οἱ δὲ πάροιθε πόνοιο νενεύκασιν ἄλλος ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because of the correption in νενεύκᾰσιν. Kühner has collected other examples, πεφύκᾰσι (*Od.* 7.114), λελόγχᾰσιν (11.304), both in the some *sedes* as here, and ἐσκλήκᾰσι (Nic. *Ther.* 789).[92] To these one can add μεμαθήκᾰσι and πεφήνᾰσι (Xenophanes F14 and 37 G-P).

It is striking that the two Homeric examples are in the same *sedes* as Antimachus (producing a dactylic fourth foot) and also that they occur in passages which have been viewed as 'late'.[93]

The perfect tense of νεύω never occurs in Homer, but the participle is found in Euripides, νενευκώς, 'with head bowed' (*IA* 1581), *cf.* νενευκὼς/ἐς γαῖαν (Theocr. 22.90-1) and ταῦρος ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο νενευκώς (Nic. *Ther.* 340). The indicative is used by Cercidas, νένευκεν οὐδαμῇ (of Zeus, F4.28 Powell).

It is hard to see the point of Wyss' comparison of Antimachus' diction here with *Od.* 23.46 f., Soph. *OT* 175 ff. and [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.343-53. In the latter passage the occurrence of νευστάζουσι (344), ἄλλον ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ (350) and νόσφι πόνου (353) appears to be mere coincidence. In [Oppian], leopards become drunk from wine mixed with their drinking water and droop their heads towards the earth (νευστάζουσι). The power of the wine casts them one upon the other (ἄλλον ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ). Thus they fall, without toil (νόσφι πόνου), into the hands of the mighty hunters. This context has little similarity to that

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[92] Kühner, *Gr. Gr.* I.2, 49; *cf.* Schwyzer, *Gr.Gr.* I.664f. At *Od.* 7.114 the MSS are unanimous in reading πεφύκει (3rd sing. pl. pf.). Editors have adopted πεφύκᾰσι from Herodian (II. 16, 28). *Cf.* Hainsworth in *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey I* (i-viii) (Oxford 1988), 329.

[93] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I, 470.

of Antimachus. He appears to be using νεύειν in its common Homeric sense of 'making a sign', e.g. νεῦσ' ἐπὶ οἷ (*Od.* 17.330, Telemachus to Eumaeus); οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες/νεῦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους (*Hy.* 7.8-9); also with dative without preposition, νεῦσ' Αἴας Φοίνικι. νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (*Il.* 9.223); ἦ καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ὅ γ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε σιωπῇ (620); ἀνὰ δ' ὀφρύσι νεῦον ἑκάστῳ (*Od.* 9.468); νεύσω μέν τοι ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ (16.283).[94]

In Antimachus, the sense seems to be 'they, before the struggle (battle ?) made signs to one another'.

Possible situations are people on the same side confirming some agreed plan before engaging in a struggle or alternatively opponents in a fight indicating that each is ready to begin. One such fight that comes to mind is that between Polydeuces and Amycus. The descriptions of the beginning of the fight by both Apollonius and Theocritus do bear comparison with this fragment even though their emphasis is on the mutual hostility of the combatants rather than on a mutual agreement to start fighting: οἱ δ' .../.../... ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μένος φέρον ἀντιόωντες (A.R. 2.67-9); οἱ δ' .../.../... φόνον ἀλλήλοισι πνέοντες (Theocr. 22.80-2).[95]

The Polydeuces-Amycus fight could be the context of this fragment, since there are already indications that Antimachus included it in his *Lyde* (*cf.* F95).

For πάροιθε followed by a genitive in this *sedes cf. Il.* 1.360; 500; *Od.* 16.166; A.R. 2.52. For ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ *cf.* ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ (Callim. *Hy. Ap.* 101 and [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.350, both same *sedes*); ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δ' ἄλλος (A.R. 2.81).

143 (107 Wyss)

Epimerism. Hom. (*Anecd. Oxon.* 1.158.23 Cramer = Herodian. 1.80.28 Lentz): ... εἶδος εὐειδής. βάθος ἀγχιβαθής (*Od.* 5.413)· λέχος ἀγχιλεχής· Ἀντιμαχος·

τό ῥά οἱ ἀγχιλεχὲς κρέματο περὶ πάσσαλον αἰεί

αἰεί Stoll ἀεί codd.

[94] *Cf. Od.* 16.164; 21.431; νευστάζων 12.194.

[95] *Cf.* also in the course of the fight, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δ' ἄλλος ἄηται / δοῦπος ἄδην (A.R. 2.81-2).

Commentary

The fragment owes its preservation to the *unicum* ἀγχιλεχές, an epithet created from λέχος. One can compare several epithets compounded with ἄγχι, especially those in -ης, -ες, derived from nouns, e.g. ἀγχιβαθής (*Od.* 5.413); ἀγχινεφής (Nonn. 3.208; Antip. *AP* 6.219.14); ἀγχιτελής (Nonn. 40.314).

As Wyss remarks, the language has a Homeric colour, *cf.* πασσάλῳ ἀγκρεμάσασα παρὰ τρητοῖσι λέχεσσιν (*Od.* 1.440); κὰδ δ' ἐκ πασσαλόφι κρεμάσεν φόρμιγγα λίγειαν (8.67 = 105); τόξα ἀνεκρεμάσε πρὸς κίονα πατρὸς ἑοῖο/πασσάλου ἐκ χρυσέου (*Hy. Ap.* 8-9).

Theocritus clearly drew on both Antimachus and Homer for δαιδάλεον δ' ὥρμασε μετὰ ξίφος, ὅ οἱ ὑπέρθεν/κλιντῆρος κεδρίνου περὶ πασσάλῳ αἰὲν ἄωρτο (24.41-2), *cf.* μάχαιραν, /ἥ οἱ πὰρ ξίφεος μέγα κουλεὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο (*Il.* 3.271-2 = 19.252-3). For the verb used in the intransitive middle *cf.* κρεμήσεται ... ἐπὶ τοῦ παττάλου, (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 808).

Stoll has suggested (104), with some probability, that ξίφος or φάσγανον preceded the line (*cf.* Theocr.), but another possible antecedent is τόξον, *cf.* ἀπὸ πασσάλου ἀγκύλα τόξα (*Il.* 5.209); ἀπὸ πασσάλου αἴνυτο τόξον (*Od.* 21.53); τόξα ἀνεκρεμασε ... /πασσάλου ἐκ χρυσέου (*Hy. Ap.* 8-9).

Metrically the line is unusual in containing both τō ῥά and κρέματō περί. The former is similar to παρᾱ ῥόον (F131) and ἐνῑ μεγάροις (F22), i.e. a case of lengthening before a liquid consonant. As for κρεμάτō περί (which of course could have been avoided by a change to the present tense), we have an Antimachean parallel in τέκετο Ῥέα (F41a.10), as well as Homeric models, e.g. τέτατο μέγα (*Il.* 22.307, same *sedes*) and τέκετο Πολυφείδεα (*Od.* 15.249, also preceding π-).[96]

Who the hero was who continually had a weapon (probably) hanging from a peg near his bed cannot be determined.

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[96] See commentary on F41a.10 with note; *cf.* Wyss, XXXVIII, who wrongly takes τέκετο (at *Od.* 15.249) as an imperfect when it is of course an aorist. Hoekstra explains τέκετō as an old formulaic survival from such phrases as τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης (*Il.* 4.59), hence the metrical irregularity with Πολυφείδεα (*A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey II* [ix-xvi], 248).

144 (108 Wyss)

Pollux, *Onom.* 2.178 (*Lex. Graec.* ix.1.138 Bethe): τὴν δὲ ῥάχιν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν ὠνόμασαν κλόνιν, ὥσπερ Ἀντίμαχος·

ὡς εἴ τε κλόνιος τεθορυίης σφονδυλίων ἔξ

εἴτε A: εἶπε FS τεθουρυίης A: τεθορύης FS σφονδ. FS: σπόνδ. A ἔξ A: ἕξ FS

Commentary

This fragment is preserved because Antimachus uses the word κλόνις in place of the more common ῥάχις, but other features are also of interest.

The context cannot be determined, but it would appear that a comparison is being made or possibly a scene on an artwork described. The phrase ὡς εἴ τε is common in comparisons in epic. No following verb is present in this fragment, but the phrase can be followed by an indicative, e.g. *Il.* 13.492, by a subjunctive, e.g. *Il.* 9.481, or more commonly by an optative, e.g. *Il.* 2.780; *Od.* 10.420. But often there is no expressed verb, e.g. *Il.* 11.474; 16.192; 19.366; 23.598-9; *Od.* 14.254; 17.111. For an example from a description of an artwork *cf.* τῇ ἰκέλη ὡς εἴ τε μάχην ἐθέλουσα κορύσσειν (*Scut.* 198, *cf.* also with ὡς εἰ 189 and 194).

Antimachus clearly employs κλόνις in the meaning 'backbone', 'spine'. The only other instances of this form seem to be in Schol. Aesch. *Prom.* 496-9, where the noun is said to be so named because the backbone is always moving.[97] A diminutive form κλόνιον is attested by Hesychius who glosses it with ἰσχίον, ῥάχις, ὀσφύς, 'hip', 'backbone', and 'loin' respectively.

The participle τεθορυίης is in fact the only extant instance of the perfect of θρῴσκω. σφονδύλιον is a diminutive form of the more common σφόνδυλος. Indeed in the meaning 'vertebra' it occurs elsewhere only at *Il.* 20.483. Although LSJ[9] says that σφονδύλιον is

[97] See C.J. Herington, *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound* (Leiden 1972), 149. The word actually occurs two (possibly three) times: 1) Schol. A 496a (496-9) manages to confuse the *os sacrum* with the stomach: εὐκίνητος γὰρ οὖσα καὶ σπέρματα ἔχουσα ἡ γαστήρ, θύεται θεοῖς. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ 'κλονὶς' ὀνομάζεται διὰ τὸ ἀεικίνητον, 2) Schol. A 496c states: κῶλον ... ὃ καὶ 'κλών' ὀνομάζεται διὰ τὸ ἀεικίνητον (perhaps a corruption from κλόνις, as Herington suggests), 3) Schol. Med. 497 has: ὀσφῦν] εὐκίνητος γὰρ οὖσα καὶ σπέρματα ἔχουσα θύεται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ 'κλονὶς' ὀνομάζεται διὰ τὸ ἀεικίνητον. As Herington remarks, the accent should read κλόνις.

diminutive 'in form only', Bechtel may well be right in saying that the poet of the *Iliad* may have used it to distinguish the smaller neck vertebrae from the wider σφόνδυλοι lying below.[98]

For the line-ending σφονδυλίων ἔξ *cf.* οὐδὲ κακῶν ἔξ (*Il.* 14.472); ὅς τε θεῶν ἔξ (*Od.* 17.518). It is usual for monosyllabic words to be in the final position only after bucolic diaeresis, i.e. when word-end coincides with a dactylic fourth foot, not as here with a spondee.

A meaning such as 'as if when the backbone has sprung from the vertebrae', referring to a catastrophic injury from battle or e.g. a chariot accident, would be a rather curious form of expression, the closest Homeric parallel being κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω/στηθέων ἐκθρῴσκει (*Il.* 10.94-5). Another possibility is that the context resembles the Iliadic passage which contains the word σφονδύλιον, namely μυελὸς αὖτε/σφονδυλίων ἔκπαλθ' (20.482-3), i.e. something like 'as if, when the back is broken, [marrow spurts] from the vertebrae'. For a similar construction *cf.* ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνός/γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο (*Il.* 22.149-50).

145 (109 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. 83 (74.1 Lasserre-Livadaras; cf. *Etym. Magn. Auct.* 274, [73.30]; *Etym. Symeon.* 149/53[74.14]) ex Herodian. Π. παθ. 2.167.11 Lentz: ἀδόροισι. Ἀντίμαχος.

ἐν δ' ἀδόροισι χέειν εὐήλατον ἄλφι.

ἄδοροι γὰρ λέγονται (ita Lass.-Liv.; δοροί [vel δόροι] γὰρ λέγεται codd.) παρὰ τὸ ἐκδεδάρθαι. δόρος, καὶ δοροί, κατὰ πλεονασμὸν ἄδοροι. ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ κακόδοροι. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός.
Strabo 8.5.3: καὶ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ . . . (F79). καὶ τὸ ἄλφιτον 'ἄλφι'.

Cf. Hesych. (I.43 Latte): ἄδοροι· ἀσκοί, κώρυκοι θύλακοι. *Suda* (I.53.9 Adler): ἄδορος· κώρυκος. ... καὶ ἄδορον, τὸ ἀνέκδαρτον. καὶ ἀδόροις, ἀνεκδάρτοις.

χέειν *Etym. Magn. Auct.* χεύειν *Etym. Gen.* χευᾶν cod. F *Etym. Sym.* εὐήλατον edd. εὔλατον cod.V: *Etym. Sym.* εὐίλατον reliqui

98 Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, 305. But Edwards (following Risch) suggests that the ending -ιος is adopted to avoid a cretic (*The Iliad: A Commentary* V. 342 on 20.483).

Commentary

The fragment is preserved because Antimachus used the pleonastic form ἀδόροισι instead of δοροῖσι, the α being prothetic, not privative.[99]

The line is a clever *variatio* on ἐν δέ μοι ἄλφιτα χεῦον ἐυρραφέεσσι δοροῖσιν (*Od.* 2.354; ἐν δέ οἱ ἄλφ. χεῦεν κ.τ.λ. 380) and is thus more likely to be incomplete at the end than at the beginning.

Almost everything in the verse is turned around; *cf.* the order ἄλφιτα ... δοροῖσιν and ἀδόροισι ... ἄλφι; the epithet in εὐ- is transferred from δοροῖσιν to ἄλφι; the noun δοροῖσιν is changed to a lengthened form, while ἄλφιτα is replaced by a shortened form. These manifold subtle alterations indicate clearly that Antimachus had the Homeric line in mind.

An interesting feature is the use of εὐήλατον, which usually means 'easy to ride or drive over' (e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.4.16), in the sense of 'well-ground,' a meaning also attested for ἐλα(υν)ω by Archias (*AP* 9.19.8), καρπὸν ἐλᾷ Δηοῦς ὀκριόεντι λίθῳ. This use of ἐλᾷ suggests that the emendation εὐήλατον is almost certainly correct, rather than εὐίλατον (codd.).[100] In using the phrase εὐήλατος ἄκμων, 'the well-beaten anvil' (F51.10 Powell = F57.10 v. Groningen), Euphorion borrows his epithet from Antimachus, but derives the sense from the common use of ἐλαύνειν, 'to beat out metal' (e.g. *Il.* 12.296; 18.564; 20.270; Mimnermus F12.6 West/ Allen; Plut. *Cam.* 41). In this sense and in formation, the word is analogous to χαλκήλατος, 'beaten out of brass', 'of beaten brass', which appears to be Attic, being widely attested in the dramatists.[101] Very similar to Antimachus' εὐήλατον ἄλφι (and also Attic) is Demosthenes' use of νεήλατα (*De Corona* 260), explained by Harpocration as equivalent to νεήλατα ἄλφιτα. But the derivation from ἐλαύνειν rather than ἀλειν seems preferable.[102]

The short form ἄλφι is mentioned by Strabo within the same con-

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[99] *Cf.* C. A. Lobeck, *Pathologiae Graeci Sermonis Elementa* (Regimontii 1853), I.17-18.

[100] Stoll (87, following Schellenberg, 95) defends the transmitted reading, 'very merciful', citing *far pium* (Hor. *Odes* 3.23.20) and ἄλφιτον ἱερόν (*Il.* 11.631). But Horace's phrase is probably derived from the Homeric and may have no bearing on Antimachus.

[101] Aesch. *Sept.* 386; 539; *Ch.* 290; F225 Radt; Soph. F341 Radt; Eurip. *Bacch.* 799; Aristoph. *Ran.* 929.

[102] *Cf.* Wyss, *Addenda et Corrigenda*, [104].

text as ὄψ (F79) in what must surely be a reference to this fragment. The form occurs in *Hy. Dem.* 208 (same *sedes*, if we assume ⏑ – ⏑ to fill out the line), its only occurrence in earlier epic. Strabo explains it as an *apocope*, but Richardson suggests that it is probably the original form, from which ἄλφιτον was derived via the neuter plural *ἄλφατα > ἄλφιτα.[103]

The context is most likely that of preparation for setting out on a journey, similar to *Od.* 2.354.[104] A connection with the cutting of corn mentioned in F134 is possible.

146 (110 Wyss)

Schol. b Hom. *Il.* 24.23-30 (V.520 Erbse): καὶ τὸ 'νείκεσσεν' ἄκυρον ἐπὶ δικαστοῦ. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν δικαζομένων αὐτὸ τίθησιν, ὡς τὸ 'ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινῆς' (*Il.* 18.498), 'κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων'(*Od.* 12.440). οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ νεῖκος διαλύειν, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος·

a) εὐνείκεστα δ' ἔσαν λόγια

ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐδιάκριτα. Eadem fere Schol. T, nisi quod ex Antimacho afferunt (cf. Erbse, *app. crit.*)

b) μετὰ δ' εὐνεικὲς κρῖνον.

a) δ' ἔσαν λ. Schol. b δ' ἦσαν λ. E⁴ b) δ' εὐνεικὲς κρῖνον Wyss δὲ εὐνείκες κρίνον Schol. T

Commentary

These two fragments illustrate the adjective εὐνείκης, -ες and its longer version εὐνείκεστος, both apparent creations of Antimachus. The words are derived from the Homeric use of the noun νεῖκος in the sense of 'a dispute at law', giving the epithets the meaning of 'easy to judge or decide'.[105]

While it is perfectly natural that νεῖκος, 'strife' or 'quarrel', should come to refer specifically to a 'quarrel at law', it is surprising that οἱ

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[103] Richardson, *Hom. Hy. Dem.*, 225; *cf.* R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes* (Second Series) *Hypomnemata* Heft 74 (Göttingen 1982), 20.

[104] So Wyss, and Stoll (87).

[105] *Cf.* LSJ⁹ *s.vv.* εὐνείκης and νεῖκος 3; Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* III. 739 *s.v.* νεῖκος; Hesych. *s.v.* εὐνικές. εὐκρινές (II.230 Latte).

νεώτεροι, including Antimachus, should have understood the Homeric νείκεσσε (*Il.* 24.29, in the context of the judgement of Paris) as applying to the judge in the sense of 'to settle a dispute'. As the Homeric scholiast says, the verb should be properly applied to those who are pleading their cause, as in *Il.* 18.498.[106] The controversy may well have arisen from the other illustration provided by the scholiast, κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων (*Od.* 12.440), which can be construed in two ways, either κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ or νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων. The former interpretation might be thought to be supported by νείκεα λύει (*Od.* 7.74, of Arete settling disputes among the Phaeacians).[107] Hence, just as νεικεῖν can be equivalent to νείκεα δικάζεσθαι (as in *Il.* 18.498), so it might also be equivalent to νείκεα κρίνειν as at *Il.* 24.29, νείκεσσε θεάς.[108] The accompanying θεάς could be taken as an accusative of respect referring to all three goddesses (Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite): 'He settled the case concerning the goddesses ... and favoured her who etc.' The usual interpretation is something like 'he insulted the goddesses (i.e. Hera and Athena) ... but praised her (i.e. Aphrodite) who etc.'[109] Because of the context of judgement, Antimachus and the νεώτεροι seem to have felt a need to give νείκεσσε a meaning more directly related to such a context. Others solved the difficulty by athetizing the passage.[110] Thus Antimachus' use of the epithets indicates how he understood νείκεσσε at *Il.* 24.29. As Wyss points out, the forms are similar to εὐακής and εὐάκεστος, 'easy to remedy', but neither word is common.[111]

In the first fragment, the epithet εὐνείκεστα is used with λόγια, so that the sense evolves from 'easy to decide' to 'easy to interpret'. The word λόγια, 'oracles', is frequently found in the plural. It is not an epic word, being earliest attested in fifth-century authors, e.g. Hdt.

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[106] It seems to be a formal judicial proceeding. The people were gathered in the agora. There a νεῖκος had arisen and two men ἐνείκεον about the blood-price of a dead man.

[107] *Cf.* A.W.H. Adkins, *JHS* LXXXIX (1969), 10.

[108] *Cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* νείκεσεν. ἔκρινεν.

[109] *Cf.* LSJ[9] *s.v.* νεικείω II. But Adkins has pointed out that νείκεσσε here in fact means that the two defeated goddesses felt ἐλεγχείη (disgrace or hurt) when Paris gave his judgement that Aphrodite had won, i.e. Paris' words were hostile speech (*JHS* LXXXIX, 20); *cf.* Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary* VI,279.

[110] Variously from *vv.* 23, 24, or 25 to *v.* 30 (see Ludwich's *apparatus*, II. 559-60).

[111] εὐακέστερον Rufus (?) *ap.* Orib. *incert.* 4.54; εὐακεστότεραι Hipp. *Acut.* 39.

1.64; 8.62; 141; Eurip. *HF* 405; Aristoph. *Eq.* 120; Thuc. 2.8.2.[112] It is notable that λόγια is used here with a plural verb. Monro reports that in Homer the ratio of plural verb to singular verb with neuter plural subjects is about one to three and that, when the plural is used, the word concerned is really plural in meaning, i.e. it calls up the notion of distinct units.[113] Hence here several distinct oracles may be meant, but there is no way of knowing which of the many oracles and prophecies possible in the *Thebaid* they might be.

In the second fragment, μετὰ δ' appears to be equivalent to ἔπειτα δ' as in πρῶτος ἐγώ, μετὰ δ' ὔμμες (*Od.* 21.231). The metrical position of μετὰ δ' at *Od.* 21.231, coupled with the fact that κριν- stems are very frequent as the final element of spondaic fourth feet in Homer suggests that the metrics of the verse are – ⏖ – μετὰ δ' εὐνεῖκες κρῖνον ⏖ – ⏑ .[114]

147 (111 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. (*Etym. Magn.* 371.19): ἐρεχμὸς καὶ ἐρεγμός· παρὰ τὸ ἐρεύγω ἐρευγμός· ὃς λέγεται καὶ ἐρεγμός. δοκεῖ δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν ἐκφέρεσθαι διὰ τοῦ χ· διωχμὸν γὰρ λέγουσι διὰ τοῦ χ, και ληχμόν, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος·

λῃχμὸν δ' ἐμπάζεσθαι ἀλεείνων.

Hesych. (II.594 Latte): Ληχμόν· λῆξιν.

Commentary

This fragment shows Antimachus using the form ληχμός as an equivalent to λῆξις, 'cessation', a use analogous to that of λαχμός for λακτισμός in F97. The original form would be *ληκσμός, *cf.* *λακσμός > λαχμός. There is no good reason to reject Hesychius' explanation λῆξιν, as Latte does. He seems to have misunderstood Wyss' com-

[112] The scholiast to Thuc. 2.8.2 distinguishes λόγια from χρησμοί by saying that the former were uttered by a god in prose, whereas the latter were in verse and were uttered by people inspired by gods, but this was not necessarily so (see Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* II.9). Of course in Antimachus the oracles would be expressed in verse whether they were spoken directly by a god or passed on through intermediaries.

[113] Monro, *GHD*, 160-1. At Thuc. 2.8.2 ἐλέγοντο is a *v.l.* for ἐλέγετο.

[114] κριν- stems in this *sedes Il.* 2.385; 16.387; 18.209; *Od.* 4.408; 14.108; 217; 16.269; 24.507; *Hom. Ep.* 4.5.

ment 'Alius haec intellegat', which indicates merely that Wyss finds the fragment difficult to understand, not that he rejects the explanation λῆξιν. The analogy with διωχμός < διώκειν indicates that ληχμός is equivalent to λῆξις < λήγειν, not λῆξις < λαγχάνειν.

The compiler of the *Etymologicum* says that these forms are Aeolic, but such variation before stop and aspirate forms, especially before nasals, is found in several dialects, e.g. πρῆχμα = πρῆγμα (Ion., perhaps in Hdt. see LSJ[9]), μέλιχμα = μείλιγμα (Ion.), πάρδειχμα = παράδειγμα, φάρχμα = φράγμα (both Epidaur.), ῥηχμός = ῥηγμός (Argos), *τέκνα = τέχνη (Locr.).[115] For parallel forms in epic *cf.* ἰωχμός (*Il.* 8.89; 158; Hes. *Theog.* 683) = ἰωκή (*Il.* 5.521; 11.601); ῥωχμός (*Il.* 23.420; A.R. 4.1545) = ῥώξ -ωγός (*Od.* 22.143); πλοχμός (*Il.* 17.52; A.R. 2.677; Q.S. 5.39; *AP* 6.237) = πλόκαμος (e.g. *Il.* 14.176 etc); μυχμός (*Od.* 24.416) = μυγμός (e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 117; 120).[116]

The other words in the fragment are both Homeric, but are never found in combination with each other. As Wyss has noticed, the stem ἀλεειν- is frequent in the final position in Homer.[117] But there are only two examples of the verb taking an infinitive, κτεῖναι μέν ῥ' ἀλέεινε (*Il.* 6.167) and ἀλεξέμεναι ἀλέεινε, the latter (at line-end 13.356) also showing the same hiatus as here. While ἐμπάζεσθαι too is fairly common, especially in the *Odyssey*, it occurs only once with an accusative in Homer, οὐδ' ἱκέτας ἐμπάζεαι (*Od.* 16.422) and is usually accompanied by a genitive.[118] A single Homeric example is all the more likely to recommend the usage to Antimachus. In later epic Colluthus uses the accusative, coupling ἐμπάζεσθαι with ἀλεγίζειν, another verb usually with a genitive in Homer: Ἔριν ... /οὐ Χείρων ἀλέγιζε καὶ οὐκ ἐμπάζετο Πηλεύς (37-8).[119]

It is difficult to elucidate a meaning, other than something like 'shrinking from taking heed of stopping' or 'taking care not to concern (oneself) about stopping'. The context might be that of a chariot-race, *cf.* λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν, 'take care not to touch the stone' (part of Nestor's instructions to Antilochus, *Il.* 23.340).

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[115] See Buck, *GD*, 60; for πρῆχμα in Hdt. see W. Schulze, *Festschr. Kretschmer*, 217ff.

[116] See Hoffmann, *Gr.Dial.* 2.504-5. *Cf.* ἀμυχμός (Theocr. 24.126) = ἀμυγμός (Aesch. *Ch.* 24).

[117] *Il.* 3.32 (= 11.584; 13.566; 596; 648; 14.408); 6.202; 11.793; 13.356; 16.36; 213 (= 23.713); 16.817; 23.422; *Od.* 4.251; 5.326; 13.148; 19.373; 24.229; *Hy. Herm.* 85.

[118] *Il.* 16.50; *Od.* 1.217; 305; 415; 2.201; 9.553; 17.488; 19.134; 20.275; 384.

[119] *Cf.* οὐκ ἀλέγων Ἀδράστειαν οὐδὲ Νέμεσιν ἐμπαζόμενος (Aelian F325)

148 (112 Wyss)

Epimerism. Hom. (*Anecd. Oxon.* 1.55.26 Cramer = Herodian. 1.450.10 Lentz) : τὰ εἰς -νω τῷ υ παραληγόμενα ῥήματα βαρύνεσθαι θέλει καὶ ἐκτείνειν τὸ υ· εὐθύνω· πλατύνω· βραδύνω·

ἀμορφύνειν ἐθέλωσιν

ὁ Ἀντίμαχος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμορφοποιεῖν. 'ἀκαχύνω' (Cramer: -χήνω codd.) ὁ αὐτός (F156a)· ἔνθεν ἀπαρέμφαντον 'ἀκαχυνέμεν' (F156b)

Hesych. (I.131 Latte): ἀμορφύνειν· οὐ δεόντως πράττειν.

Commentary

Antimachus appears to have coined a denominative verb in -ύνειν on the analogy of such as those cited, εὐθύνειν, πλατύνειν, and βραδύνειν.[120] But such verbs are usually formed from adjectives in -υς (in addition to the above examples *cf.* βαρύνειν, ἡδύνειν, ὀξύνειν).

The usual form of verbs derived from first and second declension nouns and adjectives in the sense of making or rendering into a certain condition or state is the -οω type, e.g. δοῦλος > δουλόω, ἐλεύθερος > ἐλευθερόω, πόλεμος > πολεμόω. Indeed, from the stem μορφ-, both μορφόω and ἀμορφόω are attested.

There are, however, examples of -ύνω formations from words not ending in -υς and having the same sort of application, e.g. αἰσχύνειν < αἶσχος, θαρσύνειν < θάρσος, and καρτύνειν < κάρτος (but *cf.* θρασύνειν < θρασύς and κρατύνειν < κρατύς). Of these, αἰσχύνειν (e.g. *Il.* 18.24; 27) is more or less synonymous with ἀμορφύνειν and just might have served as Antimachus' model. Hesychius also lists μορφύνειν in the sense of 'adorn', but does not name his source.

The most likely metrical arrangement for the fragment would be – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ἀμορφύνειν ἐθελῶσιν. For ἐθελῶσιν at line-end *cf. Il.* 7.375. Antimachus employs another unusual -ύνειν type verb in F156a/b, ἀκαχύνω/ἀκαχυνέμεν.

149 (114 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 11.754 (III.274 Erbse) (eadem fere ap. *Etym. Magn.* 271.17): <δι' ἀσπιδέος πεδίοιο>: οἱ δέ φασιν ἐκ πλήρους σπιδέος καὶ

[120] On such verbs see Goodwin, *GG*, 190-1.

ἀποδιδόασι πολλοῦ καὶ μακροῦ· καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχύλος πολλάκις τὴν λέξιν οὕτως ἔχουσαν τίθησιν, ὅταν λέγῃ 'σπίδιον μῆκος ὁδοῦ'(F378 Radt), καὶ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος·

οὐδὲ σπιδόθεν προνοῆσαι,

τουτέστι μακρόθεν.

Commentary

The scholiast has preserved this fragment in a discussion on whether *Il.* 11.754 should read δι' ἀσπιδέος πεδίοιο or διὰ σπιδέος πεδίοιο. The ancient critics who argued for the latter cited Aeschylus, σπίδιον μῆκος ὁδοῦ, and this fragment of Antimachus.

The better-attested reading is certainly σπιδέος (a genitive from σπιδής or σπιδύς), in the sense of πολλοῦ or μακροῦ.[121] Among related words is σπίζω = ἐκτείνω (Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 18).[122] Yet Wyss rejects σπιδέος as contrary to Homeric usage, claiming that simple adjectives ending in -ης are only found on the model of compound forms, and argues that ἀσπιδέος should be read.[123]

The fact that those ancient scholars who read ἀσπιδέος did not connect it with σπίδιον or σπιδόθεν, but instead derived it from ἀσπίς, 'shield', is surely a strong argument against Wyss' position.[124] We have, moreover, a form completely analogous to σπιδέος, namely φραδέος (*Il.* 24.354, where there is also a less well-attested *v.l.* ἀφραδέος).[125]

The Homeric reading should thus be σπιδέος.[126] I do not share the uncertainty of Wyss on the question of whether Antimachus' use of the adverb σπιδόθεν indicates that the poet agreed with those

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[121] Zenodotus, Aristarchus, Amerias, Herodian, Apoll. Soph.; *cf.* Ludwich's *apparatus* I.476; Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* IV.1. 1037 *s.v.* σπιδέος.

[122] *Cf.* Hesych. σπιδνόν· πυκνόν, συνεχές, πεπηγύς; σπιδόεν· μέλαν, πλατύ, σκοτεινόν, πυκνόν, μέγα. As Chantraine comments, the diversity of equivalents proves that the word was not well-understood.

[123] He follows Wackernagel, 'Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Komposita' (*Prog. zur Rektorat der Univ. Basel* 1889), 37 (= *Kleine Schriften* II, 933) and Ernst Fraenkel, *Zeits. für Vergl. Sprachforsch.* 43 (1910), 206, who compares ἀσπιδής with ἀτενής, ἀχανής, ἀσπερχής, ἀστεμφής. *Cf.* Bechtel, *Lexilog.* 68 *s.v.* ἀσπίς.

[124] Ptol. Asc.; Crates; *cf.* Ludwich I.476; LSJ[9] *s.v.* σπιδής.

[125] *Cf.* Monro, *GHD* 109 §116.5; Ludwich, *Il.* II.588. On the variant and its exploitation by Rhianus (Fl.3 Powell), see Giangrande, *L'Antiq. Class.* XXXIX (1970), 48-50 (= *Scr. Min. Alex.* I.35-7).

[126] *Cf.* van der Valk, *Researches,* I.270 n.146.

who read σπιδέος in Homer. It is surely very likely that he did.[127]

The word προνοῆσαι is perhaps at line-end, *cf.* δόλον δ' οὔ τι προνόησαν (*Il.* 18.526). The sense appears to be 'nor <was he (were they?) able> to foresee from afar <that etc.>'.

150 (115 Wyss)

Phot. *Lex.* (I.170 Theodoridis) = *Suda* (I.191.17 Adler): ἀνατυπῶσαι· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνατρέψαι. Ἀντίμαχος. Zonaras *Lex.* (I.207 Tittmann): ἀνατυπῶσαι. Ἀντίμαχος. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνατρέψαι.

ἀνακυπῶσαι

ἀνατυπῶσαι omn. codd. corr. Lobeck. cf. *Anecd. Gr.* Bekker I.391.5 ἀνακυπῶσαι· ἀναστρέψαι et Hesych. (I.153 Latte): ἀνακυπ[τ]ῶσαι· ἀνατρέψαι. Etiam Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 705: 'ἀνακυπώσας' . . . ἀναστρέψας ἐπὶ νῶτον.

Commentary

Although all the lexicographers who actually name Antimachus read ἀνατυπῶσαι, there can be little doubt that the correct version is ἀνακυπῶσαι, as recorded by Hesychius and *Anecd.* Bekker, both probably citing the fragment.

As Wyss notes, only comparatively late writers (after A.D. 100) are known to have used ἀνατυποῦν at all, and in the example with which LSJ[9] compares this fragment, namely Dio Chrysost. 12.26, the word means 'remodel', 'transform', not ἀνατρέψαι, 'overturn', 'turn upside down', which is the meaning cited by all the authorities for the fragment.

On the other hand, ἀνακυποῦν in the sense of 'overturn' occurs in two of the very writers who often use words found in Antimachus, namely Nicander, ἀνακυπώσας (*Ther.* 705), and Lycophron, κἀνακυπώσας (137). The scholiasts to both authors explain the word as ἀνατρέψαι.

In addition, as Wyss notes, there is a metrical argument in favour of ἀνακῡπῶσαι against ἀνατῠπῶσαι, although Stoll cites Homeric precedent for the scansion ᾱνατυπῶσαι.[128]

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[127] This is the opinion of Stoll (99).

[128] ᾱποδίωμαι (*Il.* 5.763) and ᾱπονέεσθαι (*Il.* 2.113 and nine other instances in *Il.* plus five in *Od.*; *cf.* Stoll, *Philol.* 4 (1849), 171-2.

151 (116 Wyss)

Hesych. (I.358 Latte): Γαιηίδα· τὴν Φοίβην. Ἀντίμαχος.

Γαιηίδα

<Φοίβην> in hexametri exitu add. Wyss

Commentary

We know from this fragment not only that Antimachus mentioned Phoebe, but that he called her Γαιηίς. Never mentioned in Homer, Phoebe is listed by Hesiod as a daughter of Uranus and Gaia (*Theog.* 136; *cf.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.1.3). He tells us that she lay with Coeus (her brother according to *Theog.* 134-6; *cf.* Apollod. 1.2.2) and subsequently gave birth to Leto (*Theog.* 404 ff.; *cf. Hy. Ap.* 62, where Leto is called a daughter of Coeus, and Callim. *Hy.* 3.150, Κοιηίς). Aeschylus uses the name Phoebe for the mother of Leto and derives Φοῖβος from it (*Eum.* 7).[129]

We know that Antimachus referred to Delos as Cynthus in the first book of his *Thebaid* (F12), but perhaps a more likely place to find the genealogy of Leto would be the *Artemis.*

Wyss mentions that the use of metronymic forms is post-Homeric.[130] Among later examples *cf.* Λητωίς, of Artemis (A.R. 2.938; 3.878; Callim. *Hy.* 3.45; also Λητωιάς, 83).

Wyss suggests a hexameter of the form – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – Γαιηίδα <Φοίβην>, on the analogy of Τιτυὸν Γαιήιον υἱόν (*Od.* 7.324). But we do not know whether Antimachus even included the name Phoebe in the same line. For other possible positions for such a metronymic form *cf.* – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – Λητωίδι – ⏑⏑ – – (Callim. *Hy.* 3.45) and – – – Λητωὶς ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – – – – ⏑ (A.R. 3.878).

152 (117 Wyss)

Hesych. (II.2 Latte): ἑανηφόρος· [ἡ] ἠώς. παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ.

ἑανηφόρος

[129] *Cf.* West (ed.) *Hes. Theog.*, 204 on v. 136.

[130] *Cf.* Dionys. Thr. 26.5: ἀπὸ δὲ μητέρων οὐ σχηματίζει πατρωνυμικὸν εἶδος ὁ Ὅμηρος, ἀλλ' οἱ νεώτεροι.

Commentary

Antimachus is said to have described Dawn by the epithet ἑανηφόρος, a *hapax*. Wyss (LVII) has noticed that it is metrically identical to the Homeric ῥοδοδάκτυλος, but one cannot be sure that Antimachus employed it at line-end in conjunction with ἠώς, as in the common Homeric phrase.[131]

The scansion indicates that the word is derived from the Homeric noun ϝεᾰνός, 'a robe', rather than from the epithet ἑᾱνός, -ή, -όν, used of clothing or fabrics, e.g. a πέπλος (*Il.* 5.734; 8.385) and linen (*Il.* 18.352; 23.254), meaning 'fine'.[132] The noun is found four times in the *Iliad*, always accompanied by an epithet, ἀμβρόσιος (14.178; 21.507), νεκταρέος (3.385), and ἀργὴς φαεινός (3.419), and also in *Hy. Dem.* 176, ἱμερόεις.[133]

Apollonius uses only the noun, three times, all in Bk. 4; once of a robe, described as λεπταλέος (169), and twice, in the plural, of fabrics or linens, described as εὐώδεες (1155) and πολύκμητοι (1189).

Antimachus thus depicts Dawn as wearing a robe of a fine, possibly shiny fabric. He seems to have a liking for epithets describing the dress of divine figures, *cf.* ζειροφόρος, of Hades (F96). Perhaps in the case of Dawn, the epithet is meant to suggest the play of the emerging daylight on thin cloud.

153 (118 Wyss)

Herodian. π. μον. λέξ. 2.938.13 Lentz: τὰ εἰς -λυς λήγοντα καθαρὸν ἔχοντα τὸ υ συνεσταλμένον βαρύνεσθαι θέλει. . . . 'φόλυες κύνες' παρὰ τῷ Ἀντιμάχῳ, ἔπηλυς, νέηλυς, ὄλολυς τὸ προσηγορικὸν εἴτε τὸ κύριον, Ζῆλυς ὁ ποταμός, ἔγχελυς, μόλυς. σημειῶδες ἄρα τὸ πολύς ὀξυνόμενον. Hesych. (IV.253 Schmidt): φόλυες κύνες· οἱ πυρροὶ ὄντες μέλανα στόματα (ita cod.στίγματα Gennadius) εἶχον. οἱ δὲ φύλακας.

φόλυες κύνες

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[131] Wyss' suggestion was anticipated by Reitzenstein, *Ind. lect. Rostoch.* 1892/3, 12.17.

[132] *Cf. Il.* 18.613, where it is used of beaten tin.

[133] *Cf.* Hesych. (II.2 Latte): ἑανός· πᾶν λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἔνδυμα γυναικεῖον, ὃ καὶ πέπλον λέγει Ὅμηρος. Neither noun nor epithet occurs in the *Odyssey*. Kirk remarks that they seem distinct from each other (*The Iliad: A Commentary* II. 134 on 5.734-7).

Commentary

Antimachus apparently described some dogs as φόλυες. With the epithet being a *hapax*, the phrase is difficult to elucidate, even receiving its own entry in Chantraine,[134] as in Hesychius, who explains that the dogs are πυρροί, 'tawny' or 'reddish', with black mouths. The additional comment οἱ δὲ φύλακας would seem to mean that some people said that they were watchdogs.

Wyss thinks that perhaps the dogs were marked with spots, because he connects the epithet φόλυς with the verb φολύνει, glossed by Hesychius as μολύνει, καταπίμπλησιν. The verb μολύνειν means 'to stain', 'defile'. Doubt has been cast on the φόλυς/φολύνειν link because φολύνει in Hesychius may be a mistake for φορύνει, which also means 'to stain', 'despoil' etc.[135] But the reading φολύνει should be retained, either as a cross-formation of φορύνω and μολύνω, or as a simple phonetic confusion of ρ and λ.[136]

The problem of reconciling Wyss' interpretation of the phrase with Hesychius' explanation may be overcome if we accept the suggestion of Gennadius to read not στόματα but στίγματα in Hesychius, i.e. 'dogs that are reddish, with black spots or markings'.[137] We can accept Gennadius' conjecture στίγματα without also accepting his suggestion that φόλυες is connected with the noun φόλις. This word usually refers to 'scales' on the skin of a reptile or serpent, but Apollonius uses it of 'spots' or 'flecks' on the wings of the Boreads (1.221).[138] But the morphological change of ι to υ is hard to explain. A derivation of φόλυες from φολύνω, however, suggests the required sense of a uniform colour (πυρρός), stained or marked with black spots.

What poem or context the phrase comes from cannot be determined. But the hunting dogs of Artemis come to mind, *cf.* Callim. *Hy.* 3.90-1, where the goddess is given six dogs, one 'spotted' (αἰόλος), three possibly 'reddish' (if παρουαίους is correct). Xenophon claimed that the best hunting dogs should not be completely of a sin-

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[134] Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* IV.2.1221.

[135] Hesych. *s.v.* φορύνει· φυρᾷ, μολύνει, συγχεῖ. *Cf.* A. Debrunner, *Indogerm. Forsch.* 21 (1907), 88.

[136] Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* IV.2.1223.

[137] *JHS* 46 (1926), 42 f.

[138] *Cf.* Schol. ταῖς στίξεσι τοῖς ποικίλμασι. The word is also used of a leopard's spots (Heliodor. 10.27).

gle colour, whether red, black, or white (*Cyn.* 4.7).[139] [Oppian] disliked both black and white, stating that the dogs should be of the colour of wild beasts like wolves, tigers, foxes, or leopards, or of the colour of Demeter's corn (*Cyn.* 1.427-435). Tawny or reddish dogs with black spots would certainly fall into his approved category.

The tragic story of Actaeon, torn apart by his own hunting dogs, would have been a suitable subject for Antimachus' *Lyde.*[140]

154 (119 Wyss)

Herodian. π. μον. λεξ. 2.941 Lentz: σημειῶδες ἄρα τὸ φᾶρος ἐκτεινόμενον τὸ α· 'φᾶρος μέν οἱ πρῶτον ἐϋπλυνὲς ἠδὲ χιτῶνα' (*Od.* 16.173). οἱ μέντοι τραγικοὶ ἐπίσης ἐκτείνουσι τοῦ προκειμένου ὀνόματος τὸ α καὶ συστέλλουσι, ὡς παρὰ Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Σαλαμινίαις· 'εἴ μοι γένοιτο φᾶρος ἶσον ἐν οὐρανῷ' (F216 Radt)· ἀλλὰ κατὰ συστολὴν παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Τηρεῖ· 'σπεύδουσαν αὐτήν, ἐν δὲ ποικίλῳ φάρει' (F586 Radt) καὶ ἐν Κρίσει σατυρικῇ 'καὶ δὴ φάρει τῷδ' ὡς ἐμῷ καλύπτομαι' (F360 Radt) παραφυλακτέον ὅτι τὸ φάρος τυχὸν συστελλομένου τοῦ α ἀναδέχεται πάλιν ἐν διαφόρῳ σημαινομένῳ τὰ τρία γένη ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τάφος. ἔστι γὰρ ἀρσενικόν: οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Μενελάου ἐκαλεῖτο πρωρεύς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θηλυκὸν ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα λαβούσης, ὥς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος (*FGrHist* 1F307). καὶ οὐδέτερον, ὁπότε σημαντικὸν τοῦ ἱματίου ἢ καὶ τοῦ ἀρότρου, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι (F1.61 *PMGF*)· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ

ἀεὶ φάρεος χατέουσιν ἔχων.

οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις εὕρηται.

χατέουσιν ἔχων Deroy, Matthews (vel ἔχοντες) χατεύουσιν ἔχων codd. χατέουσιν ἕκοντες Lehrs, Davies χατέουσαν Ἐχῖνον Lobeck <γῆν> χατέουσαν ἔχων Bergk, Stoll χατέουσιν ἐχετλῶν O. Schneider

Commentary

In his discussion of the words φάρος and φᾶρος, Herodian notes that Homer employs the form with the long α,citing *Od.* 16.173, but that the tragedians equally lengthen or shorten the α of this word, quot-

[139] He is expressly contradicted by Arrian (*Cyn.* 6).
[140] *Cf.* the anonymous *epyllion* in Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 71-2.

ing Aeschylus for the long α and Sophocles for the short. He then proceeds to discuss the word φᾰρος, with short α, noting that it is masculine, as in the name of Menelaus' steersman. But secondly it is also feminine in the case of the island called after this same man, as Hecataeus tells, and finally it is neuter when the sense is 'garment', 'robe' or also 'plough', as is the case in Alcman; but also in Antimachus (there is) ἀεὶ φάρεος χατέυουσιν ἔχων.

Editors have generally interpreted ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ as an indication that Antimachus, like Alcman, used φάρος to mean 'plough'.[141] But in view of the fact that Herodian presents two meanings for φάρος and then cites two authorities, it is surely more natural to assume that Alcman is cited for one meaning and Antimachus for the other. One can compare Herodian's discussion of φᾶρος, 'robe' (941.32ff), where he states that the tragedians lengthen or shorten the α equally and then goes on to cite Aeschylus for the long α, but (ἀλλὰ), Sophocles (twice) for the short α. For ἀλλὰ καί denoting a change from one application of a word to another, we can compare 942.12, when Herodian moves from the masculine form of Φάρος to the feminine. Therefore I would argue that ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ means that Herodian is moving from φάρος meaning 'plough' in Alcman to the meaning 'robe' in Antimachus.[142]

Moreover, from Herodian's discussion one can deduce that φᾶρος with long α is only found in the meaning 'robe', 'garment', whereas φάρος with short α sometimes means 'garment' but also 'plough'. Herodian refers the latter sense to Alcman, apparently to F1.61 *PMGF*, i.e. presumably he read ὀρθρίαι φάρος φεροίσαις in that text.

Almost all recent editors of Alcman read φᾶρος, which can be clearly discerned in the Louvre Papyrus.[143] But from the evidence of Herodian, this reading should only mean 'robe', yet frequently editors have rendered it as 'plough'. Campbell notes 'So Sosiphanes (schol.); the word usually means 'robe'.'[144] But it should be noticed

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[141] *Cf.* Wyss, 58; Stoll, 106; Dübner, 48.

[142] For a similar ambiguity in Herodian's style of presentation *cf.* the sentence οἱ . . . τραγικοὶ ἐπίσης ἐκτείνουσι . . . τὸ α καὶ συστέλλουσι, ὡς παρὰ Αἰσχύλῳ κ.τ.λ., where we need the following quotation to show that Aeschylus is lengthening the α, not shortening it.

[143] E.g. Davies *PMGF*; Campbell, *Greek Lyric* II.366. See E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1971), 44-5. Page printed φᾶρος in *PMG* (1962), but earlier in *Alcman: the Partheneion* (Oxford 1951, 19) he had given φάρος, as did C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*^{2} (Oxford 1961), 44.

that while φᾶρος in the papyrus is clearly marked with a circumflex, φαρος in Schol. A is not.[145] Rather than reading Ἀριστο(φάνης) ὀρθί-αι. φᾶρος· Σωσιφάνης ἄροτρον (Campbell) or Ἀριστο(φάνης) ὀρθίαι φᾶρος· Σωσιφάνης ἄροτρον (Davies),[146] we should read Ἀριστο(φάνης) ὀρθίαι. φάρος· Σωσιφάνης ἄροτρον, i.e. Sosiphanes is not suggesting that φᾶρος means ἄροτρον, but is presenting a variant reading φάρος.[147] Whether the explanation ἄροτρον (i.e. for φάρος) should be credited to Sosiphanes or to the scholiast is uncertain, but the former seems more likely. This reference suggests that Sosiphanes was a commentator rather than a poet, but it is possible that he was one of two tragedians of that name, both later than Antimachus.[148]

Herodian has clearly accepted the reading φάρος in Alcman with the meaning 'plough', but, as suggested above, he may have quoted Antimachus to illustrate the meaning 'robe' or 'garment'. Despite what Herodian says, Deroy believes that φάρος in the sense of 'plough' is a phantom word and argues against that meaning for both Alcman and Antimachus.[149]

The verse of Antimachus is unfortunately corrupt in Herodian, but Wyss fails to make sense by his suggestion that it is probable that the true form of Antimachus' words would have made clear the neuter gender of φάρος. What had to be clear in the quotation from Antimachus is that the α in φάρεος is short, which is obvious from the metre. In fact, Antimachus may have followed the practice of Euripides (not cited by Herodian) in making the α long or short as required by his metre, e.g. long at *El.* 191; *Hec.* 1082; *IT* 1149; short

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[144] Campbell, *Greek Lyric* II, 365 with n.17.

[145] See the photograph (Plate 16) in Turner, 45; *cf.* Q. Cataudella, *Filologia e Critica* 9 (1972),31.

[146] Campbell, *Gr. Lyr.* II, 366; *QUCC* 26 (1987), 71-2; Davies, *PMGF*, 31.

[147] *Cf.* K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri* (Diss. Duke Univ. 1977) 305 and 309.n.40.

[148] McNamee (305.n.37) says that he is more likely an otherwise unknown scholar whose name may also occur in a contemporary *hypomnema* (*P.Oxy.* 2389 = Alcman F1 fr.6 col.i.13 *PMGF*, where Davies reads Σω[σίβιος). Snell (*TGF*1) distinguishes two tragedians, no. 92, who died in the second half of the fourth cent. and no. 103, born 306/5; *cf.* Hollis, *Hecale*, 295.

[149] L. Deroy, *L'Antiquité Classique* LIV (1985), 49-55. As he points out (49), H. Frisk is very doubtful about the meaning (*Gr. Etym. Worterb. s.v.*). Deroy does recognise a form φάρος in the sense of cultivated land, from which come such derivatives as ἄφαρον φαρόωσι (Callim. *Hecale* F111 Hollis = F287 Pf.), ἀφάρωτος (metaphorically of a woman, F555 Pf.; Hesych. *s.v.*) and βούφαρον (Hesych *s.v.*).

at *Andr.* 831; *Or.* 840; *HF* 414. Apollonius does likewise, *cf.* φᾶρος (2.30; 3.1204; 4.187) and φᾶρεσιν (3.454; 1031), but φᾰρέεσσι (3.863).

If Lehrs' correction χατέουσιν be accepted, the verse may be restored as follows: – ⏑ ἀεὶ φάρεος χατέουσιν ἔχων ⏑⏑ – ⏑, 'always having (clothing) for those in need of a mantle'.[150] This metrical arrangement may be defended for ἀεί by *Il.* 12.211 and 23.648 (the only instances of this form in the *Iliad*) and for ἔχων by *Il.* 2.250. But another possibility is to pluralize the participle: – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ἀεὶ φάρεος χατέουσιν ἔχοντες, providing a more pleasing position for both χατέουσιν (same *sedes Il.* 9.518; *Od.* 13.280; A.R. 1.837 sing. χατέοντι *Il.* 15.399) and ἔχοντες, very frequent at line-end in Homer. I fail to see the need to adopt ἕκοντες (Lehrs, accepted, with χατέουσιν, by Davies), which presumably could mean 'for those in need of a mantle, they always willingly (provide one)'. Certainly χατέουσιν can hardly be taken as an indicative third personal plural and construed with ἕκοντες. Although the context remains unclear, 'mantle' or 'cloak' gives more suitable sense than 'plough'.

155 (120 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. AB (Miller, *Mélanges Gr.* 177); *Etym. Graec. Par. (Anecd. Gr.* 3.1386 Bekker); *Anecd. Par.* 4.53 et 65 Cramer: κάρηας μὲν γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε παραλαμβάνειν τὴν εὐθεῖαν, ἐχρῆν δὲ παραλαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου, οἷον

†η οἰκέτην θέσκε κάρηαρ†

ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κάρηας. (nominativus κάρηαρ sine Antimachi nomine commemoratur Choerobosc. in Theod. 1.349.27 Hilg. et *Excerpta ex libr. Herod.* 15.20 Hilg.)

ἣ οἰκέτην θέσκε κάριαρ *Etym. Gen.* A ἡ – κάρη *Etym. Gen.* B οἰκέτην – κάρηαρ (η omisso) *Anecd. Par.* Bekk. (καρῆαρ *Anecd. Par.* Cram. 4.65.19) ἡ οἰκέτης – κάρη *Anecd. Par.* Cram. 4.53.33

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[150] *Cf.* Deroy, 51.

Commentary

The sources state that the nominative case of the noun should be κάρηαρ, as in Antimachus, and not κάρηας.

The form of course does not occur in Homer, who uses κάρη. But beside the declension κάρητος (*Od.* 6.230; 23.157), κάρητι (*Il.* 15.75), there are also the forms καρήατος (*Il.* 23.44), καρήατι (*Il.* 19.405; 22.205; *Hy. Dem.* 169; *Hy.* 34.16) and in particular the neuter plural καρήατα (*Il.* 11.309; 17.437).[151]

It could thus easily be supposed that the former declension was that of κάρη, while the latter belonged to a nominative κάρηαρ, *cf.* such Homeric nominative forms as εἶδαρ (*Il.* 5.369; *Od.* 9.84), ἦμαρ (*Il.* 1.592; *Od.* 1.9), ἧπαρ (*Il.* 11.578; *Od.* 9.301), ὄνειαρ (*Il.* 22.433; *Od.* 4.444), οὖθαρ (*Il.* 9.141; *Hy. Dem.* 450), πεῖραρ (*Il.* 13.359).[152]

While these nouns may be Antimachus' models, an interesting parallel exists in the noun ἄλειφαρ, which in Homer occurs only in the oblique cases ἀλείφατος (*Il.* 18.351; 23.170; *Od.* 3.408); ἀλείφατι (*Od.* 24.45; 67; 73). But a nominative ἀλοίφαρ (ἄλειφαρ?) is found as *v.l.* (for ἀλοιφῇ) at *Od.* 6.220. Could this be a Homeric λέξις Ἀντιμαχεῖος? Conversely, the nominative ἄλειφαρ is the better reading (*v.l.* ἄλειφα) at Hesiod *Theog.* 553.[153] Both forms occur in later writers.

Antimachus' κάρηαρ, however, does not seem to have impressed posterity, for while the oblique cases καρήατος, -ι occur frequently in Hellenistic writers, the only example of a nominative/accusative κάρηαρ is Nic. *Ther.* 642, actually a conjecture by Schneider from the κάρειαρ, κάρηνον of the codices.[154]

The practice of Apollonius is interesting. He has κάρη as a neuter nominative/accusative (nine times) and uses the -ήατος (thrice), -ήατι (once), and -ήασιν (twice) forms exclusively for the other cases, never employing the -ητος declension at all. Clearly for Apollonius, κάρη was the nominative for the καρήατος declension.

But it is possible that Callimachus, on the other hand, did in fact distinguish a nominative κάρηαρ from κάρη, since he uses the geni-

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[151] Monro (*GHD*, 91-2, note) sees the καρήατος etc. forms as obtained by analogy from κέρας,-ατος. *Cf.* Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.230-1.

[152] *Cf.* Schol. T *Il.* 23.44a: καρήατος· ἀπὸ τῆς κάρηαρ, ὡς <ἧπαρ> ἥπατος.

[153] West (ed.), *Hes. Theog.*, 321 on v. 553.

[154] *Cf.* Gow and Scholfield (eds.), *Nicander* (1953, repr. New York 1979), 71 (*app. crit.*).

tive κάρης (*Hecale* F65 Hollis = F292.1 Pf.) and the accusative κάρην (F110.40 Pf.), treating κάρη as a first declension feminine noun.[155] Thus he may have viewed the forms καρήατι (*Hy.* 3.40; F43.12 Pf.) and καρήατα (*Hy.* 2.60; 4.134; 236) as belonging to a nominative κάρηαρ or -ηας, not to a neuter κάρη.

The rest of this Antimachus fragment is hopelessly corrupt. The form θέσκε may be an iterative aorist from τίθημι, *cf.* δόσκεν (*Il.* 14.382; 18.546), δόσκον (*Il.* 9.331; *Od.* 17.420 = 19.76), στάσκε, εἴπεσκε, φάνεσκε etc., but it is not attested elsewhere. Perhaps οἰκέτης should be read, as subject of the verb, 'the servant was laying his head' *vel. sim.*, or possibly the noun should be ἱκέτης. Either form would necessitate a pentameter line. But the problems seem insoluble. Dübner reported that something could be missing in the codex between οἱ and κέτην.[156]

156 (121 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 14.499-500a (III.675 Erbse): 'ὁ δὲ φὴ κώδειαν ἀνασχών' . . . ὁ ποιητὴς οὐδέποτε οἶδε τὸ φὴ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτόν, ὥσπερ Ἀντίμαχος καὶ οἱ περὶ Καλλίμαχον (cf. *Hecale* F74.17 Hollis = F260.58 Pf. et F737 incert. auct. Pf.). Schol. A *Il.* 14.500 (III.677 Erbse): οὐδέποτε δὲ Ὅμηρος τὸ φὴ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς τέταχεν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐντεῦθεν ἐπλανήθη

φὴ †γέρων οἶσιν†

εἰπών.

φὴ γέρον οἶσον O. Schneider, Wyss (qui confert Hesych. [II.746 Latte]: οἶσον· ... ἢ σχοινίον) φὴ γεράνοισιν Bekker φή ῥα γέρων οἶσιν Buttmann φὴ δὲ γέρων εἶσιν Bergk

Commentary

The fragment is preserved because Antimachus uses the word φὴ = ὡς. The scholiast declares that Aristarchus shows, in opposition to Zenodotus, that Homer never does so, but only his successors such

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155 *Cf.* κάρης ([Mosch.] 4.74); κάρην (Nic. *Ther.* 131); κάρη (249; Dion. Per. 562). Hollis (*Hecale*, 214) suggests that Callim. was the first to treat κάρη as feminine, but he is misleading in saying that Callim. has κάρη neuter in F43.12, since the dative καρήατι presented there may come from κάρηαρ or -ηας.

156 Dübner, 48 on F85; *cf.* Stoll, 101.

as Antimachus and the Callimachean circle. But the word is not as rare as Aristarchus thought.[157]

In fact Zenodotus read φή at *Il.* 2.144 and ὁ δὲ φή at 14.499 and may well be right despite Aristarchus who read ὡς and ὁ δ' ἔφη or ὁ δὲ φῆ (= ἔφη) respectively.[158] One is tempted to assume that Antimachus himself read φή in those Homeric passages.[159] The word's very rarity would recommend it to him for use in his own verse.

Wyss prints φὴ γέρον οἶσον, following Schneider, the suggested sense being ὡς σαπρὸν σπάρτον, 'like an old rope'.[160] For οἶσον, 'rope', *cf.* Hesychius οἶσον· ... ἢ σχοινίον and for γέρον as an equivalent to σαπρόν, *cf.* γέρων ὢν καὶ σαπρός (Aristoph. *Pax* 698) and for its adjectival use with a noun, γέρον σάκος (*Od.* 22.184).

Yet one may rightly wonder whether Antimachus, who has (σ)οῦσον = σχοινίον in F68, used still another obscure noun of identical meaning.[161] Bekker's φὴ γεράνοισιν, 'like cranes', could well be the proper reading, *cf.* ἠΰτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων (*Il.* 3.3), where the clamour of the Trojans is compared to that of cranes.

In fact Bekker's conjecture would fit very well with the context of F40, ὥς ῥα τότ' Ἀργείων κολῴει στρατός, 'so then the Argive host raised a clamour.' As the discussion of F40 shows, that fragment is the latter part of a simile. As it happens, φή at *Il.* 2.144 occurs in a passage in which an initial comparison is immediately followed by a supplementary simile: (144) κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ φὴ κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης/ ... / (147) ὡς δ' ὅτε κινήσῃ Ζέφυρος βαθὺ λήϊον ἐλθών/ ... / (149) ὣς τῶν πᾶσ' ἀγορὴ κινήθη· It is surely possible that Antimachus, influenced by this Homeric passage, composed something to this effect; '<the host clamoured> like cranes. <As when etc.>, so did the Argive host make a clamour.'

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[157] For earlier examples *cf.* Hes. F204, 138 M-W; φή ῥα νεόλλυτος *Hom. Hy. Herm.* 241. *Cf.* Hollis, *Hecale*, 251 on F74.17.

[158] *Cf.* Ludwich's *apparatus*, I.57 and II.99. See R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV. 222 on 14.499-500, where he defends the Zenodotean reading; so too Hollis, 251.

[159] *Cf.* Hollis, 251.

[160] O. Schneider, *Callimachea*, 2.669, but originally in *Philolog.* 6 (1847), 523; *cf.* σαπρὸν τὸ σχοινίον (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1343).

[161] Wyss makes light of such objections.

157 (122 Wyss)

Epimerism. Hom. Anecd. Gr. Oxon. 1.55.30 Cramer (locus = F148): 'ἀκαχύνω' ὁ αὐτός (i.e. Antim.)· ἔνθεν ἀπαρέμφατον 'ἀκαχυνέμεν'.

a) ἀκαχύνω. b) ἀκαχυνέμεν

Cf. Hesych.(I.83 Latte): ἀκαχῦναι· ἀνιᾶσ[θ]αι.

ἀκαχύνω Cramer -χήνω codd.

Commentary

The first person singular form ἀκαχύνω and the infinitive ἀκαχυνέμεν are quoted as Antimachean by the same source which provides us with ἀμορφύνειν (F148).

Here again for a denominative verb, Antimachus displays a preference for the -ύνω ending rather than the Homeric ἀκαχίζειν (*Il.* 6.486; *Od.* 11.486; 16.432). The latter is itself a reduplicated form derived from the reduplicated second aorist ἤκαχε of ἀχεῖν (*Il.* 16.822; *Od.* 16.427), used in a transitive, causal sense, 'vex', 'annoy', whereas the present tense, existing only in the participles ἀχέων/ἀχεύων, is intransitive and means 'grieving', 'distressed'.[162]

Wyss (XXXIII) sees the form ἀκαχύνειν as bearing the same relationship to the Homeric ἀκαχίζειν as ἀλεγύνειν does to ἀλεγίζειν. There is, however, an interesting Homeric distinction between the latter pair of verbs. While ἀλεγίζειν occurs six times in the *Iliad* (e.g. 1.160), but never in the *Odyssey*, ἀλεγύνειν is found five times in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 1.374), yet never in the *Iliad*.[163]

As Stoll remarks (103), Antimachus, in forming ἀκαχύνειν, does not observe the normal rule for such derivations, i.e. that verbs in -ύνω are always formed from adjectives (e.g. ἀμορφύνειν).

158 (123 Wyss)

Epimerism. Hom. (*Anecd. Gr. Oxon.* 1.71.23 Cramer = Herodian. 1.504.15 Lentz): εἰσὶ δὲ εἰς -ει λήγοντα ἐπιρρήματα καὶ βαρυνόμενα, τὸ ἄγρει καὶ

[162] At Hes. *Theog.* 868, however, the second aorist participle ἀκαχών is intransitive; *cf.* West *ad loc.*, 395.

[163] Both forms, however, occur in *Hom. Hy. Herm.*, ἀλεγίζειν (557); ἀλεγύνειν (361; 476). The latter form is also found at *Hom. Hy. Aphr.* 11.

τὸ οἴκει, οὐκ ὄντα γνήσια· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οἴκει κατὰ μεταπλασμὸν τοῦ οἴκαδε· τὸ δὲ ἄγρει τῷ ἄγε πλησιάζει μέν, συμπέπτωκε <δὲ> προστακτικοῖς ῥήμασι· τὸ δὲ ἄγρει Δωρικῶς ἄγει λέγεται· καὶ ἔστιν ὡς προστακτικὸν ἐπίρρημα, καὶ τὸ πληθυντικὸν ἄγρειτε φασί· καὶ ὁ ποιητής· 'ἄγρειθ' αἱ μὲν δῶμα κορήσατε' (*Od.* 20.149) , ὁ δέ γε Ἀντίμαχος 'ἄργειτε' ἔφη ὑπερβιβάσας τὸ ρ.

ἄργειτε

Commentary

The commentator, in discussing the Homeric forms ἄγρει and ἄγρειτε, notes that Antimachus transposes the ρ and writes ἄργειτε. The ancient critic states that ἄγρει, like οἴκει, is not a legitimate or authentic form, that it resembles ἄγε and coincides in appearance with imperative forms. Since it is like an imperative, it was given a plural ἄγρειτε. Since no other form of a verb ἀγρεῖν occurs in Homer, the grammarian could assume that ἄγρει (*Il.* 5.765; 7.459; 11.512; 14.271; *Od.* 21.176) and ἄγρειθ' (*Od.* 20.149) were adverbial forms. Modern scholars generally agree that ἄγρειτε is a pluralisation of ἄγρει, just as δεῦτε is of δεῦρο,[164] but prefer to take them as imperatives from an old Aeolic form ἀγρέω, 'I seize'. Like ἄγε or δεῦρο the words are generally followed by an imperative, 'come on etc.'.[165]

The metathesis seen in Antimachus' ἄργειτε for ἄγρειτε may be compared to ἀμιθρεῖ for ἀριθμεῖ (Callim. *Hy.* 6.86).[166] What is striking about Antimachus' example is that he has created a form identical, except for accent, to the imperative of ἀργεῖν, a verb which means essentially the opposite, namely 'do nothing', 'be idle'. Perhaps this arresting effect is the very point of the metathesis.[167] There is no good reason to imagine, as Dübner does, that Antimachus actually used the imperative ἀργεῖτε, 'do nothing', following it with another imperative, and that the grammarian mistakenly

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[164] *Cf.* Wackernagel, *Verm. Beitr.* 3 (=*Kleine Schriften* I.764); Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.350, with note 1; *Dict. Étym.* I.14; Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I.137; Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV.195.

[165] Always in Homer, but not in Archilochus (F4.8 West).

[166] Also *Hecale* F121 Hollis (= F314 Pf.) and Simonides F626[121] *PMG.* For further examples see Meineke, *Anal. Alex.*, 118-9, and Hopkinson, *Callim: Hy. Dem.*, 147. As Hollis says (*Hecale*, 306), such metathesis is generally a feature of epic and Ionic.

[167] *Cf.* Wackernagel (*ibid.* note 1 above) and Wyss.

thought that the form was the same as the Homeric ἄγρειτε.[168]

I can find no evidence that Antimachus wrote ἄργει for ἄγρει at *Il.* 11.512 (or at any other Homeric *locus*), as Stoll (103) states. This use of ἄργειτε appears to be in his own poetry.

159 (124 Wyss)

Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* 3 (36 Crugnola): ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ Νίκανδρος ζηλωτὴς Ἀντιμάχου, διόπερ πολλαῖς αὐτοῦ λέξεσι κέχρηται. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δωρίζει, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ 'παῶν'· πηῶν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅ ἐστι συγγενῶν.

παῶν

Commentary

The scholiast to Nicander tells that his author was an admirer of Antimachus, wherefore he used many of his readings. Therefore in some of them he used Dorisms as in the word παῶν, for πηῶν, meaning 'relatives', 'kinsmen'.[169]

Wyss, following Wilamowitz, sees Antimachus here introducing a lyric colour into his epic diction by using such Doric forms.[170] But, in fact, Antimachus is imitating not the lyric poets, but, as is often the case, Homer.[171] There are numerous instances of 'Doric' ᾱ for Attic-Ionic η in the Homeric poems.[172]

The noun πηός occurs in Homer on four occasions (*Il.* 3.163; *Od.* 8.581; 10.441; 23.120), as well as in Hesiod (*Op.* 345). It is intriguing that at *Od.* 8.581 α is written above η in one codex.[173]

Among Hellenistic writers other than Nicander, Callimachus uses the word (F59.20 Pf.) in its Homeric form, while the manuscripts of

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[168] Dübner, 49 on F93.

[169] Properly the word means 'relatives by marriage', 'in-laws' (*cf. Od.* 8.581-3), but it came to be used less exactly, of 'relatives'; *cf.* West (ed.), *Hes. Works and Days*, 244, on v. 345. The wider meaning is already evident at *Od.* 23.120.

[170] Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der griech. Buk.* (*Philolog. Unters.* 18, Berlin 1906), 57 n. 1; Wyss, XXXIII ('sonum Pindarico ori convenientem') and 60 ('lyrica quaedam pigmenta').

[171] See G. Giangrande, *Scr. Min. Alex.* 1.71 (= *Hermes* 98 [1970], 263).

[172] *Cf.* Monro, *GHD*, 85 §101, on genitive plurals; Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* 1.19 and 201.

[173] See Ludwich's *apparatus*, I.191.

Theocritus (16.25) are divided between the epic form and the Doric form.[174]

It is very likely that Antimachus had παῶν at line-end, the usual *sedes* for such forms in Homer.[175]

160 (125 Wyss)

Hesych. (IV.111 Schmidt): σύστηνον· (ἐ)στενοχωρημένον. <'συστ***'·> τρίχινος (τρύχινος Salmasius) χιτὼν ἢ ῥυπαρός. Ἀντίμαχος. συστομώτερον σκάφης.

συστ***

lacunam indic. Stoll συστολίς vel συστολή coni. Matthews

Commentary

As Stoll saw (96), something seems to have fallen out of the text of Hesychius after the entry σύστηνον· (ἐ)στενοχωρημένον.

In form, σύστηνος is similar to ἄστηνος and δύστηνος,[176] and the meaning suggested for it, (ἐ)στενοχωρημένος, 'in straitened circumstances', 'in difficulty' is close to that of those epithets, 'wretched', 'unhappy'. But as Wyss notes, it is difficult to see how the same word σύστηνος could refer to a *chiton*.

The missing word must have started συστ.... Conjecture may be futile, but a possibility is συστολή or, perhaps better, συστολίς, *cf.* συστολίζειν, 'put together', 'fabricate' as in συστολίσαι χρῄζουσα λίνῳ (Eurip. *Or.* 1435) and the simple forms στολή, 'a garment', 'robe' (e.g. Soph. *OC* 1357; 1597), and more generally 'raiment', often with a more specific epithet (e.g. ἱππική Aristoph. *Eccl.* 846) and στολίς (e.g. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1491; *AP* 7.27).[177] We may compare too the use of the verb στέλλειν with clothing, e.g. στελεῖν χιτῶνι (Soph. *Tr.* 612); στεῖλαι ... βυσσίνους πέπλους (Eurip. *Bacch.* 812); στείλας ... ἐσθῆτι δουληίῃ (Hdt. 3.14); στειλάμενοι ἐσθῆτι μελαίνῃ (Luc. *Philops.* 32), also στολίζειν (e.g. στόλισον Anacreont. 16.29 Campbell).

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[174] See Gow's *apparatus* (I.123). This Theocritus reference is not cited by LSJ[9].

[175] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.201.

[176] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I.128 and 303; Boisacq, 205; Wyss, 60.

[177] The word συστολή is attested in the meaning of 'drawing together' etc.; see LSJ[9].

This suggestion συστολή or συστολίς would support the τρίχινος of the codices, 'made of horse-hair', rather than Salmasius' τρύχινος, 'ragged'.[178] The alternative explanation, ῥυπαρός, 'dirty', is perhaps to be seen as an addition by a copyist who misread τρίχινος as τρύχινος.

The word συστολή or συστολίς would also fit perfectly before the next *lemma* in Hesychius, συστομώτερον σκάφης.

161 (126 Wyss)

Epimerism. Hom. Anecd. Oxon. 1.413.11 Cramer (Herodian. 2.254.16 Lentz): ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰς -ην οὐ γίνεται συγκριτικόν· ἔνθεν σημειοῦνται τὸ 'ναρκίσσου τερενώτερ(ος?)' (F Adesp. 1028 *SH*) καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς τέρενος εὐθεῖα γίνεται ὁ τέρενος· ἐκ τούτου τὸ τερενώτερ(ος)· ὥστε <οὐκ> (ins. Cramer) ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς -ην, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς -ος. ὁ δ' Ἀντίμαχος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ τέρενος εἶπε κατὰ συγκοπὴν 'τερέντερ(ον)' ἀντὶ τοῦ (Stoll: ἀπὸ τούτου cod.) τερενώτερ(ον).

τερέντερον

τερέντερον cod. Oxon. τέρεντρον errans Cramer

Commentary

The grammarian states that there is no comparative form from epithets ending in -ην and that τερενώτερος comes from a nominative τέρενος. He goes on to say that, when Antimachus uses τερέντερον, he is employing a syncopated version of τερενώτερον.[179]

In fact the grammarian is incorrect in his comment about comparatives from epithets in -ην and Antimachus is perfectly proper in his formation. Most adjectives add -τερος to their stem to make a comparative, thus τέρην, -ενος should produce τερέντερος.[180] The only epithet similar to τέρην is ἄρρην/ἄρσην, and from it one finds the comparative ἀρρέντερον in a fifth-century inscription from Mantinea.[181] We may also note the very similar comparison of μέλας, μελάντερος (*Il.* 4.277; 24.94), μελάντατος (Hipp., *VC* 14) and

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[178] *Cf.* the τριχίνους χιτῶνας worn by the Macrones (Xen. *An.* 4.8).

[179] That τερέντερον is the correct reading and not τέρεντρον (Cramer) is clear from Ludwich, *Rh. M.* 37 (1882), 447 (= *Arist. hom. Textk.* II.657).

[180] See Goodwin, *Gr. Gramm.*, 74 §350.

[181] τὠρρέντερον γένος (*IG* 5.262.21).

the superlative of τάλας, ταλάντατος (Aristoph. *Plut.* 684; 1046; 1060; Plato, *Crat.* 395e etc.).[182]

It is striking that just as we find the incorrect τερενώτερος (F Adesp. 1028 *SH*) and τερεινοτέρη (from the feminine τέρεινα, *AP* 5.120.2), so too we see μελανώτερος (Strabo 16.4.12 C772) and μελαινότατος (*AP* 11.68, from the feminine μέλαινα).

162 (127 Wyss)

Diodor. 3.65.7 (I.374 Vogel): τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν τινες, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος, ἀποφαίνονται τὸν Λυκοῦργον οὐ Θρᾴκης, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας γεγονέναι βασιλέα, καὶ τῷ τε Διονύσῳ καὶ ταῖς βάκχαις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Νύσῃ πεποιῆσθαι.

Commentary

This fragment reflects the ancient dispute as to the whereabouts of the ἠγάθεον Νυσήιον (*Il.* 6.133), where Lycurgus, son of Dryas, made his attack on Dionysus and the Bacchae. Homer gives no hint of its location, but the presence of Thetis and of Lycurgus, son of Dryas, suggests northern Greece or the northern Aegean area.[183] This is the area in the account of Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.5.1). The ancient commentators, however, knew many places called Nysa.[184] Antimachus was one of those who placed Nysa in Arabia and made Lycurgus king there. It is hard to explain why Antimachus made Lycurgus an Arabian other than to give an exotic colour to his tale. But Antimachus may have developed his ideas about the location of Nysa from the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, which placed it τηλοῦ Φοινίκης σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτοιο ῥοάων, 'in far-off Phoenice, near the streams of Aegyptus' (8). Diodorus interpreted this as meaning between Phoenice and the Nile (4.2.3), and it would appear from

[182] *Cf.* Lobeck, *Path. Gr. Serm. Elem.* I.334.

[183] *Cf.* Allen-Halliday-Sikes (eds.), *The Homeric Hymns*, 100; Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* II.174.

[184] *Cf.* Schol. *Il.* 6.133: Thrace, Boeotia, India, Naxos; Eustath. 629.42ff. (II.260-61 van der Valk): Thrace, Boeotia, Arabia, India, Libya, the Caucasus, and the Nile; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Νῦσαι: Boeotia, Thrace, Caria, Arabia, Egypt, Naxos, India, the Caucasus, Libya, Euboea; Hesychius *s.v.* Νῦσα καὶ Νυσήιον: Arabia, Aethiopia, Egypt, Babylon, Erythrae, Thrace, Thessaly, Cilicia, India, Libya, Lydia, Macedonia, Naxos, Pangaeus, Syria.

3.64.5 and 65.7 that he refers to the same place as being in Arabia. Strabo (17.1.21 C803) refers to the country between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as Arabia and states that Pelusium is at its extremity. The place is actually between Phoenice and the Nile. Apollonius (2.1214ff.) places the Nysian mountain and plain near Lake Sirbonis which lies in the same area.[185] Possibly Antimachus used the term Arabia in the same loose way as Diodorus.

Antimachus' version may be reflected in that of Nonnus who mentions Νύσιος ...Ἄραψ (21.102) and refers to Ἀρραβίης μεδέοντι, Δρυαντιάδῃ Λυκοόργῳ (20.187). His whole account in Bks. 20 and 21 depicts Lycurgus as an Arabian and the Νύσια ... οὔρεα (40.297) are in Arabia. The same story seems to have been known to Damascius.[186]

The tale of Lycurgus, driven mad by Dionysus, killing his own son, and the god's subsequent declaration that the land would be barren unless Lycurgus were put to death is the sort of subject that could have been treated in the *Lyde*.[187]

163 (128 Wyss)

Schol. T Hom. *Il.* 23.146 (V.393 Erbse): 'σοί τε κόμην κερέειν'· καὶ Ἀντίμαχός φησι τῷ Κηφισσῷ κατὰ τὴν Λίλαιαν τεθυκέναι τὴν κόμην <* * *>

lacunam indic. Maass (quod nomen sacrificantis deest)

Commentary

The context for this scholium is that Achilles has just cut off and will dedicate to Patroclus the lock of hair which his father Peleus had promised to sacrifice to the river Sperchius if his son returned safe from Troy.

Kinkel (295), following Stoll (85), thought that, according to Antimachus, Peleus sacrificed the hair of Achilles to the river

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[185] *Cf.* Diod. 16.46; Strabo 16.2.32 C760; this area is not as distinct from 'Arabia' as Malten implies (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12 [1909], 286, n.11).

[186] *Vit. Isid.* in Photius *Bibl.* 242, 348a13 (6.42 ed. Henry, Paris 1971).

[187] *Cf.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.1; also the account of Nonnus, in which Zeus makes Lycurgus a blind wanderer (21.166).

Cephisus.[188] Since Achilles never returned from Troy, that clearly cannot have happened and the perfect infinitive τεθυκέναι indicates that a sacrifice did in fact take place. Moreover, as Wyss notes, following Maass, neither Peleus nor Achilles seems to have had a cult at the Phocian Cephisus. Thus Maass indicated a lacuna after κόμην which would contain the name of the person who made the sacrifice. It would certainly appear that Antimachus told of someone discharging such a vow, perhaps after something like a safe return from war or from a journey.

The places mentioned are reminiscent of *Iliad* 2.522-3: οἵ τ' ἄρα πὰρ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν δῖον ἔναιον, οἵ τ' Λίλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἔπι Κηφισοῖο. The city of Lilaea was the site of the springs of the river Cephisus, whence it flows through both Phocis and Boeotia (*cf.* Hes. F70.17-23; 71 M-W),[189] thus the person who made the sacrifice at Lilaea could be a Boeotian just as easily as a Phocian.

Strikingly similar stories exist about the two rivers Sperchius and Cephisus. From *Il.* 16.173-8, we learn that Sperchius was the father of Menesthius, by Polydora, the daughter of Peleus, but that Menesthius had, as his mortal father, Borus, the son of Perieres.[190] Similarly from Pausanias (9.34.9), we discover that Cephisus was the actual father of Eteocles, by Euippe, the daughter of Leucon, while the mortal father was Andreus, son of Orchomenus.[191] Perhaps, just as Achilles had a family relationship with the river Sperchius, the person who sacrificed hair to the Cephisus was related in some way to that river. It could have been Eteocles himself. He was remembered as the man who inaugurated the worship of the Graces at Orchomenus.[192] The river Cephisus flowed through Orchomenus[193] and is expressly associated with the Graces by Pindar (*O.* 14.1ff.).[194] We know that Antimachus mentioned the Graces (Paus.

[188] In a strange coincidence Pausanias (1.37.3) mentions the statue of a boy cutting his hair as an offering to the Attic Cephisus and remarks that such cutting was an old Greek tradition, which he illustrates with the Homeric story of Peleus vowing the hair of Achilles to the Sperchius.

[189] *Cf. Hom. Hy. Ap.* 240-1; Strabo 9.2.19 C407; 9.3.16 C424; Paus. 9.24.1; 10.33.2.

[190] Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.13.4) makes the mortal father Peleus himself and the mother Polydora the daughter of Perieres.

[191] Hesiod (F70.34; F71 M-W) gives the name as Ἐτέοκλος.

[192] *Cf.* Hes. F71 M-W; Paus. 9.35.1; 3; 38.1; Strabo 9.2.40 C414, with the comments of Wallace, *Strabo's Description of Boiotia*, 162.

[193] Hes. F70.23 M-W; Strabo 9.3.16, C424.

[194] *Cf.* Schol. Pind. *O.* 14.1,2,5,27 (1.389-390 Drachmann); Wallace, 162; B. MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace*, 43.

9.35.5 = F140), but Pausanias does not expressly link this reference with Eteocles.

For other examples of the offering of hair to a local river *cf.* Orestes to the Inachus for his nurture (Aesch. *Ch.* 6); Phigalian boys to the Neda (Paus. 8.41.3); Leucippus, son of Oenomaus of Pisa, was growing his hair long for the Alpheius before he met his death(Paus. 8.20.3).[195]

164 (158 Wyss)

Pap. Berol. 8439 (ed. F. Della Corte, *RFIC* LXIV (1936), 395ff.; primus ed. H. Schöne *Berl. Klassikertexte* III.27ff) saec. ii p.C. [Pack^2 2144] l.4: Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος (5) [τὸ τοῦ Ἀ]ν̣τιμάχου προσθεὶς (6) [πιπὼ] π̣αιπαλέη τῇ τε πτερὰ (7) [ποικίλ' ἔ]α̣σ̣ι̣, τὴν πιπώ φησιν (8) [καλεῖσθαι] ἀκανθυλλίδα, ὑφ' ὧν δ' (9) [οὐ φαίνεται] ἀποδιδόσθαι. εἰ μὲν̣ (10) [τοι οὕτω]ς Ἀπολλώνιος σ̣ὺν (11) [ἄλλοις ἐν το]ύ̣τ̣οις ἁμαρτάνει (12) [Ἀριστοτέλης δ' οὐ] σ̣υνκατατίθεται (13) [καὶ οἵ τι ἄ]λ̣λ̣ο̣ [ἀ]ποδιδ̣όντες (14) [δόγμα. ἡ γ]ὰ̣ρ πιπὼ τῶν δρυο(15)[κολάπτων] εἶδός ἐστιν, ὥς φη(16)[(σιν) αὐτός· ἄλλα] δ(έ) ἐστι σκνιπο[φάγα] κ.τ.λ.

πιπὼ] π̣αιπαλέη τῇ τε πτερα[ποικίλ' ἔ]α̣σ̣ι̣

5 [τὸ τοῦ Ἀ]ν̣τ. Della Corte [ἐν τῶι περὶ Ἀ]ν̣τ. Schöne προσθεὶς pap. προθεὶς Powell, Wilamowitz 6 [πιπὼ] Della Corte [τὸ πιπὼ] Körte 7 [ποικίλ' ἔ]α̣σ̣ι̣ Körte, Lobel [πεφρίκ]α̣σ̣ι̣ Leumann [προσπεφύ]α̣σ̣ι̣ Wilamowitz [ξύλιν' ἔ]α̣σ̣ι̣ Della Corte 8 [καλεῖσθαι] Schubart [εἶναι τὴν] Körte δ' pap. δὲ ? Schöne 9-13 suppl. Della Corte 14-15 suppl. Schöne 16 ἄλλα] et σκνιπο[φάγα Schubart

Commentary

This fragment, preserved on a papyrus of the second century A.D., presents a quotation by Apollonius of a line of Antimachus, along with the Rhodian's explanation of the word πιπώ.

In l. 5, the supplement of Della Corte, τὸ τοῦ Ἀ]ν̣τιμάχου, is preferable to Schöne's ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀ]ν̣τιμάχου and means that one need no longer believe that Apollonius wrote a whole book on Antimachus.[196]

But Della Corte's supplement of the hexameter itself is less happy.

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[196] *Cf.* N. J. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary* VI, 182-3; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 70 (with n. 29, 373-4); 174-5.

[196] Della Corte, 397-8; Schöne, 28. *Cf.* H. Herter, *Bursians Jahresb.* 285 (1956), 410; Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I. 146.

He says that (1) Antimachus, following a popular tradition, has written that the wings of the woodpecker are wooden, ξύλιν' ἔ]ασι, and that (2) Apollonius, in order to validate the opinion of his master, states that the woodpecker was also called ἀκανθυλλίς, i.e., 'thorny', 'prickly'.[197] In fact, as Herter has seen, Apollonius has misidentified the πιπώ as another type of bird, the ἀκανθυλλίς or ἀκανθίς, the goldfinch.[198]

Following his passage on Apollonius, the ancient commentator goes on to present the Peripatetic identification of the πιπώ as a species (εἶδος) of δρυοκόλαπτοι, 'woodpeckers', which live on the insects found under the bark of trees.[199]

In view of Apollonius' incorrect identification, the verse of Antimachus which he quotes cannot have contained any information which would have specifically shown the bird to be a woodpecker, such as a reference to wood. Thus a more general reference to wings or feathers seems in order. The best suggestion, because it is in keeping with the alliteration of πιπώ παιπαλέη, is [ποικίλ' ἔ]ασι.[200] The meaning 'spotted' would be appropriate to the πιπώ, be it the Peripatetic 'lesser' or 'larger' woodpecker. Arnott identifies the former as the lesser spotted woodpecker (*Dendrocopus minor*) and the latter as probably a fusion of the Syrian (*D. syriacus*) and middle spotted (*D. medius*) woodpeckers.[201] This supplement is perhaps all the more likely to be correct since it provides a neat explanation for Apollonius' misidentification of the bird. The ἀκανθυλλίς, 'goldfinch', was also known as the ποικιλίς.[202] So if Antimachus' text read πτερὰ ποικίλ' ἔασι Apollonius may have wrongly concluded that the bird in question was the ποικιλίς / ἀκανθυλλίς.

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[197] Della Corte, 399; Herter appears to misrepresent Della Corte in saying that he defended the rejected view of Aristotle that the πιπώ lives on the wood of trees. Herter seems to have taken *maestro* (399 l. 4) as a reference to Aristotle. Surely Della Corte means Antimachus.

[198] Herter, 410; *cf.* Arist. *HA* 593a 13; 616b 31; Theocr. 7.141; D'arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*[2] (London/Oxford 1936; repr. Hildesheim 1966), 32 *s.v.* Ἀκανθυλλίς.

[199] *Cf.* Arist. *HA* 593a 3; Thompson, *Glossary*, 250 *s.v.* Πιπώ; 92-3 *s.v.* Δρυοκολάπτης.

[200] First suggested by A. Körte, *Archiv für Pap. Forsch.* 6 (1920), 258; also Lobel in Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, 250.

[201] W. G. Arnott, *CQ* XXVII 2 (1977), 337; *cf.* Thompson, *Glossary*, 92-3; 250.

[202] Schol. Theocr. 7.141: ἀκανθὶς δὲ ὀρνέον ἐστι ποικίλον καὶ λιγυρόν, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ποικιλὶς διὰ τὴν χροίαν. *Cf.* Arist. *HA* 9.609a 6; Thompson, *Glossary*, 251 s.v. Ποικιλίς.

Another supplement worthy of consideration is [πεφρίκ]ασι, referring to the feathers stiffening or ruffling.[203]

The epithet παιπαλέη is rather puzzling. The word occurs only here and is probably derived from παιπάλη, 'fine flour' (Aristoph. *Nub.* 262), but also used metaphorically of a subtle talker (*Nub.* 260); *cf.* παιπάλημα (*Av.* 431 and Aeschin. 2.40).[204] Homer has the epithet πολυπαίπαλος, used of the Phoenicians, Φοίνικες πολυπαίπαλοι (*Od.* 15.419), apparently in the sense of 'very crafty'.[205] The form παιπάλεος bears to this word the same relationship which we see between the Homeric δαιδάλεος and πολυδαίδαλος, i.e. the πολυ- form functions as a superlative of the simple form. On this analogy, παιπάλεος appears to mean 'crafty', 'subtle'.[206]

The most likely context for this line would seem to be one involving a metamorphosis. Antoninus Liberalis presents two stories of someone being transformed into a πιπώ, but in neither case can any definite connection be made with Antimachus.[207] In the first one (9), the Emathides, the nine daughters of king Pierus, challenged the Muses to a contest and were changed into nine birds, the eighth being a πιπώ. This story is taken from the fourth book of the *Heteroeumena* of Nicander (F54), who could have been drawing on Antimachus. In the second story (Ant. Lib. 14), Zeus saved the good and righteous family of Munichus, king of the Molossians, from their burning home which had been set ablaze by robbers. The god enabled them to escape by turning them all into various birds. The king's wife, Lelante, became a κνιπολόγος πιπώ.

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[203] Leumann, *Hom. Wort.* 241 n. 36.

[204] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* III. 847-8. A connection with the Homeric παιπαλόεις seems uncertain, despite Hoekstra on *Od.* 15.419 (*A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II, 259) and Callimachus' παίπαλά τε κρημνούς τε (*Hy. Art.* 194).

[205] Oppian (*Hal.* 3.41) uses the word to describe a fisherman.

[206] *Cf.* Leumann, *ibid.*, 'schauer'.

[207] *Myth. Graec.* II. 1, ed. E. Martini (Leipzig 1896), 80 and 89-90.

165 (129 Wyss)

Tatian. *ad Graecos* 31 (31.16 Schwartz); Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 10.11.3 491d (I.596.10 Mras): περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν προηρεύνησαν πρεσβύτατοι μὲν Θεαγένης τε ὁ Ῥηγῖνος (8A1 D-K) κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγονὼς καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος (*FGrHist* 107 F21) καὶ Ἀντίμαχος (ita Tatian.: Καλλίμαχος Euseb.) ὁ Κολοφώνιος Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς (2.53; 116s) καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος, μετὰ δὲ ἐκείνους Ἔφορος (*FGrHist* 70 F98).

166 (130 Wyss)

a) [Plutarch.] *Vita Hom.* II.2 (7 Kindstrand): Ὅμηρον τοίνυν Πίνδαρος μὲν ἔφη (F264 Snell-Maehler) Χῖόν τε καὶ Σμυρναῖον γενέσθαι, Σιμωνίδης δὲ (cf. F19.1 West *IEG*²) Χῖον, Ἀντίμαχος δὲ καὶ Νίκανδρος (*FGrHist* 271-2 F36) Κολοφώνιον, κ.τ.λ.

b) *Vita Hom. Scorial.* 29.6 Wil. (= *Vita* VI.247 Allen): . . . κατὰ δ' Ἀντίμαχον καὶ Νίκανδρον Κολοφώνιος (Homerus).

c) *Vita Hom. Romana* 30.30 Wil. (= *Vita* VI.251 Allen) . . . κατὰ δ' Ἀντίμαχον Κολοφώνιος (Homerus).

Commentary

It is no surprise to find that the Colophonians Antimachus and Nicander (the latter presumably following the lead of his predecessor) claimed that Homer was a fellow townsman.[1] We are told that the people of the city displayed a place where, they claimed, Homer began to compose, as a schoolmaster, and that they believed that his first work was the *Margites*.[2] It was a common ancient belief that Homer was the author of the *Margites*[3] and people may have interpreted the beginning of that poem,

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[1] *Cf.* Wyss, XXX-XXXI; note the similar claim by Ephorus that Homer was a Cymaean (*FGrHist* 70F1).

[2] *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* (Allen, *OCT V*, 226.15-17; 313 Goettling).

[3] For *testimonia cf.* West, *IEG*² II, 69-71; Allen, *OCT V*, 152-6.

ἦλθέ τις εἰς Κολοφῶνα γέρων καὶ θεῖος ἀοιδός,
Μουσάων θεράπων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
φίλης ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν εὔφθογγον λύραν (F1 West)

as an indication that the poem was composed at Colophon.[4] The first line, however, is an argument against Homer's *birth* at that Ionian city.[5] But some ancient writers display a tendency to claim as their countrymen authors who merely spent some time in their city, e.g. Duris of Samos claimed Panyassis and Herodotus, both natives of Halicarnassus, as Samians.[6] Thus Antimachus and the Colophonians may have called Homer a fellow townsman without necessarily believing him to have been born there. The reference in the *Margites* to the poet as the servant of Apollo would serve to link him even more closely with a city which had on its coins of the fifth and fourth century the head of that god and also his instrument, the lyre.[7]

167 (131 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 1.298 (I.91 Erbse): 'μαχήσομαι'· οὕτως διὰ τοῦ η, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ες, καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀργολικὴ καὶ ἡ Σινωπικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀντιμάχου καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους. Schol. T: ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τοῦ η γράφει, ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ τοῦ η, ὡς τὸ 'μαχήμων' (12.247), 'μαχητής' (e.g. 5.801), τὰ δὲ ῥήματα διὰ τοῦ ε <καὶ τῶν δύο σσ> ὡς τὸ 'Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο' (6.184).

Commentary

At *Il.* 1.298, Antimachus read μαχήσομαι, in agreement with Aristophanes, Aristarchus, and the Μασσαλιωτική, Ἀργολική, and Σινωπική editions. The other readings are the exceptions: μαχέσσομαι (Heracleon); μαχέσομαι (cod. LE). Although the same form μαχήσομαι occurs at *Il.* 3.290; 9.32; and 21.498 (all in the same *sedes* and with the same variants), there are no references in the respective scholia to the readings of Antimachus or of the κατὰ πόλεις editions. There

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[4] *Cf.* Wilamowitz, *Ilias und Homer*, 369; Huxley, *GEP*, 175.

[5] *Cf.* F. Jacoby, *Hermes* 68 (1933), 33 n.1; A. D. Skiadas, *Homer in griechischen Epigramm* (Athens 1965), 29.

[6] Duris *FGrHist* 76F64; see Matthews, *Panyassis*, 6-8; R.B. Kebric, *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos* (*Historia Einzelschriften* Heft 29, Wiesbaden 1977), 24, 38, 80.

[7] See B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², 493; H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (London/Sydney/Dover, NH 1985), 123.

are of course numerous instances of other μαχησ- forms throughout the *Iliad* (but only three in the *Odyssey*), almost all with μαχεσσ- variants, and for none of these too do the scholia refer to any edition other than, occasionally, that of Aristarchus. Only one such form occurs earlier in the *Iliad* than 1.298, namely μαχησόμενος (1.153). It may be that the scholiast, having provided a full discussion in 1.298, decided that later examples required no further comment.

The form μαχήσομαι is Ionic, *cf.* διαμαχήσοντα (Hdt. 4.125); μαχησόμεθα (4.127); μαχήσεσθαι (7.103); μαχησόμενοι (7.209 etc).[8]

168 (132 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 1.423-4 (I.119 Erbse): <'μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα'>· λέξεις Ἀριστάρχου ἐκ τοῦ α´ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ὑπομνήματος· "τὸ μὲν 'μετ' ἀμύμονας' ἐπ' ἀμύμονας, ὅ ἐστι πρὸς ἀμώμους, ἀγαθούς, τὸ δὲ 'κατὰ δαῖτα' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ δαῖτα· οὕτως γὰρ νῦν Ὅμηρος τέθεικεν. ἔνιοι δὲ ποιοῦσι 'μετὰ δαῖτα', ὅπως ᾖ αὐτοῖς αὐτόθεν τὸ μετά ἐπί. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι τῶν ποιητῶν τῇ κατὰ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπί . . . οὕτως δὲ εὕρομεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμαχείῳ καὶ Ἀριστοφανείῳ".

Commentary

Antimachus, in company with the Massaliote, Sinopic, and Cyprian editions, and followed by Aristophanes and Aristarchus, read κατὰ δαῖτα where Zeus is said to have gone to the Aethiopians (*Il.* 1.424), not ἐπὶ or μετὰ δαῖτα.[9]

A factor which may have influenced this change is that of τὸ πρέπον, i.e. the ancient critics may have thought it inappropriate that Zeus should go to the Aethiopians μετὰ δαῖτα, 'for a feast', 'to get a feast', and thus altered it to κατὰ δαῖτα, 'on the occasion of a feast'.[10]

But it is more likely that this choice was made to avoid the repetition of μετά after μετ' ἀμύμονος (423). Aristarchus eschewed a similar repetition at *Il.* 22.478, reading ἐν Τροίῃ Πριάμου κατὰ δῶμα instead of ἐν Τροίῃ Πριάμου ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.[11]

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[8] *Cf.* Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* 450; Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* 3.206; Monro, *GHD*, 58 §63.

[9] For others who read κατὰ and those who read μετὰ or ἐπὶ see Ludwich's *apparatus*, I.33; *cf.* G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 97-8 (see also 42).

[10] *Cf.* van der Valk, *Textual Criticism*, 20.

[11] See Ludwich, II.479. Kirk (*The Iliad* I, 98) seems to be in error in supposing

That κατά can in fact bear the sense of ἐπί in the same way as μετά is shown by Apoll. Soph. 96.16 and 111.30.

The importance of traditional expression in such matters is clear from the fact that μετ' is the only preposition used with ἀμύμων accompanying the names of people(s) in Homer.[12] Nor are there any other examples of μετὰ or ἐπὶ δαῖτα, but κατὰ δαῖτα, on the other hand, is found at *Od.* 2.322 and 22.199.

169 (133 Wyss)

Schol. A (*cf.* TL) Hom. *Il.* 1.598 (I.159 Erbse): 'ᾠνοχόει'· οὕτως 'οἰνοχόει' Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἰακῶς· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ καὶ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Ἀντιμαχ<ε>ίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ζηνοδότου καὶ Ἀριστοφάνους.

Commentary

At *Il.* 1.598, Antimachus, in the good company of Aristarchus, Zenodotus, Aristophanes and the Argolic and Massaliote editions, read οἰνοχόει for the third person singular imperfect instead of the Attic form ᾠνοχόει.[13] Janko explains this as a misinterpretation of the Attic script (from OIN-), but it is also the true Ionic form.[14]

The identical form οἰνοχόει is found, again as first word in the line, at *Od.* 15.141, as the reading of Aristarchus.[15] Another third person singular imperfect form is the pleonastic ἐῳνοχόει (e.g. *Il.* 4.3 and *Od.* 20.255).[16]

The scholiast says that οἰνοχόει is Ionic. We can compare it with οἴκεον (Hdt. 1.57, Homeric ᾤκεον *Il.* 20.218 etc.), the third person plural perfect passive οἰκέαται (Hdt. 1.142) and the aorist οἴκτ(ε)ιρε (Hdt. 3.52, Homeric ᾤκτ(ε)ιρε *Il.* 11.814).

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that Aristarchus read ἐπ' ἀμύμονας in v. 423. Schol.A *Il.* 1.423 (I.119 Erbse) shows that Aristarchus read μετ' ἀμύμονας instead of ἐπ' ἀμύμονας.

[12] *Il.* 2.674 = 17.280 = *Od.* 11.470; *Il.* 20.484; *Od.* 8.117; 11.551; 24.18.

[13] *Cf.* G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 113.

[14] R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV, 36.

[15] See Ludwich, II.66. The *v.l.* ᾠνοχόει is found in Schol. *Il.* 20.234 and others.

[16] In each case there is a *v.l.* ἐνῳνοχόει, at *Il.* 4.3 attributed to Zenodotus. The form ἐῳνοχόει is used by Nonnus (21.177; 25.449; 27.245).

170 (134 Wyss)

Schol. T Hom. *Il.* 5.461 (II.70 Erbse): 'Τρῳὰς δὲ στίχας'· ἐν τῇ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμάχου 'Τρῳὰς' ἦν (ita Maass: Τρωίας εἶχε T) σὺν τῷ ι, ὡς 'ἵππους δὲ Τρῳούς' (23.291) (ita Maass; Eustath.: Τρωίους T)· ἡ μέντοι κοινή, ᾗ συντίθεται καὶ ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης, 'Τρῶας' ὡς Κᾶρας.

Commentary

Antimachus, along with the Sinopic and Cyprian editions, read Τρῳὰς δὲ στίχας at *Il.* 5.461, not Τρῶας δὲ στίχας (the 'common' reading) nor Τρώων (the vulgate). The latter may well be preferable, in view of Homeric usage elsewhere, *cf.* Τρώων στίχες (*Il.* 4.221 = 11.412; *cf.* 17.107) and στίχες . . . Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε (7.65).[17]

Antimachus' reading has the correct orthography and accent for the adjectival form as against the accusative plural form of the noun Τρῶας,[18] *cf.* Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάς, ' Trojan men and Trojan women' (*Il.* 22.57).

There is also the trisyllabic adjectival form Τρώϊος, used only in the phrase Τρώϊοι ἵπποι, the steeds of Tros, not 'Trojan' (*Il.* 5.222 = 8.106; 23.378). LSJ[9] does not cite Τρῳός as a separate adjectival form, *cf.* ἵππους δὲ Τρῳούς (23.291), again the horses of Tros, not ' Trojan', listed under Τρώϊος. In fact Τρῳούς here appears to have been created from the feminine adjectival forms Τρῳὰς στίχας (5.461) and ἵπποι Τρῳαί (16.393).[19]

171 (135 Wyss)

Schol. A (T, Eustath. 920.36) Hom. *Il.* 13.60 (III.409 Erbse) a: κεκοπώς) διχῶς Ἀρίσταρχος (ita T, Eustath.; Ἀριστοφάνης A), καὶ 'κεκοφώς', καὶ 'κεκοπώς'. b: ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ κόπτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ Χίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμάχου 'κεκοπών'.

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[17] *Cf.* G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* II, 108.
[18] On the iota subscript and the accent *cf.* *Etym. Magn.* 770.31 *s.v.* Τρῳάς; Ebeling, *Lex.* *s.v.* Τρῳός; Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, II.119.
[19] *Cf.* Wackernagel, *ibid.*

Commentary

The accepted reading at *Il.* 13.60 (and *Od.* 18.335) is κεκοπώς, seen by Wackernagel as a semi-Atticization of κεκοπών (read by Antimachus and the Chian edition) which he views as Aeolic and probably original.[20] The other *v.l.* κεκοφώς he calls a complete Atticization. Antimachus' form has been seen by Monro as either a thematic perfect or a new thematic present.[21]

The commonest Homeric example of such a form is κεκλήγοντες (*Il.* 12.125; 16.430; 17.756; 759; *Od.* 14.30). In every instance, however, there is a *v.l.* κεκληγῶτες and sometimes κεκληγόντες. The accusative form κεκληγῶτας is actually the preferred reading at *Od.* 12.256, but with the variants κεκληγῶντας, κεκληγόντας, κεκλήγοντας and κεκληκότας.[22]

These different forms must reflect opposing ancient views on what these participles actually were. The usual reading, κεκλήγοντες with proparoxytone accent, may be seen as a genuine thematic perfect, probably of Aeolic origin.[23] Monro adopts Fick's theory that such Aeolic forms were used when the corresponding Ionic one was different in quantity, i.e. κεκλήγοντες replaced κεκληγότες.[24] The -ῶτες form appears to be a metrically suitable compromise between the Aeolic form and the normal Ionic one.[25] The paroxytone form κεκληγόντες, however, should be seen as the participle from a reduplicated aorist tense.[26]

Aristarchus, in his first Homeric edition, seems to have approved of κεκλήγοντες, but, in his second, he preferred κεκληγῶτες at *Il.*

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[20] Wackernagel, *Sprachl. Unters.*, 29; *cf. Nachr. Ges. Wiss.* (Gött. 1914), 100 = *Kleine Schriften* II.1157. Van der Valk (*Researches* II.5) sees κεκοπώς as the reading of the archaic vulgate, but thinks (6) that the Chian edition (and Antimachus) may have preserved an authentic reading which has been lost in our codices. Janko treats the Antimachean and Chian editions as emended texts and κεκοπώς as the correct vulgate (*The Iliad: A Commentary* IV, 50).

[21] Monro, *GHD*, 30 §27; Cunliffe, 233 *s.v.* κόπτω.

[22] See Ludwich's *apparatus* to the passages cited; also on *Od.* 12.256 *cf.* Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.431 §205.

[23] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.430 §205; Ahrens, *De Gr. Ling. Dial.* I.148; G. R. McLennan (ed.), *Callimachus: Hymn to Zeus*, 88-9 on v.53, πεπλήγοντες. Hoekstra calls it a 'semi-Ionicized form (Aeolic κεκλᾱγοντες)', on *Od.* 14.30, in A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II, 194.

[24] Monro, *GHD*, 388, Appendix F.3.

[25] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.431 §205.

[26] *Cf.* McLennan, *op. cit.*, 89.

16.430.[27] Hellenistic writers reflect all these forms, e.g. Callimachus has both πεπλήγοντες (*Hy.* 1.53) and τετυπόντες (*Hy.* 3.61), thus reproducing both theories on the accentuation of these participles.[28] Apollonius, on the other hand, avoids this declension, choosing the -ῶτος form, with κεκληγῶτα (4.876).[29] Other Hellenistic and late epic authors prefer the proparoxytone forms, e.g. κεκλήγοντες (Aratus, 1004; [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.58); κεκλήγοντα (*Orph. Lith.* 143); πεπλήγοντες (Nonn. 28.327); τετρήχοντα (Nic. *Ther.* 72).

When we come to the nominative singular masculine forms, Fick's theory, that the Aeolic form is only used when the Ionic one differed in quantity, holds true, i.e. we invariably read in the Homeric text κεκληγώς (*Il.* 2.222; 5.591 = 11.344; 11.168; 13.755; 17.88; *Od.* 12.408) and πεπληγώς (*Il.* 2.264; 22.497), since there is of course no metrical reason for substituting the Aeolic forms in -ων.[30] But why then did Antimachus read κεκοπών for κεκοπώς and why is there a *v.l.* πεπληγών at *Il.* 2.264? This latter reading is ascribed by the scholiast to τινές, which Erbse suggests could refer to Zenodotus.[31] Antimachus or the Chian edition is a more likely source for the variant.

I would suggest that these variants represent not a metrically unnecessary change in dialect, but a significant change of tense. In other words, we should retain the accentuation which we find in the codices, κεκοπών and πεπληγών and treat these forms as reduplicated aorist participles.[32]

In the cases of ἀφήσω/πεπληγώς (*Il.* 2.263-4), κεκοπὼς πλῆσεν (13.60), and κεκοπὼς ... / ... ἐκπέμψῃσι (*Od.* 18.335-6), the action of striking is completed before the action of the accompanying verb rather than continuing with it, which Monro suggests is the effect of the perfect participle.[33] Aorist forms seem more suitable.

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[27] Schol. *Il.* 16.430b (Didym.); Ludwich, *apparatus* II.184; McLennan, *op. cit.*, 88. The form κεκλήγοντες is also read at Hes. *Scut.* 379; 412.

[28] McLennan, *ibid.*

[29] Apollonius also has the feminine plural of this form, κεκληγυῖαι, at 2.712; 1058.

[30] *Cf.* Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* II, 119 on *Il.* 5.591; Curiously he does not comment on the earlier occurrence at 2.222. To the Homeric examples we may add πεπληγώς Q.S. 4.559 (fem. pl. πεπληγυῖαι 3.548).

[31] Erbse, I.240 (*apparatus*).

[32] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I.397 §189; 430 §205; McLennan, *op. cit.* 88. Wyss adopts κεκόπων, following Wackernagel and Monro, although he does interpret it as a reduplicated aorist.

[33] Monro, *GHD* 31 §28.

But is κεκοπών the original Homeric reading or simply an attempt at improvement? Certainly it is readily conceivable that an original κεκοπών could have evolved into the vulgate κεκοπώς, a more common participial type. But if κεκοπώς were the original form, κεκοπών can only be explained as a deliberate change introduced by the Chian edition and Antimachus to produce better sense in the passage.[34] Janko sees both the Antimachean and Chian editions as 'emended texts' and accepts κεκοπώς as the correct vulgate.[35] Antimachus is known to have made greater changes, often with less justification, elsewhere.[36]

I would suggest that κεκοπώς is the original Homeric reading, possibly a denominative form from κόπος, 'striking'[37] and would treat κεκοπών as a reduplicated aorist, analogous to such aorist participles as κεκαδών (*Il.* 11.334), τεταγών (*Il.* 1.591; 15.23), and ἀμπεπαλών (*Il.* 3.355 = six other lines; 20.438).[38]

172 (88 Wyss)

Schol. bT Hom. *Il.* 19.233-4 (IV.621 Erbse): 'μηδέ τις ἄλλην λαῶν ὀτρυντύν': μή τις τῶν λαῶν τὴν ἐξ ἑτέρου ὀτρυντὺν ἐκδεχέσθω, ἀλλ' αὐτοκέλευστος ἐξίτω. ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις Ἀντιμάχειος (ita Schol. T; Ἀττικὴ Schol. b; cf. Ἰώνων ἐστὶ σχηματισμός, Eustath. *Il.* 1180.6 [IV.314 van der Valk]): καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης χαίρει ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐκφοραῖς 'πολλὴ ἀντιμαχητύς' (F31 Powell)

Commentary

The phrase ἡ λέξις Ἀντιμάχειος surely means 'the Antimachean reading (of Homer)' rather than 'an Antimachean word or form' and shows that Antimachus read ὀτρυντύν at *Il.* 19.234 and ὀτρυντύς at 235. Against Wyss I would suggest that it is possible rather than probable that Antimachus used this form in his own poetry. The word means 'exhortation', 'encouragement' and while it could easi-

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[34] Wyss (XXIX) suggests that the Chian edition was available to Antimachus.
[35] *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV, 50.
[36] Especially F178, but *cf.* also F173, 174, 176, 177.
[37] *Cf.* Monro, *GHD*, 30 §26.5.
[38] *Cf.* Monro, *GHD*, 39 §36.1. There are variant readings for most of these forms, but note particularly τεταγώς for τεταγών (*Il.* 1.591).

ly have been used in the *Thebaid* in a battle scene similar to that in the *Iliad*, I would prefer to attribute it to Antimachus' Homeric studies.

Presumably the non-Antimachean λέξεις were ὀτρυντήν and ὀτρυντῆς, both occurring as variant readings in the MSS.[39] In these cases, the readings of Antimachus have become the accepted Homeric text.

Antimachus' liking for nouns ending in -υς is clear (*cf.* πωρητύς, F54; ἀβολητύς, F193). That it may have been thought excessive by some is shown by Eratosthenes' jocular coinage ἀντιμαχητυς (F31 Powell).[40]

173 (136 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 21.397 (V.221 Erbse) a[1]: 'πανόψιον'· οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος πανόψιον τὸ οἱονεὶ πανόρατον καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐπιφανές. Schol. T a[2]: Ἀντίμαχος δὲ γράφει 'ὑπονόσφιον' καὶ τίποτε δι' αὐτοῦ θέλει δηλοῦσθαι ἄμεινον; Eustath. 1234.40 (IV.528 van der Valk): Ἀντίμαχος δὲ 'ὑπονόσφιον' γράφει. καὶ τί μὲν σημαίνει τοῦτο, οὐχ ἑρμηνεύουσιν οἱ παλαιοί· φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ τί θέλει δηλοῦσθαι, δῆλον. (ita codd. ἄδηλον von der Mühll) ἴσως δὲ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Διομήδους ὑπ' αὐτῆς νοσφισθὲν ἤτοι χωρισθὲν καὶ ἁρπασθέν.

Pap. Grenf. 2.4a (B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri* [Oxford 1897], 6) saec. iii a.C.: πανοψιον subscriptum υπονο[σ]φ[ιον].

Commentary

This reading is one of Antimachus' more radical departures from the traditional Homeric text, which here reads πανόψιον. Antimachus thus replaced one *hapax legomenon* with another.[41] The context in this part of *Iliad* Bk. 21 is that Ares reminds Athena of the occasion when she had helped Diomedes wound the war-god (5.844ff.). In

[39] See Ludwich's *apparatus*, II.334; *cf.* Apoll. Soph. 123, *apparatus*.

[40] Not that Eratosthenes himself avoided such words, *cf.* γραπτῦς (F397.ii.2 *SH*, from his *Hermes*), a word used once in Homer (*Od.* 24.229) and once by Apollonius (4.279). For more on such words see the commentary on F54.

[41] *Cf.* M.M. Kumpf, *The Homeric Hapax Legomena and their literary use by later authors, especially Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Ohio State Univ. 1974), 60.

Bk. 5, Athena had donned a cap of invisibility and had not only deflected Ares' spear-thrust away from Diomedes, but had driven home Diomedes' own spear into the god's midriff. Here, whether πανόψιον is taken as an epithet with ἔγχος or adverbially with ἑλοῦσα, the sense seems to involve visibility. Either the invisible Athena took the all too visible spear or she took it 'visibly', 'in the sight of all'.[42] In addition to these explanations, the scholiasts suggest tamely that the word can mean 'finally'. Apollonius Sophista (127.20) explains it as an epithet equivalent to λάμπων, 'shining' or 'gleaming' from its ἐπιδορατίς, 'spearhead' or as meaning 'in the sight of all'. Antimachus appears to have understood πανόψιον in this latter sense and to have considered it incompatible with Athena's invisibility. So to save Homer from the charge of inconsistency he substituted another word to produce what he considered the required sense, something like 'secretly'.[43] It is surely better to interpret his reading adverbially rather than as an epithet agreeing with ἔγχος, which is how it is taken in LSJ⁹.[44] The spear can hardly be called 'surreptitious', but the invisible Athena's action in guiding and strengthening its thrust can be so described.

Eustathius seems to suggest that some ancient critics did not interpret the word because they thought that what Antimachus intended was perfectly clear. It was obviously not so apparent to Eustathius, leading to his odd suggestion that ὑπονόσφιον was somehow connected with νοσφίζειν in the sense of purloining or taking something from someone.

It is interesting to find confirmation of Antimachus' reading in a papyrus of the third century B.C.

174 (137 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 21.607 (V.260 Erbse): 'πόλις δ' ἔμπλητο'· παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ καὶ Ῥιανῷ (F10 Mayhoff) 'πύλαι δ' ἔμπληντο ἀλέντων'.

[42] In its only other occurrence (Nonn. 14.169), πανόψιον ὄμμα, it refers to the 'all-seeing' eye of Hera.

[43] *Cf.* N.J. Richardson, "It is presumably a conjecture, to avoid the difficulty of Athene's invisibility" (*The Iliad: A Commentary* VI, 88).

[44] LSJ^9 *s.v.* ὑπονόσφιος, -ον, 'surreptitious'.

Commentary

Antimachus, followed by Rhianus, read πύλαι δ' ἔμπληντο instead of πόλις δ' ἔμπλητο at *Il.* 21.607. On several counts we might judge it the better reading. In the first place, it avoids the repetition of πόλις (607), πόλιος (608), and πόλιν (611). This is surely a better reason than that advanced by Stoll (113) that Antimachus was offended by the iuxtaposition of ἄστυ, πόλις, *cf.* e.g. πόλιν καὶ ἄστυ (*Il.* 17.144). Secondly, the change produces a vivid sequence of the glad arrival of the Trojans at their city (ἄστυ), the filling of its gates as they crowded in and then the comment that they lacked the spirit to wait for one another outside the city and its walls, in order to discover who had escaped and who had died in battle. In haste they poured into the city, whichever of them their feet and legs had saved. The filling of the gates presents a greater sense of both haste and crowding than the mere filling of the city.[45] But there is really no reason to change the traditional text.

175 (148 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 22.336 (V.330 Erbse): <'σὲ μὲν κύνες ἠδ' οἰωνοὶ> ἑλκήσουσ' ἀϊκῶς'· οἱ περὶ 'Αντίμαχον (ita cod. 'Αρίσταρχον Lehrs) ἐπὶ τὸ γνωριμώτερον 'ἑλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς'. Schol. T: ἀϊκῶς· †ἀϊκακῶς· 'Αντίμαχος 'αἰκῶς'

Schol. A ἑλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς Matthews -ήσουσι κακῶς cod. -ήσουσι, κακῶς Wyss -ήσουσι ἀϊκως Lehrs Schol. T ἀϊκακως cod. ἀϊκέως Maass (vel αἰκέως vel αἰκιστικῶς Matthews) ἀϊκῶς Erbse 'Αντιμ. αἰκῶς Matthews κακῶς cod.

Commentary

Wyss seems prepared to follow Lehrs and assign this Homeric reading to Aristarchus rather than Antimachus because Aristarchus read unelided forms in several other places.[46] But the codices of both Schol. A (Didym.) and Schol. T are unanimous in their readings, οἱ περὶ 'Αντίμαχον and 'Αντίμαχος respectively. Erbse rightly rejects

[45] *Cf.* N. J. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary* VI, 104.

[46] Wyss, 67 and 68 under *Fragmenta Dubia*; Lehrs, *Quaest. Ep.*, 49; for Aristarchus' unelided forms *cf.* Schol. 1.323; 2.347a; 11.450; 13.407; 16.854; 22.740. In keeping with his transfer of the reading to Aristarchus, Lehrs conjectured the ἐκ πλήρους version ἑλκήσουσι ἀϊκῶς, *cf.* Ludwich, *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik*, I.477-8, who approves of the suggestion.

Lehr's suggestion, but retains the transmitted version of the reading in question, namely ἑλκήσουσι κακῶς.[47] Wyss proposes ἑλκήσουσι, κακῶς, the adverb being the scholiast's comment.

I wish to suggest, however, that the reading is corrupt. When one reviews the scholia to *Il.* 22.336, the central issue is clearly the form of the adverb, usually read as ἀϊκῶς. But from Schol. T, we find that some critics declared that the word was dissyllabic, i.e. αἰκῶς, while others said that it had short syllables, i.e. ἀϊκῶς.[48] Surely then there must have been some who read the Homeric text as ἑλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that οἱ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον are said to have changed the text ἐπὶ τὸ γνωριμώτερον, 'with a view to the more familiar.' The vulgate ἀϊκῶς is clearly an unusual form, but the Antimachean reading was surely not the banal ἑλκήσουσι κακῶς. The word γνωριμώτερον must refer to a more familiar form of ἀϊκῶς.

There are in fact a number of different versions of this adverb. In addition to ἀϊκῶς and αἰκῶς we find αἰκέως, ἀϊκέως, and αἰκιστικῶς (Schol.), ἀεικῶς (Eustath. 1272.25; Hesych.) and ἀεικέως (Simon. F507.1 [2] *PMG*). None of these longer forms is metrically possible here, but, in any case, the most common form in literature is the Attic αἰκῶς (e.g. Soph. *El.* 102; 216; Plato Com. F249 Kassel-Austin) and it is also the one mentioned first by both scholia.

I would suggest that the Antimachean edition read ἑλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς, the dissyllabic form producing a spondaic second foot. Someone unfamiliar with the two forms ἀϊκῶς/αἰκῶς might not have appreciated that ἑλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς was in fact a different reading and therefore 'corrected' it to ἑλκήσουσι κακῶς.

Erbse's presentation of Schol. T (a^2) can also be corrected. He writes ἄλλως· ἀϊκῶς; ἀϊκῶς Ἀντίμαχος 'κακῶς', repeating ἀϊκῶς in place of the corrupt ἀϊκακῶς (cod.) I would suggest that the corruption conceals ἀϊκέως (Maass) (*cf.* Schol.), if not αἰκέως, αἰκιστικῶς or ἀεικῶς. We should also read Ἀντίμαχος 'αἰκῶς'. The reference can thus be redeemed as a genuine reading of the Antimachean edition, a reading which is, moreover, much closer to the received version than it has been thought to be.

[47] Van der Valk (*Researches*, I.525) accepts ἑλκήσουσι κακῶς as the Antimachean reading, saying that it makes the text easier, which is the way he interprets ἐπὶ τὸ γνωριμώτερον. Erbse (*app. crit.*) follows him.

[48] *Cf.* γίνεται αἰκῶς καὶ ἀϊκῶς (Schol. b).

176 (138 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom *Il.* 23.604 (V.458 Erbse): <νεοίῃ>· οἱ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον 'νόημα' γράφουσι. Schol. T: νεοίῃ· νεότης· οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον γράφουσι 'νόημα'.

Commentary

The last word in the line at *Il.* 23.604 is νεοίῃ, a *hapax* explained in the scholia as νεότης, 'youth', 'youthful passion'. We are told that the Antimachean reading was νόημα, i.e. from the scholia it appears that Antimachus read νόον νίκησε νόημα. Wyss thinks it ridiculous to believe that this can be what Antimachus intended and hesitantly puts forward Heyne's suggestion νέον νίκησε νόημα.[49] The use, however, of [τὸ] νέον in the sense of νεότης is late, being first attested in Sophocles (*OC* 1229) and Euripides (*Ion* 545). Moreover, there is no hint in the scholia that νέον was ever substituted for νόον nor indeed that Antimachus' νόημα replaced νόον not νεοίῃ.[50]

I would suggest that νόον νίκησε νόημα is not as ridiculous as Wyss supposes. The phrase can be understood as making a distinction between νόος, 'mind', 'sense', or 'reason', and νόημα, the thought, concept, or idea that occurs in the mind.[51]

The Homeric context is that of Menelaus' response to Antilochus' apology for cutting Menelaus off during the chariot race in the Funeral Games. Antimachus depicts Menelaus as in effect saying to Antilochus 'your intention (i.e. of getting past me) defeated your good sense', 'you had lost control of your senses'.[52] In fact the νόημα which conquered Antilochus' good sense can be found back in vv. 415-6:

> ταῦτα δ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς τεχνήσομαι ἠδὲ νοήσω,
> στεινωπῷ ἐν ὁδῷ παραδύμεναι, οὐδέ με λήσει.

Whether Antimachus' reading is preferable to 'your youth(ful rash-

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[49] *Cf.* Stoll, 113; Ludwich, *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik* I.491.

[50] See Ludwich, *ibid.*

[51] Van der Valk (*Researches* II.117 n. 154) accepts νόον νίκησε νόημα as the Antimachean reading. He adds 'by the artificial contrast between νόος and νόημα the line gets an epigrammatical and intellectual turn, a device which was cherished by the Alexandrians, who liked a pointed expression'.

[52] *Cf.* Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary* VI, 235 "Antimachus apparently read νόημα ... i.e. 'your plan (or ingenuity) got the better of your good sense'."

ness) conquered your good sense' may be doubtful, but it can be understood in a very satisfactory way. As Wyss suggests, Antimachus may have been unwilling to admit νεοίη as a genuine Homeric word and therefore he replaced the *hapax* with a common Homeric form.[53]

177 (139 Wyss)

Schol. T (Eustath.1334.5 [IV.851 van der Valk]) Hom. *Il.* 23.870 (V.503 Erbse): 'σπερχόμενος <δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐξείρυσε χειρὸς τόξον, ἀτὰρ δὴ ὀϊστὸν ἔχεν πάλαι, ὡς ἴθυνεν>'· ἐπειγόμενος ἀπέσπασε τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Τεύκρου τὸ τόξον· ἐνὶ γὰρ ἠγωνίζοντο τόξῳ ὡς ἐνὶ δίσκῳ. ὀϊστὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅτου ἐκεῖνος ἴθυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ οὗτος εἶχεν· οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος· ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ οὕτω· 'σπ. δ' ἄ. Μ. ἐπεθήκατ' ὀϊστὸν/τόξῳ· ἐν γὰρ χερσὶν ἔχεν π., ὡς ἴθ.' Ἀντίμαχος δέ· 'σπ. δ' ἄ. Μ. ἐξείρυσε Τεύκρου/τόξον, χερσὶ δ' ὀϊστὸν ἔχε<ν> π., ὡς ἴθ.' Schol. A(V.502 Erbse): . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ Ἀντίμαχον οὕτως· 'σπ. δ' ἄ. Μ. ἐξείλετο τόξον χερσίν, <ἀτὰρ δὴ ὀϊστὸν ἔχεν π., ὡς ἴθ.'>

Commentary

Ancient Homeric critics argued over whether, in the archery contest in the Funeral Games, the two competitors, Teucer and Meriones, used one and the same bow or had one each. Presumably the vulgate text ἐξείρυσε χειρὸς/τόξον (23.870-1) was thought to be ambiguous, meaning either 'snatched the bow from (Teucer's) hand'[54] or 'snatched his bow by (his own) hand'. Some editions therefore sought to clarify the situation. The Massaliote edition gave Meriones his own bow, reading:

> σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐπεθήκατ' ὀϊστόν
> τόξῳ· ἐν γὰρ χερσὶν ἔχε<ν> πάλαι, ὡς ἴθυνεν.

'In haste Meriones fitted an arrow to his bow; for he had long been holding it in his hands when he (Teucer) was shooting'.[55] Anti-

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[53] *Cf.* M.M. Kumpf, *The Homeric Hapax Legomena* (Diss. Ohio State Univ. 1974), 59. νόημα is invariably at line-end in Homer.

[54] Such is the view of the scholiasts and Aristarchus.

[55] *Cf.* the explanation of Schol. T: ὀϊστὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅτου ἐκεῖνος (i.e. Τεύκρος) ἴθυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπόν καὶ οὗτος (i.e. Μηριόνης) εἶχεν. Cunliffe (197) is surely in error in rendering 'had long been holding it ready as he (Meriones) had directed it',

machus, however, preferred that there be a single bow, but the sources present two different versions of his Homeric text:

σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐξείλετο τόξον
χερσίν, <ἀτὰρ δὴ ὀϊστὸν ἔχεν πάλαι, ὡς ἴθυνεν> (Schol. A)

and

σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐξείρυσε Τεύκρου
τόξον· χερσὶ, δ' ὀϊστὸν ἔχεν πάλαι, ὡς ἴθυνεν (Schol. T; Eustath.)

It is hard to imagine that both versions can be attributed to Antimachus for we never hear of more than one Antimachean edition.[56] As Wyss remarks, the first version is '*frigidam*', and in any case it does not clearly answer the question of whether there was one bow or two. The second version removes all doubt by bringing in the name of Teucer. There was only one bow, which Meriones has to snatch hurriedly from Teucer.[57] This version in fact gives more point to σπερχόμενος since there is all the more need for haste when Meriones does not already have a bow in his hands.[58] It is also much closer to the vulgate reading than the Massaliote edition. A strong argument, however, against this Antimachean reading is that no form of the name Τεύκρος ever occurs at line-end in Homer. The vulgate text is therefore to be preferred, despite the ancient attempts (including that of Antimachus) to make it easier to understand.

178 (140 Wyss)

Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 24.71 (V.532 Erbse): <. . . 'ἀλλ' ἤτοι κλέψαι μὲν ἐάσομεν – οὐδέ πῃ ἔστι λάθρῃ 'Αχιλλῆος – θρασὺν Ἕκτορα'> . . . τὸ

thinking that Meriones slips the bow under the arrow thus held. It is hard to see how, in his haste to grab the bow, he could keep the arrow in position.

[56] Unless the phrase οἱ περὶ 'Αντίμαχον (F175, 176 and 178) can be so interpreted. All other references are simply to Antimachus or with the phrases ἡ 'Αντιμάχου, ἐν τῇ ... 'Αντιμαχείῳ, ἐν τῇ ... 'Αντιμάχου or ἐν τῇ κατὰ 'Αντίμαχον.

[57] Both Schol. A and Eustathius compare the use of a single implement with the δίσκος or σόλος throw. While the two situations may not be strictly comparable, the use of a single bow, rather than two of perhaps different size and power, would make the competition more obviously fair.

[58] M. van der Valk (*Researches* I.428-9) favours this version, saying 'Antimachos tries to offer a more precise representation, a fact which we can expect from a learned poet'. Richardson agrees that it is likely that Schol. T records what Antimachus actually read (*The Iliad: A Commentary* VI,268-9).

δὲ 'ἐάσομεν' νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ παρῶμεν, οἷον μηδὲ λέγωμεν· ὅπερ ἀγνοήσαντες οἱ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον ἐποίησαν· κλέψαι μὲν 'ἀμήχανον'.

Commentary

This particular Antimachean reading can only have come about if, as the scholiast suggests, Antimachus did not understand the use of ἐάσομεν in the sense of 'let alone', 'forget about'. This is the only Homeric example with an infinitive, but *cf.* with an accusative *Il.* 9.260 and *Od.* 2.281; also similar are *Il.* 24.557; 569; and 684. In fact it is possible that Antimachus thought that ἐάσομεν meant the opposite sense, 'let us allow the stealing of etc.'[59]

Thus once again he aims at clarification of the Homeric meaning without any apparent regard for traditional readings. The introduction of ἀμήχανον with an infinitive, 'it is impracticable, impossible to steal etc.', while perfectly in keeping with Homeric usage, *cf.* e.g. τοῦτ' μ' ἄνωγας ἀμήχανον ἄλλο τελέσαι (*Il.* 14.262), is quite unnecessary for the understanding of the passage.

179 (141 Wyss)

Schol. T Hom. *Il.* 24.753a (V.637 Erbse): <'ἐς Σάμον ἔς τ' Ἴμβρον καὶ Λῆμνον> ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν'· κατὰ Κυπρίους εὐδαίμονα. οἱ δὲ πετρώδη καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ ἀπόκρημνον. ... οἱ δὲ ἄμικτον διὰ τὸ ἐκ θαλάσσης δυσπρόσιτον καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα ... οἱ δὲ ὁμιχλώδη καὶ ἀπροόρατον τοῖς πλέουσι διὰ τὰ ἐργαστήρια Ἡφαίστου ... ἄλλως ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν: Ἀντίμαχος 'μιχθαλόεσσαν'.

Cf. Hesych. (II.671 Latte): μιχθαλόεσσα· ἀλίμενος. *Pap. Hib.* II.172 Col. iii 65 (= F991.65 *SH*) saec. iii a.C. [Pack^2 2129]: μιχθαλόεσσα .

Commentary

The epithet ἀμιχθαλόεσσα occurs in Homer only at *Il.* 24.753.[60] That it is associated specifically with Lemnos is suggested by Λῆμνος ἀμιχθαλόεσσα (*Hy. Ap.* 36). Its meaning was no clearer to the

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[59] ἐάσομεν is a short-vowel subjunctive; *cf.* Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary* VI, 284.

[60] *Cf.* Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary* VI, 356.

ancients than to us. In addition to the Homeric scholia, the word was also discussed in a papyrus commentary on Callimachus (F251 *SH*).[61]

Various explanations are to be found in these ancient discussions:[62] the most common is 1) that it means 'hard to approach', indicated by such words as ἄμικτος, δυσπρόσιτος, ἀπρόσμικτος, ἀπροσόρμιστος, δυσπροσόρμιστος, μὴ προσβίβαστος etc., being either harbourless or having savage inhabitants; similar to this suggestion is 2) that it means 'rocky', πετρώδης, ἀπόκρημνος, διὰ ... τὴν τραχύτητα, and is thus hard to approach. Very different from these explanations are 3) that it meant εὐδαίμων among the Cyprians[63] and 4) that it is equivalent to ὁμιχλώδης, 'misty', or 'smoky' because of the presence on the island of the workshops of Hephaestus.

Callimachus showed his preference for this latter explanation by using the epithet in the line εἴ κεν ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν ἀπ' ἠέρα νηὸς ἐλάσσῃς (F18.8 Pf.).[64]

We are not told how Antimachus understood the word, only that he read it in the form μιχθαλόεσσα. Wyss (XXXV and 65) suggests that Antimachus preferred this form for metrical reasons, to avoid a trochaic caesura in the fourth foot. While this may be so, an interesting aspect is that the form of the word without ἀ surely rules out any derivation from ἄμικτος etc.,[65] and thus suggests that Antimachus must have accepted either that the epithet was a Cyprian word equivalent to εὐδαίμων or, more likely, that it was related to ὁμιχλώδης, the belief of Callimachus.

Confirmation of Antimachus' form of the epithet comes from both Hesychius *s.v.* μιχθαλόεσσα and a poetical onomasticon of the third century B.C. (*Pap. Hib.* II.172). The position of the word in the onomasticon, where it is surrounded by ἁλι- compounds and the epithet ἀμφίαλον suggests that the compiler of the word-list derived it from μικτός and ἅλς, possibly in the sense 'that is reached by sea' or 'which lies in the midst of the sea'. This should not be taken, how-

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61 The commentary is clearly one on Callimachus, not on Homer. See A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 4 (1969), 23-30; Erbse, *Schol. Gr. in Hom. Il.* V.509.

62 On these and some modern opinions see Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* I.76; M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, 214 n.8; *LfgrE s.v.*

63 Accepted by Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.*, 1.444.

64 Surely dependent on Callimachus is a line of Colluthus, εἶθαρ ἀμιχθαλόεντος ἀπ' ἠέρος ὄμβρον ἰεῖσα (209).

65 Such as that of O. Lagercrantz, *Indog. Forsch.* 50 (1932), 277-280.

ever, as any indication of how Antimachus understood the word. Moreover the Hesychian gloss ἄλιμενος, 'harbourless', shows that some viewed the word as just another form of ἀμιχθαλόεσσα.

180 (142 Wyss)

Schol. H¹M¹PQ Hom. *Od.* 1.85 (I.24-5 Dindorf = I.54 Ludwich): 'νῆσον ἐς Ὠγυγίην'· ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀντίμαχον ''Ὠγυλίην' γράφεται. διαφέρουσι δὲ οἱ τόποι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὠγυγίαν ἐντὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὴν δὲ Ὠγυλίαν κατὰ Κρήτην Ἡσίοδός (F204.60[20] M-W) φησι κεῖσθαι. †τὸν δὲ ὠγύλιον, ἠδ' ὠγύλη < .... > (cod. H) νῆσον δὲ ταύτην <εἰσὶν> οἱ καυλοὺς καλοῦσιν† (ita codd. PH: τὸν δὲ Ὤγυλον, ἡ δὲ Ὠγυλίη. νῆσον δὲ ταύτην <εἰσὶν> οἳ Καυδοὺς καλοῦσιν Wilamowitz, *Herm.* 40 [1905], 137s. = *Klein. Schrift.* IV.190).

Commentary

The ancient critics argued about the whereabouts of the island of Calypso. This debate arose in large part from the obscure name (or epithet) Ogygie read in the Homeric text.

Antimachus, with his penchant for geographical veracity, read Ὠγυλίη, Ogylie, the name of an island near Crete, according to Hesiod, who told of Idomeneus travelling from Crete over the Ogylian Sea to the house of Tyndareus (F.204.60 M-W).[66] We thus have the interesting situation of Antimachus correcting Homer following a passage of Hesiod.[67] As Wyss says, this island is the modern Anticythera. The textual change introduced by Antimachus is minimal, and perhaps justifiable.

The comment of the scholiast that there were some who called this island Caudos simply shows the continuing confusion concerning Calypso's island,[68] for the name Caudos is surely the same as Gaudos, a name used for Calypso's island by Callimachus (F470Pf.),

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[66] This passage must be the basis for Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὤγυλος· νῆσος μεταξὺ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης. Ludwich, (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 21 [1905], 684-7), tries, unconvincingly, to reconstruct the Hesiodic text.

[67] *Cf.* J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodea* (Leiden 1960), 585.

[68] Note that the codices to Schol. PH *Od.* 1.85 read καυλοὺς, καλοὺς. Hecataeus (1F341) and others have Γαῦλος and Latin authors *Gaulus*. See Pfeiffer on Callimachus F470.

who clearly placed it περὶ Σικιλίαν.[69] It is accordingly identified as the modern Gozo near Malta.[70]

Callimachus obviously decided to differ from Antimachus on the location of Calypso's island, placing it in the west, as did the other Alexandrians. As a result, Antimachus' reading Ὠγυλίη was forgotten.[71]

181 (143 Wyss)

Hesych. (II.156 Latte): ἐπίηρα· τὴν μετ' ἐπικουρίας χάριν μεγάλην· ἢ ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος.

Commentary

While the Hesychian reference may be to a usage in Antimachus' own work, it seems more likely that Antimachus in a commentary explained the Homeric phrase as ἐπίηρα φέρειν rather than ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν (*Il.* 1.572; 578). In this, he was followed by Aristarchus, who elsewhere also combines ἐπί with the words which follow it.[72] Buttmann has shown that this reading is mistaken.[73] In three other instances (*Od.* 3.164; 16.375; 18.56), ἐπ' is separated from ἦρα by datives which are either governed by it, or which are the indirect objects of the tmesized verb ἐπι—φέρειν. In yet another example (*Il.* 14.132), there is no ἐπί at all, simply a dative with φέροντες (*cf.*. Choerilus F18a.3 Colace = 17a.3 Bernabé). But paradoxically this line may help explain Antimachus' reading. If as shown by this example, the verb φέρειν required neither a compound form nor the preposition ἐπί, then ἐπίηρα φέρειν could be seen as a compound noun, the prefix bearing the meaning of over or beyond the normal,[74] *cf.* the difference between Hesychius' definitions: ἦρα· ἡ χάριν, βοήθειαν, ἐπικουρίαν: ἐπίηρα· τὴν μετ' ἐπικουρίας χάριν μεγάλην ἢ ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας, i.e. ἐπίηρα is a greater, more freely-given boon or favour than is ἦρα. Antimachus' reading was apparently followed by Rhianus (*cf.*.F1.21 Powell).

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[69] Apollod. 244 F157 = Strabo 1.2.37 C44; 7.36 C299.

[70] *Cf.* Pfeiffer on F470; Strabo 6.2.11 C277.

[71] *Cf.* S. West in A. Heubeck, S. West, J.B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I, 86.

[72] Schol. A *Il.* 1.572 a; for other examples see Schol. 5.178; 9.147 etc.

[73] Buttmann, *Lexilog.* 1.141ff.; *Cf.* Bechtel, *Lexilog.* 136-7; 160.

[74] *Cf.* LSJ[9] *s.v.* ἐπί G I.2.f

It is notable that Apollonius has both ἐπίηρα φέρωμαι (4.375), the verb being middle in the sense of 'win' or 'carry off', which shows that a tmesis of ἐπί and φέρειν is not intended, and ἦρα φέροντες (4.406), 'to gratify'.[75]

The form ἦρα seems to be the accusative singular of a noun ἦρ = χάρις or possibly the neuter plural of an adjective ἦρος.[76] But the compound adjective ἐπίηρος is attested as early as Empedocles, χθὼν ἐπίηρος (F96.1 D) and perhaps even earlier in *Il. Parv.*, ἐπίηρον ... γέρας (F20.8 Davies *EGF*).[77]

Schol. A *Il.* 1.572 a reports that οἱ νεώτεροι used ἐπίηρα as a causal conjunction equivalent to χάριν or ἕνεκα, but the only extant example is *P. Hamb.* 22.2 (fourth century A.D.).[78]

182 (16 Wyss)

Steph. Byz. 89.12 Meineke: Ἀμφιγένεια· πόλις Μεσσηνιακή. Στράβων ὀγδόῃ (8.3.25). ἔστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρον (*FGrHist* 244 F186) τῆς Μακιστίας, κατὰ δὲ Ἀντίμαχον τῆς Μεσσηνίας.

Commentary

All that can be certain from this fragment is that somewhere Antimachus mentioned Amphigenia and said that it was in Messenia. Wyss (9, *cf.* X)[79] suggests that the fragment comes from a catalogue of the Argives and compares Statius *Theb.* 4.178-9: ... *quos fertilis Amphigenia/ planaque Messene montosaque nutrit Ithome.* But Wyss does issue a *caveat* that for the place-names the Roman poet is probably dependent on the Homeric Catalogue, *Il.* 2.593 (Amphigenia) and 729 (Ithome) rather than Antimachus. In fact, Statius' similarity to Homer is greater than Wyss suggests.[80] The closeness of Statius'

[75] *Cf.* Mooney's note (324) on A.R. 4.375.

[76] *Cf.* Mooney, *ibid.* Aristarchus took it as a neut. pl. adjective (Schol. *Il.* 1.572). *Cf.* Stephanie West on *Od.* 3.164 in *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I,179; Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* 1-2.415; Kirk, *The Iliad* I, 112 on 1.578.

[77] This latter passage is also attributed to Simias (F6.3 Powell).

[78] The error in LSJ[9] *s.v.* ἐπίηρα, where Antimachus is cited for the usage, is corrected in LSJ[9] *Suppl.*

[79] Following Schellenberg (111) and Stoll (60).

[80] *Cf.* Vessey (*Philol.* 114, 130), who lists the cities supporting the Argives which are mentioned by Homer, but strangely omits Aepy (*Theb.* 4.189; *Il.* 2.592).

description may be seen in the following comparison: *Theb.* 4.180-82: *quos Thryon et summis ingestum montibus Aepy,/ quos Helos et Pteleon, Getico quos flebile vati/ Dorion*; and *Il.* 2.592 καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ ἐΰκτιτον Αἰπύ, /.../ 2.594 καὶ Πτελεόν καὶ Ἕλος καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι κ.τ.λ. Add to this *Amphigenia* (4.178) and Ἀμφιγένειαν (2.593), and it will be clear that the Homeric poem was Statius' source.[81]

As a further warning against assuming too much from the fact that both Statius and Antimachus mention Amphigenia, the context of Statius' reference to Dyme (4.124 in his catalogue) is very different from the reference to that city in Antimachus (F27 and 28, apparently in a tale told by a guest at Adrastus' banquet).[82]

But perhaps this fragment is not from the *Thebaid* at all. The other source cited by Stephanus, Apollodorus, clearly mentioned Amphigenia in his commentary on the Homeric Catalogue of Ships.[83] Could not Antimachus too have discussed Amphigenia in his Homeric studies? For a rather similar fragment which Wyss does assign to Antimachus' Homeric researches *cf.* F182 (Schol. T *Il.* 3.144), '... θυγάτηρ Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις' ... Ἀντίμαχος δὲ τὴν Κλυμένην Ἱππάλκ<μ>ου θυγατέρα εἶναι φησιν. In the case of F184 (Schol. G² *Il.* 5.389), 'εἰ μὴ μητρυιή, περικαλλὴς Ἠερίβοια, Ἑρμέᾳ ἐξήγγειλεν' ... Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος τὴν Ἠερίβοιαν μητρυιὰν Ὤτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου παραδίδωσιν, Wyss comments that it is uncertain whether the fragment should be referred to Antimachus' Homeric interpretation or to his own poetry. I suggest that the same comment could be made about this fragment.

The disagreement between Apollodorus and Antimachus over whether Amphigenia was in Macistia or Messenia may not be as great as it appears. Strabo (8.3.25, C 349) reports that Cyparisseeis is περὶ τὴν πρότερον Μακιστίαν, ἡνίκα καὶ πέραν τῆς Νέδας ἔτι ἦν Μακιστία, and that Amphigenia too is in Macistia[84], i.e. according to Strabo, both cities were in what was formerly called Macistia when Macistia still extended across the Neda (i.e. to the south of the river). Macistia was the name given to a district of Triphylia extending between Elis and Messenia. In the classical period, the southern

[81] *Cf.* H. Juhnke, *Homerisches in römischer Epik flavische Zeit* (*Zetemata*, Heft 53), (München 1972), 90-91.
[82] *Cf.* Wyss IX; Vessey, 136.
[83] Jacoby assigns F154-207 to this work; *Cf.* Schellenberg, 111.
[84] *Cf.* *RE* XIV 1.778.

boundary of Triphylia with Messenia was the river Neda. Thus Amphigenia lay in an area formerly known as Macistia extending south of the Neda, but which was usually considered part of Messenia.[85] Hirschfeld is thus probably mistaken in suggesting that Antimachus (and Hesychius) must have identified Amphigenia with Ampheia, which was in northeastern Messenia.[86]

183 (61 Wyss)

Etym. Gen. (Miller, *Mélanges Gr.* 265): Σήσαμοι καὶ Ἐρυθῖνοι· χῶροι Παφλαγονίας οὓς Ἐρυθίνους φησὶν Ἀντίμαχος διὰ τὴν ἐρυθρότητα καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην χροιάν.

Schol. A. R. 2.941-42a (195 Wendel): Σήσαμος πόλις Παφλαγονίας. Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 2.853) 'καὶ Σήσαμον ἀμφενέμοντο' .... Ἐρυθῖνοι δὲ οὕτω λεγόμενοι λόφοι περὶ Παφλαγονίαν. οὕτω δὲ λέγονται διὰ τὴν ἐρυθρότητα τοῦ χρώματος. εἰσὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι. καὶ Ὅμηρος αὐτῶν μέμνηται· (2.855) 'καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους.'

Commentary

This fragment tells us that Antimachus said that the Erythini were so-called because they were of a red colour.

The suggestion of Edmonds that the reference is really to Apollonius, not Antimachus (i.e. that it is a *fragmentum falsum*) is in error.[87] Apollonius does not provide any explanation for the name Erythini.

Homer (*Il.* 2.855) talks of ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους, Apollonius uses the epithet αἰπεινούς. The scholiast says they are λόφοι in Paphlagonia. Strabo (12.3.10 C545), describing places in Paphlagonia, says that what were in his own time called Erythrini used to be called Erythini from their colour and he says that they were two σκόπελοι, presumably lofty headlands on the coast. Perhaps in Homer the name referred to a settlement between these headlands.

Apollonius has clearly taken his list of place-names from Homer,

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[85] *Cf.* R. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970), 84, who place it in northwestern Messenia.

[86] *RE* I 2.1902. Hope Simpson and Lazenby, 84, seem also to be mistaken in attributing the suggested identification to Hirschfeld himself rather than Antimachus.

[87] Edmonds, *Greek Elegy and Iambus* I, 513; *Cf. contra*, Wendel, *Die Überlieferung der Schol. zu Apoll. v. Rhod.* (*Abh. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.* 3. Folge 1, 1932), 79.

cf. Sesamus, Erythini, Crobialus, Cromna, Cytorus, Carambis, Aegialus (A.R. 2.941-5); Cytorus, Sesamus, Cromna, Aegialus, Erythini (*Il.* 2.853-5). Schol. A.R. 2.942 reports that some read Crobialus (Cobialus, Strabo) instead of Aegialus in Homer, so Apollonius may have been following a text with that reading, although it is notable that he still includes Aegialus. But Wyss is right to hesitate (***haud scio an***) on the question of whether Apollonius took C(r)obialus from Antimachus or whether it was in Antimachus' edition of the *Iliad.*[88]

The particular similarity of the phrases describing Erythini, αἰπεινούς/ὑψηλούς suggests that Apollonius was borrowing from Homer and owes little, if anything, to Antimachus on this point.

It is thus far from certain that Antimachus' mention and explanation of the name Erythini came in an Argonautic context at all. Indeed, beyond a possible Argonautic context, there is nothing to indicate that the fragment belongs to the *Lyde.* The Apollonius scholia, which elsewhere cite Antimachus by name on ten occasions (eight of which are probably from the *Lyde*) do not mention him here. It is thus very possible that Antimachus' reference to Erythini is not from the *Lyde* at all. The explanation of why Erythini was so-called seems rather prosaic and may well come from a commentary on the Homeric Catalogue.

184 (144 Wyss)

Schol. T Hom. *Il.* 3.144 (I.384 Erbse): < 'ἅμα τῇ γε (Helenae) καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο> Αἴθρη Πιτθῆος <θυγάτηρ Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις'> · εἰ μὲν ὁμωνυμία ἐστίν, ἐατέον· εἰ δὲ οὔ, στικτέον ἐν τῷ Αἴθρη καὶ τὸ ἑξῆς συναπτέον. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ τὴν Κλυμένην Ἱππάλκ<μ>ου (ita Wilamowitz: -άλκου cod.) θυγατέρα εἶναί φησιν.

Commentary

Aristonicus athetized *Il.* 3.144 because of the doubts concerning the identity of Aethra, daughter of Pittheus.[89] If she is identified as the

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[88] *Cf.* the question mark in the *Studiorum Homericorum mantissa*, Wyss, 67.

[89] Ebeling (*Lex.* 830) gives the mistaken impression that Aristonicus had doubts about the line because of the epithet βοῶπις, citing Schol. A. *Il.* 7.10, but there we are

mother of Theseus, it was argued, then the line should be excised from the text, since this Aethra was too old to have been Helen's servant woman at Troy.[90]

The alternative was to suppose a homonym, in fact an unlikely double homonym, a second Aethra, daughter of a second Pittheus.[91]

Antimachus obviously retained the line in his edition, since he identified the second servant woman, Clymene, as the daughter of Hippalcmus. We can deduce moreover that he assumed Aithre to be the mother of Theseus rather than an unknown homonym. We can say this because Hippalcmus was a son of Pelops, as was Pittheus, father of Aethra, the mother of Theseus.[92] This circumstance, of course, makes Clymene and Aethra, mother of Theseus, cousins of each other and of the Atridae, Agamemnon and Menelaus. They are all thus depicted as belonging to the same generation. Since we know that Antimachus made Clymene a granddaughter of Pelops, as was Aethra, the mother of Theseus, it is highly probable that he accepted Homer's Aethra as in fact the mother of Theseus.

By Antimachus' time, the presence of Aethra at Troy had become a well-established tradition, dating from the Cyclic epics.[93] The author of the *Ilias Parva* told of her coming to the Greek camp after the fall of the city and being recognised by the sons of Theseus, Demophon and Acamas. A request that she be given into their custody was granted after Helen had given her consent.[94] In the *Iliou*

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told merely that βοῶπις is used of a heroine only in that line and in the athetized *Il.* 3.144, not that 3.144 was athetized because of βοῶπις. Van der Valk (*Researches*, II.436) considers the line authentic, but Kirk (*The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 282) says that it is "almost without doubt an Athenian interpolation." *Cf.* H. Herter, *Rh.M.* 85 (1936), 193 n. 1 and 201 n. 3.

[90] *Cf.* Schol. T *Il.* 3.144 c; Schol. bE; Plut. *Thes.* 34. Theseus himself was commonly associated with the earlier generation of heroes in such enterprises as the Calydonian boar-hunt and the voyage of the Argonauts.

[91] Schol. A; T (b^1, c^1); bE (b^2, e^2). *Cf.* Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 282. Van der Valk (*Researches*, II.436 n. 279) remarks that the application of the principle of homonymy is incorrect here.

[92] *Cf.* Schol. Eurip. *Or.* 4; Schol. Pind. *O.* 1.144 d, e; Hyg. *Fab.* 84.

[93] Her story is connected with the presence at Troy of Theseus' sons, who are prominent as Athenian leaders in the Cyclic tradition. But no Theseidae are mentioned in Homer and his Athenian leader Menestheus has only a minor role. *Cf.* Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 179-80; 206. Page (*History and the Homeric Iliad*, 145-7) argues that Menestheus' very obscurity shows the antiquity of the Homeric reference.

[94] *Il. Parv.* F23 Davies *EGF* (= Paus. 10.25.8).

Persis it was told that Acamas had gone to Troy for Aethra's sake.[95]

The story of Aethra's capture by the Dioscuri in revenge for the abduction of Helen by Theseus and her becoming Helen's servant was well-established in the literary tradition.[96] It was also depicted on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. 5.19.3). Given the background, it is not surprising that a reference to Aethra should be found in the text of the *Iliad*, probably through Athenian influence.[97]

Clymene is not as prominent in the epic tradition as the better-known Aethra, but she is probably to be identified with the Clymene whom Pausanias (10.26.1) tells was depicted in the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, in which she appears among the captive women standing between Aethra and Nestor. Pausanias tells that Stesichorus in his *Iliou Persis* (F197 *PMGF*) also numbered Clymene among the captives. She is clearly to be distinguished from the Clymene, daughter of Minyas, mentioned by Pausanias (10.29.6-7) in another part of the painting.

185 (145 Wyss)

Porphyrius in *Il.* 3.197 (57.21 Schrader) (Schol. BL [III.172 Dindorf], Eustath. 403.44 [I.636 van der Valk]): <'πηγεσιμάλλῳ'>· ἐκ τοῦ πηγὸν τὸ μέλαν· 'κύματι πηγῷ' (*Od.* 5.388)· ἐξ ἀντικειμένου δέ φησιν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· 'ὅς τ' οἰων μέγα πῶυ διέρχεται ἀργεννάων'(*Il.* 3.198)· ἐν λευκοῖς δὲ ὁ μέλας διαφορώτερος. καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς πηγοὺς ἀθλοφόρους λέγει (*Il.* 9.124), παρ' ὅσον οἱ περὶ ἱππικῆς γράψαντές φασι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἵππων ἀρίστους εἶναι τοὺς μέλανας. καὶ τὸ κῦμα δὲ ἀντιφράζων ὁτὲ μεν 'κύματι πηγῷ' λέγει, ὁτὲ δὲ 'μέλαν τέ ἑ κῦμα κάλυψεν' (*Il.* 23.693). καὶ 'Αντίμαχος δὲ τὸ λευκὸν ὡς ἀντικείμενον τῷ πηγῷ λαμβάνει.

Commentary

Porphyrius explains πηγεσιμάλλος as being derived from πηγός in the sense of μέλας, saying that Homer is employing antithesis to dis-

[95] F4 Davies *EGF* (= Demosth. *Epitaph.* 60.29); *Cf.* Quint. Smyrn. 13.496-543; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 5.22; Schol. Eurip. *Tr.* 31; Schol. Eurip. *Hec.* 123; Schol. Lyc. 495; also 132.

[96] Alcman F21 *PMGF* (= Paus. 1.41.4); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.7; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 1.23; Diodor. 4.63.5; Schol. Lyc. 501; 503; 505.

[97] *Cf.* Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 282.

tinguish the ram from the rest of the sheep which are described as white (ἀργεννάων).[98] So too he explains πηγός when used of Agamemnon's prize-winning horses by the fact that writers on horsemanship said that black horses were best.[99]. He compares πηγός when used of waves to the use of μέλας with the same noun, κῦμα.[100] Finally he tells us that Antimachus took λευκός as the antithesis of πηγός.[101]

The difficulty in explaining πηγός and πηγεσιμάλλος stems from the fact that πηγός is so rare in Homer, being found only with ἵππους in the *Iliad* (9.123-4 = 265-6)[102] and only with κύματι in the *Odyssey* (5.388; 23.235).[103] The compound πηγεσίμαλλος occurs only at *Il.* 3.197.

When ancient commentators sought to answer the question of how horses, waves, and sheep's fleeces could all be described by the same epithet, πηγός, it is surely not surprising that the usual answers were 'black' or 'white'.[104] These are the usual colours of sheep and common ones for horses. As for waves, Homer does describe one as μέλαν at *Il.* 23.693 and *Od.* 5.353. Presumably a foam-topped wave might be described as λευκόν.

The problem of choosing between black and white seems to have been influenced by the notion that the comparison of Odysseus amid the Achaean ranks to a ram among a flock of sheep involves an antithesis showing how he is distinct from the others. Since the flock is white, then, by this argument, the ram must be black-fleeced.

The evidence deduced from Agamemnon's racehorses is no stronger. The horses, which are obviously excellent, are πηγούς. Equestrian experts say that the best horses are μέλανες. Therefore πηγός is equivalent to μέλας. The absurdity of such logic is self-evident. Opposite arguments, that πηγός = λευκός, could also be maintained. If the flock of sheep was white, obviously the ram too could be white. Even if experts considered black horses to be best, why

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[98] *Cf.* Schol. AbT *Il.* 3.197 (I.395 Erbse).

[99] *Cf.* Schol. bT *Il.* 9.124.

[100] *Cf.* Schol. T *Il.* 9.124.

[101] Erbse (I. 395) seems to think that Antimachus in this fragment gave an explanation different (*aliter*) from black.

[102] *Cf.* ἵππον/παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον (Alcman F1.47-8 *PMGF*).

[103] Wrongly cited as *Iliad* by Chantraine III. 894.

[104] Both black and white: Eustath. *Il.* 403.44 (I.636 van der Valk); Hesych. *s.v.* ; Schol. Lyc. 336; Schol. Callim. *Hy.* 3.90 (*Comment. P. Ant.* II. 55 Pf.); black: Schol. *Il.* 3.197; 9.124; Schol. *Od.* 5.388; 23.235; Schol. Callim. *Aetia* I F2a. 52, *Il.* 104 Pf.; *Etym. Magn.* 669.25; white: Schol.Ψ Callim. *Hy.* 3.90, II. 61 Pf.

should Agamemnon's prize-winners not be white? If Homer sometimes called waves black (μέλας), then when he uses a different epithet (πηγός), it might well mean white. Among those who took πηγός in the sense of white is Lycophron (336).[105] Callimachus, in a humorous allusion to this controversy, seems to have hedged his bets when he describes two of Artemis' hunting-dogs as ἥμισυ πηγούς (*Hy. Art.* 90), 'half-black' or 'half-white' i.e. presumably 'black and white' however one understands πηγός.

In fact, however, it is more than likely that πηγός does not refer to colour at all, but is derived from πηγνύναι in the sense of 'well put together,' 'strong,' 'solid'.[106] Even in antiquity we find the epithet glossed by εὐπαγής and εὐτραφής.[107] Stoll (97-8) seems to be the only modern critic to have noted the similarity of κῦμα πηγόν to τρόφι κῦμα (*Il.* 11.307, 'a huge, swollen wave,' LSJ[9]) and κύματα τροφόεντα (or -έοντα *Il.* 15.621; *Od.* 3.290).[108] The closeness of meaning between τρόφι and πηγός can be seen in the comments of Schol. T *Il.* 11.307: τὸ δὲ 'τρόφι' ..., ὅτι ἔστη τῇ πήξει, τῇ αὐξήσει 'κύματά τε τροφέοντα' (*Od.* 3.290) εὐτραφῆ, καὶ τροφαλὶς τὸ πεπηγὸς γάλα, *cf.* Eustath. *Il.* 846.7 (III.201 van der Valk): τὸ δὲ 'τρόφι' ..., ἤτοι στάσιμον, πεπηγός; 1033.41 (3.772): τροφέοντα δὲ κύματα ... τὰ μεγάλα καὶ εὐτραφῆ, ἢ τὰ εὐπαγῆ καὶ στερεὰ κ.τ.λ.[109] The proper meaning for πηγεσίμαλλος is accordingly 'thick-fleeced,' as LSJ[9] states.

Wyss thinks that Antimachus concluded from comparing the Homeric κύματι πηγῷ and μέλαν κῦμα that πηγεσίμαλλος had the underlying notion of 'black'. But he fails to take notice of Porphyrius' statement that Antimachus interpreted λευκόν as the antithesis of πηγόν, a wording which surely suggests that Antimachus was commenting not on πηγεσίμαλλος but on λευκόν, i.e. his comment may not belong to the context of *Il.* 3.197 at all.

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[105] *Cf.* Straton F1.36, III. 361 Kock, of salt.

[106] *Cf.* *Suda s.v.* ἑλκεσίπεπλος; Chantraine III. 894 *s.v.* πήγνυμι; Leumann, *Hom. Wört.*, 214 n. 8; Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I, 292-3.

[107] E.g. Schol. bT *Il.* 9.124; Schol. Lyc. 336; Apoll. Soph. 131.14; *Etym. Magn.* 669.25.

[108] The idea is that of a wave swollen by the wind, *Cf.* κῦμα .../... ἀνεμοτρεφές (*Il.* 15.624-5). All the contexts of τρόφι κῦμα and κύματα τροφόεντα involve winds, τρόφι κῦμα κυλίνδεται, ὑψόσε δ' ἄχνη / σκίδναται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο πολυπλάγκτοιο ἰωῆς (*Il.* 11.307-8); λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα / κύματά τε τροφόεντα (15.620-1); λιγέων δ' ἀνέμων ἐπ' αὔτμένα χεῦε / κύματά τε τροφόεντα (*Od.* 3.289-90).

[109] *Cf.* Eustath. 620.16 (II.229 van der Valk): τὸ τρέφεσθαι, ὅ ἐστι πήγνυσθαι; 1034.1 (III.774); Apoll. Soph. 155.14; Hesych. *s.v.* τροφόεντα.

Where or why might Antimachus have sought to explain λευκόν as opposite of πηγόν? Why πηγόν and not μέλαν? The application of πηγνύναι and τρέφειν and their derivatives in contexts involving curdled milk (*cf.* Schol. T *Il.* 11.307 quoted above) may suggest where we might look. Two Homeric passages come to mind: ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν ὑγρὸν ἐόν, μάλα δ' ὦκα περιτρέφεται κυκόωντι (*Il.* 5.902-3), 'as when juice, hastening on, compacts white milk which is liquid, but is very swiftly thickened, as it is stirred' and αὐτίκα δ' ἥμισυ μὲν θρέψας (*v.l.* πήξας) λευκοῖο γάλακτος (*Od.* 9.246), 'straightway he curdled half the white milk'. Antimachus may have thought the meaning 'white' for λευκόν as applied to milk in these passages to be redundant or banal and therefore used the contrast with the compacting or curdling to justify a sense of 'liquid' or 'fluid' for λευκόν as opposed to πηγόν in the meaning 'thickened', 'solid'. Later commentators like Porphyrius then wrongly assumed, since Antimachus had said that λευκόν was the opposite of πηγόν, that the latter word must mean 'black'.

186 (146 Wyss)

Schol. G^2 (DL) Hom. *Il.* 5.389 (*Les Scholies Genevoises de L' Iliade ed. J. Nicole* II.66): < 'εἰ μὴ μητρυιὴ περικαλλὴς Ἠερίβοια Ἑρμέαι ἐξήγγειλλεν' (Martem in vincula ab Aloidis coniectum)>· ἐὰν μὴ ἡ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ μητρυιὰ Ἠερίβοια ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Ἑρμῇ, ἵνα ἐκκλέψῃ τὸν Ἄρην τοῦ δεσμοῦ. Ἠερίβοια δὲ ἡ ἀερία καὶ μεγάλα βοῶσα. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος τὴν Ἠερίβοιαν μητρυιὰν Ὤτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου παραδίδωσιν.

Commentary

Schol. DL *Il.* 5.389 is alone and in error in thinking that Eeriboea was the stepmother of Hermes. Other ancient sources agree with Antimachus that she was the stepmother of Otus and Ephialtes.[110]

Her action of informing Hermes about the imprisonment of Ares by her stepsons is typical of a malevolent stepmother.[111]

[110] *Cf.* Schol. bT (*Il.* 229 van der Valk): ἡ δὲ τούτων μητρυιὰ Ἠερίβοια; Eustath. 560.5: ἡ τῶν Ἀλωειδῶν μητρυιά.

[111] *Cf.* Eustath. 560.5: δυσμενῶς τοῖς προγόνοις ἔχουσα.

She herself was the daughter of Eurymachus, a son of Hermes.[112] Otus and Ephialtes were the sons of Aloeus (or Poseidon) by Iphimedea, the daughter of Triops.[113]

The reference reads more as if Antimachus were elucidating the possibly ambiguous μητρυιή in Homer than as information drawn from his own poems.

187 (147 Wyss)

Schol. A. Hom. *IL.* 17.134-36 (IV.355-6 Erbse): <ὥς τίς τε λέων...ᾧ ῥά τε νήπι' ἄγοντι...'> παρὰ Ζηνοδότῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Χίᾳ οὐκ ἦσαν οἱ τρεῖς στίχοι, ἴσως, φασὶν ἔνιοι, ὅτι οἱ ἄρσενες λέοντες οὐ σκυμναγωγοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ θήλειαι μόναι. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἀρσενικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θηλείας τέτακται ὁ λέων καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίκοινον...ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἐκ τούτου πλανηθεὶς ᾠήθη καὶ τὸν ἄρσενα σκυμναγωγεῖν. Antimachi interpretationem afferunt etiam Schol. T *Il.* 17.134: ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα φησι σκυμναγωγεῖν.

Eustath. 1098.51 (IV.26.7 van der Valk): καὶ μὴν Ἀντίμαχος καὶ ἄλλοι σκυμναγωγεῖν ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα λέοντα.

Commentary

Zenodotus and the Chian edition rejected vv. 134-6 of *Il.* 17 presumably because they interpreted the participles ἄγοντι (134) and καλύπτων (136) as indicating that the lion of the simile was male, in contravention of the belief that male lions do not bring up their young.[114]

Antimachus retained the lines, apparently with the comment that male lions too bring up their young. While he was right to keep the verses in the Homeric text, he did so for the wrong reason. The correct explanation is that in Homer the nouns λέων and λίς did duty for both the male and female animal, *cf. Il.* 21.483-4, where Zeus is said to have made Artemis a lioness (λέοντα) among women[115] and

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[112] Schol. bT *Il.* 5.385b

[113] *Cf. Od.* 11.305-20; Hes F19 M-W; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.4; Schol. bT *Il.* 5.385b; Eustath. 559.45.

[114] *Cf.* Schol. T *Il.* 17.134-6; M. W. Edwards, *The Iliad: A Commentary* V, 75.

[115] *Cf.* Schol. bT *Il.* 21.483b and Schol. AbT *Il.* 17.134-6.

6.181, where the forepart of the Chimaera is that of a lioness (λέων).[116] At 17.133 ff., the construction involves participles which are masculine in strict grammatical agreement with λέων but which cannot be taken as an indication of the actual sex of the animal, which the context suggests is female.[117]

188 (190 Wyss)

Schol. A.R. 1.431a (39 Wendel): περιρρηδὴς κερ<άεσσιν>· ἐπὶ πρόσωπον μεθ' ὁρμῆς κατενεχθείς, ἐπιρραγεὶς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν. ἢ [ἐπενεχθεὶς] (del. Wendel) ἀντὶ τοῦ περιφερόμενος, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ 'περιρρηδὴς δὲ τραπέζῃ κάππεσεν' (*Od.* 22.84). Ἀντίμαχος δὲ τὸ κατὰ κύκλον πεσεῖν οὕτω λέγει. νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπενεχθεὶς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν.

Commentary

As Wyss remarks (90), this fragment appears to belong to Antimachus' Homeric studies, presenting as it does his explanation of the *hapax* epithet περιρρηδής as found in περιρρηδὴς δὲ τραπέζῃ κάππεσεν (*Od.* 22.84).

The ancients had diverse opinions on the meaning of this word, as can be seen from the list in Schol. *Od.* 22.84. Indeed most individual authorities supply more than one possible explanation. The commonest suggested meaning is περιρραγείς or περικλασθείς, 'shattered', 'broken', but other frequent explanations are περιφερής, 'revolving', or περιρρυής, 'falling all around'. Aristarchus rendered the line as 'whirling, revolving (στροβηθείς, περιφερής), he fell on the table so as to be broken around it.'

Antimachus' explanation is τὸ κατὰ κύκλον πεσεῖν. How a single individual can be thought 'to fall down in a circle' on the table is not clear. Antimachus must have meant either something like 'all over the table' or else, more likely, by κατὰ κύκλον he meant 'in a circular motion', 'spinning'. In other words, Antimachus may have essentially concurred with Aristarchus and others who rendered περιρρηδής as περιφερής. Apollonius Rhodius, on the other hand, uses the

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[116] *Cf.* Schol. bT *Il.* 6.181.

[117] *Cf.* Cunliffe, 246 *s.v.* λέων. The fem. λέαινα is not found before Aeschylus and Herodotus.

word in the sense of 'falling forward' (1.431)[118] and presumably thought that this was what it meant in Homer. At 4.1581, Apollonius uses the adverbial form περιρρήδην of the coast bending (κλινομένης), sloping around or falling away in another direction (ἑτέρωσε).

The true meaning and etymology of περιρρηδής remain unknown but LSJ[9] suggests 'sprawling', while Fernández-Galiano translates 'crumpled up, limp'.[119]

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[118] *Cf.* Schol.; Mooney, 97.

[119] See his discussion in *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* III, 237.

189 dub. (151 Wyss)

P. Oxy. VI.859 (ed. Grenfell-Hunt) saec. iii p. C. [Pack² 1776]:

]. [.]. α[..] . [.] . [
– ⏑⏑ – ⏓] ἥ τε καὶ ἐς Ταλαῶο δ[⏑ – ⏑
– ⏑⏑ – Στ]ύμφηλον ἀποπρολ[ιποῦσα ⏑ – ⏑
ἧ̣ ἔνι ναιετ]άασκε· πάροιθε δὲ ὀ̣ι̣ [⏑⏑ – ⏑
– ⏑⏑ – ⏓]σων ἀλαβώδεος ἐ̣νδο̣[⏑ – ⏑
– ⏑⏑ – ..]η ἡ μήτηρ θάλαμον δὲ μο̣[λοῦσα
– ⏑⏑ – ⏓]ητι̣ καταδράθοι ὡς τὸ πα̣[ρος περ
– ⏑⏑ – ⏓]αι̣σι πελέσκετο ἔργου ογ̣[– ⏑

2 ἥ τε Körte ητε pap. Ταλαοιο (ω above, δ above θ) pap. 3 Στ]ύμφηλον G.-H. ἀποπρολ[ιποῦσα Körte 4 suppl. Körte ?οἱ Wyss 5 ἔνδο[θι πύργου (ita, ut apparet, LSJ⁹ s.v. ἀλαβώδης) 6 θάλαμον δὲ Wyss θαλαμον δε pap. θάλαμόνδε Powell μο[λοῦσα G.-H. 7 πά[ρος G.-H. 8 ?ὄν[ειαρ Wyss

Commentary

Antimachus has been suggested as the author of this fragment because it contains the genitive Ταλαῶο, which Choeroboscus says was used by him. Körte thinks that the reference could be to this example and not to F31.1 (Paus. 8.25.9), where the codices read Ταλαῶ.[1]

Also of interest is the word ἀλαβώδης, attested elsewhere only by Hesychius (α 2723 I.97 Latte) *s.v.* ἀλαβωδες· ἀνθρακῶδες, κεκαπνισμένον, *cf.* ἀλάβη (2719)· λιγνύς. σποδός. καρκίνος. ὑπὸ δὲ Κυπρίων μαρίλη· (2720) ἄνθρακες. The epithet appears to mean either 'of the colour of coal', i.e. 'dark' or 'blackened with smoke'.[2] Such an unusual word would be typical of Antimachus.

Another word of Antimachean flavour is ἀποπρολ[ιποῦσα. He is known to have used the very similar ἐκπρολιποῦσα (F112.2). Hermesianax, in his passage about Antimachus (T11 = Herm. F7 Powell) uses ἀποπρολιπών (v. 44) and also has ἀποπρολιπόντα (v. 21) in the

[1] A. Körte, *Archiv für Pap. Forsch.* 5 (1913), 535; so too Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, 249.

[2] Hoffmann (*Gr. Dial.* I.101) says that ἀλάβης is of Semitic origin and is not confined to Cyprian.

same *sedes* as this fragment. This latter instance occurs in the passage about Hesiod, who himself uses the same verb, οἶκον ἀποπρολιπών (F257.3 M-W). Subsequent to Antimachus, Apollonius uses ἀποπρολιπόντες in the same *sedes* twice (1.1285; 3.267).

Several other features of the fragment have rare Homeric models, e.g. with the optative καταδράθοι *cf.* the subjunctive καταδράθω (same *sedes*) *Od.* 5.471.[3]

For the Ionic iterative third person form πελέσκετο *cf.* the second person πελέσκεο (*Il.* 22.433). The fact that the latter is the sole Homeric instance would make the form attractive to Antimachus. The third singular πελέσκετο also occurs as a *v.l.* in Hes. F33a.15 M-W.

The phrase ᾗ ἔνι ναιε]τάασκε, if correctly supplemented, has an exact precedent at *Od.* 15.385, while the verb ναιετάασκε also occurs in the same *sedes* at *Il.* 17.308.

A couple of other phrases are common in early epic language; πάροιθε δέ (*Il.* 6.319; 8.494; *Od.* 19.33; 227); ὡς τὸ πάρος περ (*Od.* 2.305; 10.240; 13.358; 20.167; *Hy. Ap.* 345; Hes. *Op.* 184; F204.102 M-W, all in the same *sedes* as in this fragment). Neither phrase, however, is found in Apollonius or Callimachus, which suggests that this fragment belongs to a poet earlier than the Hellenistic age, Antimachus again being the most likely candidate.

An argument however against Antimachean authorship is the absence of spondaic fourth feet among the seven verses in which the metrics are discernible.

The context is unclear and further attempts at supplementation futile. A girl seems to have left her native town of Stymphalus and gone to the house of Talaus (vv. 2-4). A mother goes to her daughter's (or son's) room to see if she (he) was sleeping as before. While one might think of Talaus' wife Lysimache (*cf.* F17), there is nothing to link her with Stymphalus.

190 dub. (153 Wyss = 1122 *SH*)

Etym. Magn. 817.45: ψαυκροπόδης· ἐπίθετον τοῦ Ἀρίονος ἵππου. εἴρηται διὰ τὴν ταχύτητα καὶ κουφότητα· παρὰ τὸ ψαύειν ἄκροις

[3] Note also the aorist indicative κατέδραθον (first person sing. *Od.* 7.285; 23.18; third person pl. 8.296, all in the same *sedes* as here). The verb does not occur in the *Iliad.*

ποσὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ δρόμον. Hesych. (IV.307 Schmidt): ψαυκρόποδα· κουφόποδα, ἄκροις τοῖς ποσὶ ψαύοντα.

ψαυκρόποδα

Commentary

The main reason for attributing this word to Antimachus is that it is an epithet applied to the horse Arion, which was celebrated by him (F31; 32; possibly 50 and 196). Another reason is that it is rare, attested only in the two lexica, the sort of word which Antimachus liked to use.

The epithet clearly means 'light-footed', but the etymology from ψαύειν given by the ancient lexicographers is probably false. The word ψαυκρός is in fact identical to σαυκρός, glossed by Hesychius as ἁβρόν, ἐλαφρόν, ἀκρόν.[4] The latter also has the form σαυκρόποδες· ἁβρόποδες.[5] Chantraine dismisses the connection with ἀκρός as a popular etymology and suggests that the ψ- forms result from a popular connection with ψαύειν.

One may wonder about the exact form of the epithet. *Etym. Magn.* cites a nominative ψαυκροπόδης, while Hesychius gives an accusative - ποδα. This is probably what he found in his poetic source and it could well come from a nominative in -οπο(υ)ς, as could the plural σαυκρόποδες. Such nominatives are more common in epic, e.g. ἀελλόπος (*Il.* 8.409; 24.77; 159),[6] while those in -ποδης are later, e.g. ὠκύποδας (Dor.) (Eurip. *Hyps.* F1 iii.34 Bond); ὠκύποδην (*AP* 5.223.4; 9.371.2); ἀελλοπόδῃ ([Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.413).[7] It can be seen that the forms in -ποδης usually have accusative in -ην, not -α. I would suggest that Hesychius' ψαυκρόποδα is the genuine form and that the compiler of *Etym. Magn.* gives a mistaken nominative from that accusative.

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[4] The suggestion of Fick, cited by Wyss, that ψαῦκρος be read for ψῦχρος in Sappho F13 Diehl (= F42 Campbell = 42 L-P) is not even mentioned by Campbell, *Gk. Lyr.* I.86.

[5] *Cf.* Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* IV. 1.990.

[6] The dative plurals ἀελλοπόδεσσιν (*Hy. Aphr.* 217) and ὠκυπόδεσσι(ν) (*Il.* 2.383; 23.504; Hes. *Op.* 816; *Scut.* 470) also postulate an -ο(υ)ς nominative.

[7] The numerical words in Hes. *Op.* 423-5, denoting length, are clearly a special class.

191 dub. (156 Wyss = 1002 *SH*)

Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.* 1.75.16 Schneider: ἀπὸ τῆς σοῦ Δώριος ἐγίνετο ἡ τεοῦ ὁμότονος . . . ἡ χρῆσις παρ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ καὶ Σώφρονι.

αἰνοδρυφὴς δὲ τάλαινα τεοῦ κάτα τυμβοχόησα

Σώφρων (F84 Kai.)· 'οὐχ ἧσσων τεοῦ'. Ἐπίχαρμος (F145 Kai.)· 'παιδὶ τεοῦ'.

Hesych. (II.443 Latte): κατετυμβοχόησα· ἔθαψα.

Commentary

This hexameter appears to have been interpolated into the text of Apollonius Dyscolus in front of the quotations from Epicharmus and Sophron.[8] Although both Schneider and Maas attributed it to Callimachus (F *anon.* 262 Schn.), Pfeiffer does not include it in his edition, not even among the *Spuria* or *Delenda.*

Valckenaer thought that the line may be by Antimachus and there are several grounds for thinking that he may be right.[9] In the first place, apart from Homer and Hesiod (F159; 245 M-W), Apollonius Dyscolus refers only to Antimachus among the epic poets and does so several times (*cf.* F8; 9; 15; 56; 59; 139).

Secondly, the presence in the line of the Doric and epic form τεοῦ = σοῦ recalls the use by Antimachus of other such forms (e.g. F6; 7; 56; 139; 159).[10] The fact that there is a Homeric precedent for τεοῦ in the longer form τεοῖο (*Il.* 8.37 = 468), just as there are Homeric models for the Antimachean 'Dorisms' greatly strengthens the case for assigning this line to Antimachus.[11]

But the feature which provides the strongest support for Antimachean authorship is the use of the aorist of the verb τυμβοχοεῖν. The aorist infinitive of this verb appears as a disputed reading of *Il.* 21.322-3: οὐδέ τί μιν χρεὼ/ἔσται τυμβοχοῆσ' (i.e.-ῆσαι) ὅτε μιν

[8] By Apollonius himself in the opinion of Wilamowitz (*Textgesch. gr. Buk.* 48n3), by someone else according to Maas.

[9] ad Theocrit. 15.27.

[10] Hopkinson, *Callim. Hy. Dem.*, 48.

[11] It is probably also relevant that the Homeric passages in question were athetized and rejected by some critics, including Zenodotus; *cf.* Schol. A *Il.* 8.28; Schol. T *Il.* 8.37.

θάπτωσιν Ἀχαιοί.[12] The verb is otherwise attested only at Hdt. 7.117. It is very characteristic of Antimachus to allude to rare Homeric words or readings in his own work (*cf.* e.g. F57; 68; 74; 149; 156).

The *hapax* αἰνοδρυφής is modelled on the Homeric ἀμφιδρυφής, used of Laodameia, the wife of the dead Protesilaus, at *Il.* 2.700.[13] The fact that κάτα occurs in the previous line, τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα (699), in the same *sedes* as this fragment suggests that κάτα τυμβοχόησα is the correct reading here, rather than κατετυμβοχόησα (Hesych.).

The context too appears to suit the poems of Antimachus. A widow has heaped up a funeral mound over her dead husband, who could be a hero who died at Thebes or one who came to an unhappy end in the *Lyde*.

192 dub. (157 Wyss)

Athen. 7.304e (2.171 Kaibel): μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι λέγων οὕτως·

ἢ ὕκην ἢ ἵππον ἢ ὃν κίχλην καλέουσιν

Ἀντίμαχος Ionsius, Bentley Ἀντιφάνης codd. Ἀντιφ. ὁ κωμικὸς [ἐν τῇ Θηβ.] Stoll Ἀντιφ. ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Προβλήματι Wyss

Commentary

This hexameter listing three species of fishes is attributed by both Stoll (109) and Wyss (71) to Antiphanes, the comic poet, rather than to Antimachus of Colophon. The text of Athenaeus reads Ἀντιφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι. Stoll's solution was to take ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι as an interpolation introduced after the erroneous reading Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος (instead of Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικός). Wyss suggests that the MS reading is really a corruption of Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Προβλήματι. This solution is hard to accept, even if the only fragment of the *Problema*, a passage of riddles (F194 Kassel-

[12] -χοῆσ' Aristarchus; Ptol. Ascal.; καὶ οἱ πλείους Herodian II. 118.1; *cf.* Eustath. 1238.19. The three variants -χοῆς, -χωῆς, -χόης are all genitives of a noun form, rather than a verb. See Ludwich, *Il.* II.417.

[13] *Cf.* accus. pl. ἀμφιδρυφέας (Hdt. 6.77, in an oracular response given to the Argives and Milesians); also the related form ἀμφίδρυφοι in *Il.* 11.393, τοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς μέν τ' ἀμφίδρυφοί εἰσι παρειαί.

Austin = Athen. 10.450c), is in epic metre and mentions several types of fishes.[14]

It is surely more reasonable to assume that Ἀντιφάνης is a mistake for Ἀντίμαχος than that the whole phrase ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι is either thoroughly corrupt or the result of interpolation. Since Antiphanes is cited almost two hundred times by Athenaeus, it would be an easy mistake for the author himself or a copyist to write that name instead of the less often cited Antimachus.[15]

It is preferable to accept Ionsius' correction to Ἀντίμαχος, put forward apparently independently by Bentley.[16] The spondaic fourth foot might be thought to support Antimachean authorship.

While it is difficult to see how the subject matter might be fitted into the context of the *Thebaid*, lists of fish species are also found in several Hellenistic poets, e.g. ἢ μᾶλλον χρύσειον ἐν ὀφρύσιν ἱερὸν ἰχθύς/ ἢ πέρκας ὅσα τ' ἄλλα φέρει βυθὸς ἄσπετος ἅλμης (Callim. F378Pf., from his *Galateia*); ἄγρης μοῖραν ἔλειπον, ἔτι ζώοντας ἰούλους/ ἠὲ γενειῆτιν τρίγλην ἢ περκάδα κίχλην/ ἢ δρομίην χρύσειον ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν ἱερὸν ἰχθύν (Eratosth. F12 Powell, from his *Hermes*). Passages of this sort in the works of such authors as Callimachus and Eratosthenes suggest that Antimachus could have included similar material in his *Thebaid*.

Stoll (109) notes that the language has much in common with that of didactic poems, quoting Nic. *Ther.* 578-9,[17] but one cannot be sure that our fragment belongs to a didactic context. It might more closely resemble another passage from Nicander, from Bk. 4 of the *Heteroeumena* (F59 Schn.): ἢ σκάρον ἢ κίχλην πολυώνυμον, perhaps from a context involving metamorphosis.

The line is quoted by Athenaeus to illustrate the fish called *hippos*, the only other source cited being Numenius. But this fish is also listed by Oppian (*Hal.* 1.97) as one which stays by the shore, feeding on things that grow in the sand. It can hardly be identified with the *hippocampus* or a sea horse as Mair suggests, since *hippos, hippurus* and

[14] Kassel and Austin (*PCG* II.421) discuss the verse, but do not list it as a fragment of Antiphanes.

[15] *Cf.* Kaibel's index III 578-81 (Antiphanes); 577-8 (Antimachus).

[16] *Epistola ad Ioannem Millium* in *The Works of Richard Bentley, D.D.* ed. A. Dyce (London 1836) II 251-2, repr. separately, with intro. by G.P. Goold (Toronto 1962) 251-2 [37-8].

[17] Gow-Scholfield's numbering, cited as 574f. by Stoll.

hippocampus are listed as distinct species by the elder Pliny (*NH* 32.149).[18] Thompson leaves it unidentified.[19]

The other species mentioned in the fragment are better attested by ancient writers. The *hykes* was referred to by both Philetas and Callimachus (*ap.* Athen. 7.327 a-c): οὐδ' ὕκης ἰχθὺς ἔσχατος ἐξέφυγεν (Phil. F20 Powell = 19 Kuchenmüller); θεὸς δέ οἱ ἱερὸς ὕκης (Callim. F394Pf.). Hermippus of Smyrna said it was hard to catch and that it was another name for the ἰουλίς or rainbow wrasse (Athen. 327c). But the Cyreneans (including Callimachus?) either called the *erythrinos* the *hykes* (Clitarchus *ap.* Athen. 300f.) or the *hykes* the *erythrinos* (Zenodotus *ap.* Athen. 327b), i.e. probably identifying it as one of the *Serranidae* or sea-perches.[20]

The κίχλη belongs to the *Labridae* or wrasses, perhaps to be identified with the *Labrus turdus* or the *Crenilabrus rostratus*.[21] The phrase 'the one they call κίχλη' may allude to the fact that this fish had many names, as Athenaeus tell us (305c-d), quoting Pancrates and Nicander (κίχλην πολυώνυμον F59 Schn.).

193 dub. (161 Wyss)

Etym. Magn. Auct. (13.9 Lasserre-Livadaras = *Anecd. Graec.* Bachmann 1.4.18 = *Anecd. Graec.* Bekker 1.322.9): ἀβολητύς· ἔντευξις, ἀπάντησις.

ἀβολῆτις cod. *Etym. Magn.*

Commentary

The noun ἀβολητύς, meaning 'meeting' or 'encounter' may be attributed to Antimachus on two grounds. Firstly he is known to have used the cognate form ἀβολήτορες (F133) and secondly he had a perceived liking for nouns in -τύς, namely πωρητύς (F54) and ὀτρυντύς (F172), to the extent that Eratosthenes could coin the noun ἀντιμαχητύς.[22] Wyss (72) cites Blomfield for the conjecture that the frag-

[18] A. W. Mair (transl.), *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1928), 206 n. b.

[19] D'arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London 1947), 94.

[20] *Cf.* Thompson, 272-3.

[21] *Cf.* Thompson, 116-7.

[22] *Cf.* Wyss, XXXII.

ment belongs to Antimachus, but Blomfield in fact suggested Callimachus, not Antimachus.[23]

194 dub. (162 Wyss)

Heysch. (II.679 Latte): μορφύνει· καλλωπίζει, κοσμεῖ.

Commentary

Since Antimachus used the verb ἀμορφύνειν (F148) in the sense of 'to disfigure', 'to make ugly', formed from the adjective ἄμορφος, perhaps this back-formation, μορφύνειν, 'to make beautiful', 'to adorn', should also be attributed to him (*cf.* Wyss, XXXIII). The form is attested only in Hesychius.

195 dub. (150 Wyss)

Hippocratis Vita Bruxell. (ed. H. Schöne, *Rh.M.* 58 [1903], 56) (= *Epigon.* F9 et *Nost.* F17 Bernabé [falsa]): *quorum (l.5) Macaon, ut plurimi tradunt, Troiae excidio vitam finivit nulla subole derelicta, Podalirius vero Sirnae consistens Rodi defecit, ut Antimachus memorat in* †*Thenito*† *filios nactus duos, Rodonem et Ippolochon, ex Ifianassa, Ucalegontis filia.*

Sirnae Schöne Sime cod. in Thenito cod. in Thoantio Matthews ἐν θ' Ἐπιγό[νων] Knaack ἐν θ' Νόστων Huxley

Commentary

This passage on the sons of Asclepius, Machaon and Podalirius, tells that the former, according to most people, died in the sack of Troy, leaving no offspring, but that his brother settled at Sirna and died in Rhodes, having begotten two sons, Rhodon and Hippolochus by Iphianassa, the daughter of Ucalegon. This latter tale is *ut Antimachus memorat in* †*Thenito.*

Several attempts have been made to restore what lies behind the corruption. Knaack suggested that the Latin words represented the Greek ἐν θ' Ἐπιγό(νων), an *Epigoni* being attributed to an Anti-

[23] C. J. Blomfield, *Callimachi quae supersunt* (London 1815), 399-400 on F CCCCLV.

machus (probably of Teos).[24] More recently, Huxley has proposed ἐν θ′ Νόστων, which is at least closer to the codices.[25] But against both of these conjectures, it can be stated that no attribution of book number is made to a single fragment of either *Epigoni* or *Nosti*. Perhaps we should try to explain *in* †*Thenito* not as the title of a poem but as part of the narrative, with a comma after *memorat*, making *ut plurimi tradunt* and *ut Antimachus memorat* exactly parallel. *In* †*Thenito* will then refer to the place in Rhodes where Podalirius died. The best suggestion I can make is *in Thoantio*, Θοάντιον being a headland in Rhodes mentioned by Strabo (14.2.12 C655).

It remains impossible to tell whether the Antimachus mentioned is the Colophonian. None of his other fragments mentions Podalirius or Machaon, but Antimachus probably did treat at least one Trojan War return, that of Diomedes (F90). No extant version, however, of the story of Podalirius seems a likely subject for the *Lyde*.

There are several accounts of him settling in Caria. His founding of the city of Syrna is told by Stephanus of Byzantium, possibly drawing on Alexander Polyhistor.[26] But the other details are quite different from this fragment. Podalirius is shipwrecked in Caria, but is saved by a goatherd. On being taken to the king, Damaethus, he healed the king's daughter who had fallen from the roof. He was given her in marriage and also the peninsula on which he founded two cities, Syrna, named after his new wife, and Bubassus, called after the herdsman who had rescued him. This tale seems to have little in common with our fragment.

Pausanias tells that Podalirius, on his return voyage from Troy, was carried off course and having got safely to Syrnos (*sic*) on the Carian mainland settled there (3.26.10). This abbreviated version may be derived from the tradition preserved by Stephanus, but may also be compatible with the details of this fragment.

Another account of Podalirius in Caria is presented by Tzetzes, Schol. Lyc. 1047-8. When Lycophron depicts Podalirius as being buried in Italy, the scholiast accuses him of lying and states that Podalirius went on foot to Colophon, in the company of Amphi-

[24] G. Knaack, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 23 (1903), 284; Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 1270 (II.2 178 Holwerda) = *Epigoni. Testimonium* and Fl Allen, *OCT* V 115 = Fl Davies *EGF* (*cf.* "Teiumne voluit <Schol.>?" Allen; "haec Antimacho Colophonio perperam trib. S ad loc." Davies); *cf.* Huxley, *GEP*, 199 note (also 126 and 162).

[25] Huxley, *GEP*, 199; also in *P d P* 64 (1959), 282f.

[26] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σύρνα (593.17 Meineke); *s.v.* Βυβασσός (188.8).

lochus, Calchas, Leonteus, and Polypoetes.[27] He then returned to Argos and went to consult Delphi, where he asked where he should settle.[28] The oracle told him to live in a city, where, if heaven were to fall, he would suffer no harm. So he settled in the Carian Chersonnese, which is encircled by mountains all around. This version too could be the prelude to the events mentioned in this fragment.

196 dub. (152 Wyss)

C. von Barth, *Animadvers. in Stat. Th.* 2.197(1664,II.370): *Apollodorus lib. III* (6.7)

῎Αδραστον δὲ μόνον ἵππος διέσωσεν ᾽Αρίων.

In cuius auctoris manuscripto exemplari Palatino in margine scriptum offendimus: ᾽Αντιμάχου. *Ut versus ille fuerit Antimachi, facile sic numeris restituendus:* ῎Αδραστον μόνον ἵππος ἔσωσεν δῖος ᾽Αρίων. *In voce* διέσωσεν *ut latuerit equi divino (si digna res relatu) femine procreati commendatrix vocula.*

Commentary

Since the words of Apollodorus ῎Αδραστον δὲ μόνον ἵππος διέσωσεν ᾽Αρίων fall into a hexametric pattern and since the name ᾽Αντιμάχου was allegedly written in the margin of the Palatine codex,[29] attempts have been made to reconstruct a hexameter and attribute it to Antimachus, e.g.

῎Αδραστον μόνον ἵππος ἔσωσεν δῖος ᾽Αρίων (Barth)
῎Αδραστον δὲ μόνον δῖος διέσωσεν ᾽Αρίων (Mitscherlich).

Wyss, however, is probably wise in not attempting to recreate the original words. In fact, traditional epic diction demands several changes to the language used by Apollodorus.[30]

The change to the epic form ῎Αδρηστον makes no metrical difference, but other required alterations introduce serious complications for attempts to recreate the verse.

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[27] *Cf.* Schol. Lyc. 427 and 980.

[28] From this point the story is identical to that in [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.18.

[29] We have this only on the questionable authority of Barth (*cf.* Heyne, *Observ. ad Apollod. Bibl.* 252-3; Stoll, 110). It is not mentioned by either Wagner (*Myth. Graec.* 1.129) or Frazer (*Apollod.* 1.372).

[30] Stoll (110 on F123) acutely notes that the words are too prosaic.

Neither Homer nor Hesiod nor Apollonius ever use μόν- forms, but prefer μοῦν-. Moreover, the verb form used by Apollodorus, διέσωσεν, is unepic, as indeed is the aorist of σώζειν itself. The preferred epic forms are from (ἐκ)σαόω, i.e. we have to have one of the several possibilities (ἐξ)(ε)σαώσε(ν) (also -σ᾽).[31] Apollodorus uses the word ἵππος, but not δῖος, which is introduced in both of the reconstructions given above. It is of course a natural word to apply to an animal of divine origin (*cf.* Ἀρίονα δῖον, *Il.* 23.346), but, other than the assonance of διέσωσεν, there is nothing in Apollodorus to suggest its presence. If it was used, can ἵππος too be genuine or simply a clarification by Apollodorus (or a copyist) showing that δῖος Ἀρίων was not a person? Did the verse contain ἵππος or δῖος or both?[32]

These problems surely render attempted restoration futile. Suffice it to conclude that Apollodorus is paraphrasing a verse passage, possibly by Antimachus.[33] But his reference in the next sentence to the birth of Arion through Poseidon's liaison, in horse form, with Demeter is at variance with the version of Antimachus, who depicted the horse as the offspring of Gaia (F31.3-5). Wyss' suggestion that whoever wrote Ἀντιμάχου in the margin had recently read the lines of Antimachus quoted by Pausanias (F31; 32; 33) is plausible.

197 dub. (*192 Wyss = 1060 *SH*)

Herodian. καθ. προσ. in cod. Vind. hist. gr. 10 f.1^v (H. Hunger, *Jahrb. d. öst. byz.* Gesellsch. 16 [1967], 20) = Mimn. T3 Allen; de verbis in -ακος exeuntibus: Κολοφωνιακός [ ]

Μιμνέρμου τοῦ Κολοφωνιακοῦ

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[31] *Cf.* σάωσε (*Il.* 5.23; *Od.* 4.288; 513); σάωσεν (*Od.* 4.364; 5.452; ἐσάωσ᾽ *Il.* 18.395); ἐσάωσε (Hes. F30.28 M-W); ἐσάωσεν (*Od.* 22.372; A.R. 3.323; 4.918; 1458); ἐξεσάωσε (*Od.* 4.501; Hes. F23a.22 M-W); ἐξεσάωσεν (*Il.* 4.12; A.R. 1.10; 2.748; 1183).

[32] The two words occur in consecutive lines at *Il.* 23.346-7.

[33] Reminiscent of this passage and possibly influenced by Antimachus is a fragment of Pancrates, ἵππου] δ᾽ Ἀδρ[ή]στοιο θοώτερον, ὅς ποτ᾽ ἄνακτα /ῥηιδί]ως φεύγοντα κατὰ κλόνον ἐξεσάωσε (F15.2 ed. Heitsch, *Die griech. Dicht. frag. d. röm. Kaiserzeit* I.2.52 = *P. Oxy.* VIII.1085).

Commentary

This part of a pentameter is claimed for the *Lyde* by West, but is left among the *Adespota* (1060) in *SH.* West believes it is by Antimachus or a more recent poet, but thinks that Antimachus is more likely to have claimed Mimnermus to be a Colophonian.[34]

Nicander must remain another possibility, since, like Antimachus, he claimed Homer for his native city (*cf.* F166).

The form -ιακοῦ rather than -ιου was probably chosen for metrical reasons. Similar forms listed by Herodian include Κυπριακός, Χιακός and Συριακός.[35] Note that the -ιος form also occurs for those words. Another such is Ὀλύμπιος, -ιακός.

198 dub. (912 *SH*)

P.Oxy. XXX 2519 (saec. iii p.C.) ed. Lobel

F1 col. i

```
          ]
      ]
      ].
      ].
      ]υτου·
   ].[ ].αν
 ].εσ. αι
  ].κει[ ]
        ]
 ].
  ]. .ιν[
   ]ωσ[
. . . . .
```

col. ii

```
..δε γὰρ  Ἀμφιαρῆα..[
ειδόταθα . . . . ν Δαναοισο.[
ἄλλοτε κ[ε]ν δὴ α. ωρο[
οὔ οἱ ἔτι δύναμίν γετο[
ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλω..[
σπήσεται, εἵως κεν.[
τύνη δ' ἴσχε[.].[
πολλ[
κ[.].[
. . . . .
```

198 A (912A)

F2 (a) col. i

```
. . . . .
]       [
]        [
]ν       [
```

(b) col. ii

```
. . . . .   . . . . .
     ].ε[
      ].ο.[
```

(c)

```
                    ].[
              ].ο[..]αιε.[
].. [ ]οστ[..]οονκαι[
```

[34] *IEG*[2] II.43. In *Maia* 20 (1968), 204, where West was the first to recognise the fragment as verse, he attributed it to a 'Hellenistic poet.'

[35] *Cf.* Hunger, 20.

]ṿδ̣ην [
]ι [
] [
] [
]

].ο.ε.φ̣[
]...μ[
..].[ ]υτ' αργε[
.[ ].[ ]ν ἀτεμβ[
ἔρχευ ὅπηι δ [

]..[.]..φ[..]δων ὀν[
]ακρύπτει ḳ[
]..κα[

198 B (912B)

F3

(a)

.....
]εḳ.[
].. [
].ασσαμε.[
]νδιχα·μ .[
] .[.]δεκεπε[
]ḳα̣. ṭε̣ϊṭ' αρ.[
] [ ] [
].ṿθ' ε[

(b)

.....
].ον̣[
]ọṭ.ιπα[
]νχ.λοι̣[
]φεε[..]επ[
]ησαντε.[
].αργος· α.[
]μαλαπασ[
]επιχειρα[
]ὑ..αντα̣[
]ωνḳα̣ιυπ[
]πει̣τα..[
]ητοσ.[

198 C (912C)

F4

.....
].[ ].ε̣.[
]..η.νο[
].[ ]δευ[
.....

198 col. ii 1 ọὐδὲ possis (vix ὧδε) *SH* 2 θα̣ḳησι̣ν (= avium ἕδραν μαντικήν) *SH* 3 fort. ἀλλ' ὅτε – (4) τότε Lobel 5 prob. ἐθέλων (ν suprascr.) *SH* 7 ἴσχε vel probabilius ἴσχε[ο] Lobel

198A (a), (b), et (c) eiusdem schedae esse indicant fibrae; (b) post (a) ad dextram subsequitur, post (b) fortasse (c). ea sunt fortasse eiusdem columnae esse atque 198. initia versuum col. ii 7-8 (*SH*) col.i.4 δ̣ in ṭ correctum, i.e. α]ὐδήν in α]ὐτήν? *SH*

col.ii.4 fort.]ρ̣οσ̣εμ̣φ[. ˋον pap.

198B (a) et (b) eiusdem schedae esse indicant fibrae; quantum inter ea desit incertum. (a) fortasse initia versuum (7-10), (b) pro certo medios versus exhibet (*SH*) 3 ἐ]ν χ̣ηλοῖσ̣[ι dub. Lobel 6]π̣,].ṭ ? αργος· pap.ˊΑργος, ἀργός, λέ]π̣αργος, λ]ι̣ταργος *SH* 7 fort. δ̣ασσαμεν[.] μάλα πᾶσ[αν (πᾶσ[αι West) ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – – /ἄνδιχα *SH* 8]νδιχα· pap.

μη̣[δ'] ἐπίχειρα (ἐπὶ χεῖρα)[⏑ – ⏔ – ⏔ – – *SH* 9 e.g. ἡ̣ δέ κ' ἐπεὶ̣ [σ]ύμπαντα(ς) *SH* 10 τ̣ε̣ῐτ̣' pap. κ̣ά̣ρ̣τ̣ε̣ῖ̣ τ̣' Ἀργ̣[εί]ων κ̣α̣ι ὑπ[– ⏔ – ⏔ – – Lobel

Commentary

Apart from the name Amphiaraus in col. ii 1 and the possible mention of Argos at A(b) 6 and B(b) 6, there is nothing in these mutilated hexameters to encourage the belief that they be attributed to Antimachus. In F198 col. ii 7-8, and F198B(a) 7-10 we appear to have the beginnings of the hexameters, while F198B (b) shows the middle of the lines, but this no help in determining authorship. Lobel acknowledges that the grounds for attribution to Antimachus are slight. But rather than thinking, as he does of the Cyclic *Thebaid* or the *Amphiarai Expeditio* (if indeed that was a separate poem) we should consider the claim of Euphorion (*cf.* F23 Powell; F422 fr. 5 *SH*)[36]

In view of τύνη δ' ἴσχε (ii.7), the story of Amphiaraus (1-6) may be a *paradeigma* presented by the speaker rather than a main theme of the poem in question.

199 dub. (953-954 *SH*)

Pap. della Soc. Italiana XIV ed. V. Bartoletti (Firenze 1957), 1385: saec. ii-iii p. C. [Pack^2 1779]:

A (953)

ἐ]ύφρονες α̣ [
]ν ἀτὰρ κλυτὰ̣ κ[
] ἀελλοπόδας ενα̣ [
]θοι̣ [κρ]α̣τερὸν δε̣π̣ι̣τ̣ . [
βασι]ληίδ[α] δωσέμεν ἀρχή[ν
]ρ̣ε[. . . .]ατο παῖς ἀέκου̣[σα
]ι̣[. . . .]υς λειμῶνα[
] . νοεη̣ . [. .]ε̣ι̣σ̣α
] . . . . πρεσβειρα[
]ετι καὶ νῦν
]υ̣ς περ[ι]β[. .]ον ἔχουσαι
]θ̣ ' ὥραν
]αι

[36] On the *Amphiarai Expeditio*, *cf.* *Thebais* T7 and 8 Bernabé (8 = 'Homerus' T1 Davies); Huxley, *GEP*, 44.

πό]τ̣νια θηρῶν
].. [.]ṿ πυρὸς ρ̣ὔρεα μακρά
]νυμο̣ν ε̣κλή̣ισσε
]. ἐτέτ̣υκτ̣ο
]υδεφα̣ν̣.[.]..

(19-21 vestigia tantum)

.....

B (954)

.....
[
α̣ἰχμῶν τ[
ὡς αἱ μὲν φ[
τηνδε [
μυθοι[
μη̣τ̣[
.....

A 1 αι̣[vel α̣[*SH* 3 ἀελλοπόδας potius quam ἀελλόποδας (Bart.) *SH* ἐνα̣[ριζ– Lloyd-Jones 4 δ' ε̣π̣ι̣ τ̣ο̣[ῖς ὄμοσ' ὅρκον Maas 7 'fort. in λειμῶνα[ς desinit' *SH* 11 χορο]ὺς περ[ὶ] β[ωμ]ὸν ἔχουσαι Lloyd-Jones 12 κα]θ' vel με]θ' *SH* 15]ο̣τ̣[ο]ṿ Bart. μαλ]ε̣ρ[ο]ṿ Lobel 16 prob. ἐπώ]νυμ̣ο̣ν Maas

Commentary

Maas was induced by the spondaic verses (A9 and 16), the Atticisms (ὥραν A12, αἰχμῶν B2) and the indications of aetiology (A10 and 16) to suggest that the poet is Antimachus. Moreover, πό]τ̣νια θηρῶν (A14) might suggest the *Artemis* (*cf. Il.* 21.470).

The possibility that the initial elements of hexameters seen in B might be combined with the latter parts found in A (e.g. ὡς αἱ μὲν [B3] ... ἔχουσαι [A11]) seems remote.

While much is uncertain, the story seems to be as follows:[37] a king (5) wants his daughter to marry so that her husband may succeed him (4-5). But she prefers to stay unmarried and enjoy the pleasures of hunting (3;15), probably in the company of Artemis (14). Upon hearing her father's command, she goes to the meadows (7), where she performs some action which the poet explains as an *aition* (10). At 14-16 another *aition* may relate to her name (ἐπώ]νυμον), perhaps given her by Artemis. Lloyd-Jones thinks of Oreithyia, but recognises that her story does not fit the legend. The comparison with fire

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[37] H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 31 (1959), 109-10.

(15) leads him to think of a name containing an element from 'fire' and he is reminded of Pyrene, the mother of Cycnus by Ares (Apollod. 2.5.11).

200 dub.

P. Schubart 6. (*Griech. literarische Papyri* ed. W. Schubart [Leipzig 1950] 14-17) saec. iii p. C. [Pack² 1777]

(a)

A Recto

. . .] . .οσ[. . .
. . .] .ῃνν̣[. . .
. . .κόρ]υ̣σσεν ἐπι̣ [. . .
. . .θ]ανάτ̣οιο̣ π̣[. . .
. . .]τ̣ε δῶ̣ρο̣ν ὅ κε[. . .
. . .]τ̣ιν ⸢ὀ̣λεσσε μ̣ορ[. . .
. . .]ῃδν. . . ετ̣ε̣λ[. . .
. . .]α̣ δῶκε κάρη . [. . .
fort. unus versus deest
exigua versus vestigia
. . .[. . .[. . .]π̣ . [.]αιασ̣[.]ν
. . .τι]μήε̣ντα καὶ ἀλκήε̣ντ̣α̣ [..]ι̣σα̣νε̣ς
. . .]ές Ἄρηα κορύσσεο καὶ π̣ρ̣ [ο]μάχ̣ί̣ζ
. . .]ῃσ̣α̣. . . . . .ς Ἐτεοκλῆς [καὶ Πο]λ̣υνείκης
. . .] . . [. .]ρμ. . [. . .
. . .] . . . . . .[. . . . . .]ἐπαρηγόνα μολ[πῆς

B Recto

...]μελω [...
[Θήβης ἑπτ]α̣πύλοιο ἀμε[ί]νονε̣[ς.]α̣[...
. . .] .εχων α̣ἰεν[. .] . .ο̣δ̣ιτα
. . .]η[. . . .β]λεφάρ[ω]ν ἀκ̣τῖν[ες...
. . .]τηστυ[. . .
. . .]δηρ̣ι̣[. . .
. . .]ω̣τατ[. . .
...]τ̣ε[...

6 μορ[pot. quam νορ[Schub. supra ll suprascriptum vel correctio Schub. 12 poss. [προ]σανές Schub.

(b)

A Verso

vestigia duorum versuum
. . .]δεγνω̣ [...
. . .] . ι̣μηνʹ[...
ἐ]νο̣ρκιον̣ ἔ[σται . . .
]φρεστα̣ π[ό]νο̣ν̣[τ . . .
. . . ὄβ]ριμον ἔργον
. . .]ἀτρεκὲς εὐ[. . .
. . .]η[. . . . .]ιδοι̣[. . .
. . .]ν̣οστ̣ο̣ι̣[. . .
. . .]η̣γο̣ι̣σ̣[. . . . .]βο̣λ̣[. . .
. . .] . . α . . . . . ο̣ν̣[. . .]βελ̣έ̣ων πυ̣ρ . . αν̣ειω[ν . . .
. . .] . νη . . . . . θεω[. . . .]ω̣ν ἀπὸ παῖδα θορο̣[ν . . .
. . .]ρος[. . .] . . . . . . [. . .]αωδ' ἐ̣ν̣ικάτθετο μή[τηρ
[τὸν] δὲ πατὴρ ἥρπα[ζ]ε̣ν̣ ἀπήμονα κ̣[. . .] . . . [. . .
. . .]μ̣ενον δ̣ὲ̣ φυ̣γ . . . [...] . . . ο̣ν̣ει [...

B Verso

. . .] . . υ̣σ . . [...
. . .] . . . . πομη[. . .
. . .]ἀπὸ παρ[θ]ενικ[ή]ω̣ν
. . .]ει̣σ̣κ̣υ̣[. . .] . . . [. . .
exigua quattuor versuum vestigia

25 δ' ἔγνω[Schub. 28 certe]φρεστα, non φραστα Schub. π[ι]νον vel π[ο]νον Schub. 34 πυ̣ρὶ πν̣ειό[ντων Matthews 35 κόλπ]ων ἄπο παῖδα θορό[ντα Snell 36 μητ]ρός Matthews ν]αῶ<ι> δ' Schub. μή[τηρ Schub. μη[τρός vel μη[τρί Snell 38]μενον aut ξενον Schub. ῥαπτό]μενον Snell φυγα aut φυλα Schub. φύλασσ[εν Snell πᾶ]σιν ὄνει[αρ Matthews

Commentary

The mention of Eteocles and Polynices (v.14) and of Thebes (v.18) led Schubart to think of a *Thebaid*, that of Antimachus rather than the Cyclic poem. He went on to suggest that the Dorism, προ]σανές (if correct) points to the Colophonian (*cf.* T35) Snell also brought forward metrical reasons to support this attribution, namely spondaic lines at vv. 11, 20, and 34, plus spondaic fourth feet at vv. 12, 14, and 19.[38]

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[38] Snell, *ap.* Schubart, 17.

None of these arguments are conclusive. The reading προ]σανές is far from certain and in any case Dorisms are common in epic authors. The metrical evidence can be no more than suggestive. The reference to Eteocles and Polynices could well involve a comparison, e.g. ὡ]ς Ἐτεοκλῆς [καὶ Πο]λυνείκης and thus may not even come from a *Thebaid*.

Indeed, on the *verso*, especially in vv. 34-38, numerous features suggest the story of Semele and the birth of Dionysus and could be thought to belong to a *Dionysiaca* rather than a *Thebaid*, although a *Thebaid* might well include a reference to Dionysus' birth at Thebes.

In v. 34 βελέων apparently refers to the thunderbolts of Zeus which destroyed Semele.[39] With the whole passage vv. 35-38 *cf.* Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Σεμέλης φλογερῶν νωμήτορα κόλπων / ἡμιτελῆ λοχίοιο διαθρῴσκοντα κεραυνοῦ/δεξάμενος Διόνυσον ἐπέρραφεν ἄρσενι μηρῷ (Nonn. 9.1-3). For v. 35, ἀπὸ παῖδα θορό[ντα, *cf.* κόλπου διαθρῴσκοντα τεκούσης / Βάκχον (Nonn. 8.397-98) and for vv. 37-38 *cf.* ἐν μηρῷ ποτ' ἐρράφθαι Διός (Eurip. *Bacch.* 243) and ὡς ἐνερράφη Διὸς/μηρῷ (286-87); ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἁρπάσας ἐνέρραψε τῷ μηρῷ (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3).

After βελέων, a possible supplement would be πῦρ [π]νειό[ντων or πυρ[ὶ π]νειό[ντων, *cf.* πῦρ πνέοντος ... κεραυνοῦ (Pind. F146 Sn.-M.); πῦρ πνειόντων ... ἄστρων (Soph. *Ant.* 1146); πῦρ πνέουσα (Eurip. *IT* 288, of a Fury); πῦρ πνέουσαν (*Ion* 203, of the Chimaera); πυριπνείοντας ὀϊστούς (Musaeus 41, πυρὶ πν. codd., of the arrows of Eros); καμάτους (i.e. of Bacchus) ... πυριπνείοντας (Nonn. 42.200). Either supplement would create a spondaic fifth foot and require a monosyllabic word at the line-end, features which might be thought compatible with Antimachean authorship.

No elements, however, in the vocabulary of the surviving forty-two lines can be definitively labelled Antimachean, although several usages are clearly post-Homeric and others anticipate Oppian and Nonnus. ἀλκήεντα (v.12) is found in *Hom. Hy.* 28.3 (ἀλκήεσσαν, of Athena); A.R. 1.71 and 191 (ἀλκήεις); Opp. *Hal.* 2.27 (ἀλκήεντας); [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.24; 4.26; 148 (ἀλκήεντες); 4.201 (ἀλκήεντος); Quint. Smyrn. 4.247 (ἀλκήεντες); and Nonn. 17.254 (ἀλκήεντα). The noun ἐπαρηγόνα (v.16) (from the Homeric verb ἐπαρήγειν, *Il.* 23.783; 24.39; *Od.* 13.391) occurs only in A.R. 1.1039 (ἐπαρηγόνες); 4.858

[39] For the story, *cf.* e.g. Eurip. *Bacch.* 1sqq.; 242sqq.; 286.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3; Nonn. 8.247-418.

(ἐπαρηγόνι); and Nonn. 33.130 (ἐπαρηγόνα). While ἑπτάπυλος (v.18) is a Homeric epithet of Thebes (Θήβης ἕδος ... ἑπταπύλοιο, *Il.* 4.406; *cf.* *Od.* 11.263), Θήβης ἑπταπύλοιο occurs in the same *sedes* at Nonn. 8.52. The phrase βλεφάρων ἀκτῖνες/-α is found only twice, at Nonn. 8.341 (used by Semele of the flashing gleam from the eyes of Zeus) and at 35.172 (used by Aphrodite of the gleams from her own eyes which are her arrows).

Although some of these features might suggest Antimachus, there is no single point of contact with any known fragment which could prove his authorship.

201 dub.

P. Hamb. 122 (*Griechische Papyri der Hamb. Staats-und Universitäts.* ed. B. Snell, [Hamburg 1954] 30-1) saec. iii-ii a.C. [Pack[2] 1778].

Col. i	Col. ii
. . .	
. . .	
]	. . . . .]η̣[
]ηι	κ̣α̣ι̣μ̣ε̣μ[
]	Ἄδρηστ' α̣[
]σ̣	τῶν αλ[
]	τὸν δ' ἠμ̣[είβετ
]υ̣σ̣	οὐδ' εἴ μοι̣[
]	τὸν δὲ ἐπ̣ι̣[
].[....].	ὠσειπω̣[ν
] σαντο [ ]	δώσειν α[
] ἵκανεν	Ἀρκασι̣δ̣η . [
βασ]ιλήω̣ν̣	υιων̣ε̣ν̣σ̣[
]	ιπποτ̣α̣τ̣[
]	χαλκὸν π̣[
]ε	τ̣. . .εν[
]α̣ι̣	ευταροτη̣[
	ἡ τεκετ αρ . [
	. . .

Col. i versuum exitus 8 -σαντο aut -σαντο[ς] Snell 9 ἵκανεν in exitu hexametri cf. Hes. F30.15; 173.2; 204.63 M-W 15 aut]ωι Snell col. ii prob. versuum initia 1 vel]ι[Ἄδρηστ' ἀ[λλά vel sim. Snell 4 ἄλ[λων Snell 7 ἐπι[κερτομέων? Snell εγο[poss. Snell 8 πω[ex πε[correctum esse videtur unde ὡς εἰπώ[νSnell, sed cf. ὡς εἴ πέρ τε *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 215 ὡσεί περ Theocr. 25.163 codd. 10 Ἄρκασι δὴ vel δὴ[ν Matthews διχ[

poss. Snell Ἀρκασίδην (Hes. F165.8 M-W) confert Snell 11 fort. νενθ[, poss. νωνε[Snell 14 τ aut π, fort. τῆλοθεν Snell 15 εὖτ' ἄρ' ὁ τὴ[ν aut εὖ τ' ἀροτη[ρ? aut οτε[Snell 16 ρ[aut κ[, ν[, ι[ἡ τέκετ' Ἀρ[aut ἡ τέκε Ταρ[aut ἡ τέκ' Ἐταρ[, Snell, qui Hesiodo confert (F175, 253.2, 25.18 M-W, ad quae addendum est F58.10)

Commentary

The mention of Adrastus (col. ii.3) led Snell to think of a *Thebaid*, possibly that of Antimachus, although τέκετ' (v.16) might suggest Hesiod. There is nothing that might confirm either possibility. The phrases τὸν δ' ἠμ[είβετ- (v.5), οὐδ' εἴ μοι (v.6), ὡς εἰπω- (v.8) and ἡ τέκετ' (v.16) indicate that we have the beginnings of hexameters. The use of the well-worn Homeric formula τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ- might suggest an earlier epic (e.g. Apollonius and Callimachus both avoid the phrase.), but Antimachus did take over the traditional τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη formula (F90).

The context seems to involve an argument involving Adrastus who is addressed in v.3 and apparently replies to his interlocutor in v.6. The phrase οὐδ' εἴ μοι suggests a reply to the effect 'not even if I had' or 'not even if you gave me' (*cf.* Achilles' reply to Odysseus, *Il.* 9.379; 385; Odysseus' reply to Eurymachus *Od.* 22.61). But if τὸν δ' ἐπι[introduces a new response by the interlocutor, Snell's ὡς εἰπώ[ν is difficult to explain, since, if used normally, it would appear to make the response extremely brief. It may be better to suppose ὡσεί π- or ὡς εἰ π-, possibly ὡς εἴ περ. In view of δώσειν (v.9) it may be preferable to read a dative in v.10, Ἄρκασι, rather than the patronymic Ἀρκασίδην (*cf.* Hes. F165.8, Telephus; Ἀρκασίδαο F129.17 and 22, Aphidas). There is no way to determine who the mother and son (?) might be in v.16.

202 dub. (*Adesp. Eleg.* 20 West)

Apthonius, Gramm. Lat. vi. 112.20: *hoc quoque notandum in enuntiatione pentametri elegiaci; nam plerumque aurem fallit, ut in illo Graeco versu:*

ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς Ἕλλης πόντον ἀπεπλέομεν.

nam si coniunctim Ἑλλήσποντον *enuntiarimus, effugerit aurium sensum, ut nequaquam versus esse credatur; at si per hemistichium pronuntiemus, ipsa subdistinctione genus metri declarabimus, ita,* ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς Ἕλλης, *dehinc* πόντον ἀπεπλέομεν.

Commentary

West suggests that this pentameter might belong to Antimachus, possibly to the story of Heracles' abandonment at Cius (F69).[40] It hardly seems worthy of him, especially when it could so easily have been improved, e.g. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπλέομεν εἰς Ἕλλης πόντον.

203 dub. (F1048 *SH*; Philetas F *dub.* 26 Powell)

Etym. Magn. 453.6 Gaisford: θοή· σημαίνει πέντε· τὸ μέγα, οἷον, θοαῖς ἀφροσύναις (F1047 *SH*), ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλαις· καὶ

θοὴ δ' ὑπεδέξατο γαῖα

ἀντὶ του μεγάλη κ.τ.λ.

Epimer. Hom. ap. *Anecd. Oxon.* 1.201.14 Cramer ... σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγα ... θοαῖς ἀφροσύναις ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλαις· καὶ θοὴ δ' ἐπεδέξατο γᾶ (sic), μεγάλη· κ.τ.λ.

Commentary

The possibility that this anonymous fragment might belong to Antimachus was suggested in the discussion on θοὸν δόμον (F112.2). As argued there, θοή in this fragment is better understood as μέλαινα, similar to the Antimachean use of θοόν, rather than as μεγάλη as the sources say. The language too is suggestive of Antimachus, being Homeric rather than Hellenistic, e.g. the fragment is probably the end of a hexameter and γαῖα is very frequent at line-end in Homer; ὑπεδέξατο occurs in the same *sedes* at *Il.* 6.136, 18.398; *Od.* 22.470. The line moreover recalls γαῖα δ' ἐν Θήβαις ὑπέδεκτο, used by Pindar (*N.* 10.8) of the death of Amphiaraus, a subject that must have been treated by Antimachus (*cf.* F38).

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[40] *IEG*², 11.

EICIENDA

[204] (29 Wyss)

Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 3.466 (ed. C. von Barth [1664] II.799) *'gemini vates'. Melampus et Amphiaraus: dicunt poetam ista omnia ex Graeco poeta Antimacho deduxisse, qui et ipse *** gam* (lon<gam> suppl. vulgo: G<raec>am suppl. Rossbach) *Thebaidem scripsit et veteribus in magno pretio habitam.*

Commentary

This fragment consists of the Barth scholium, the authenticity of which must surely be rejected. It appears only in Barth's edition of the scholia to Statius and was not included by Jahnke in his edition of Lactantius Placidus.[1]

Caspar von Barth is notorious for trying 'to gain credence (though no credit)' for his own conjectures 'by attributing them to some manuscript which never existed'.[2] Sweeney, in his examination of the Statius scholia, has stated that the scholium 'looks like one of Barth's inventions... A falsified source would be the one type of scholium most likely to have been forged by Barth'.[3] The scholium has also been decisively rejected by Vessey in his investigation of the relationship between Statius and Antimachus.[4]

But although we may safely reject the scholium itself, we still need to deal with what it represents, namely an opinion or suggestion of Barth that certain material (*ista omnia*) was taken by Statius from Antimachus. Vessey (137) thinks that Barth's scholium 'might have been an inspired guess.' Wyss' retention of the fragment seems to be

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[1] R. Jahnke, *Lactantii Placidi qui dicitur commentarii* (= *P. Papini Stati Opera* III [Leipzig 1898]).

[2] F.W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford 1913, repr. Chicago 1970), 128.

[3] R.D. Sweeney, *Prolegomena to an edition of the scholia to Statius* (Leiden 1969), 3-4.

[4] D.W.T.C. Vessey, *Philologus* 114 (1970), 119-20, 136-7; *Statius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge 1973), 152. *Cf.* M. Dewar, *Statius: Thebaid IX* (Oxford 1991), XXIX-XXX.

due in large measure to the arguments of Wilamowitz.[5] These however are far from weighty. Wilamowitz argues that, besides the story of the auspices taken by Amphiaraus and Melampus, Statius took from Antimachus the etymology of the name Aphesas (3.460ff.) διὰ τὴν ἄφεσιν. Wilamowitz' argument rests on no firmer base than that Callimachus rejected this etymology or at least gave a different explanation, stating in *Aetia* III that the mountain was called after Apesas, a hero who was king of the region.[6]

Statius mentions the mountain Aphesas in connection with Perseus, who flew off from there (*cf. Persei ... montis* 3.633). But there is no evidence at all to back up what is only a mere possibility that Antimachus presented an etymology διὰ τὴν ἄφεσιν. If indeed he did, he would more likely have explained it by the starting of the chariots mentioned by Stephanus (διὰ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁρμάτων), since he did describe games at Nemea. It is interesting that neither Stephanus nor anyone else refers to a derivation from the flight of Perseus. Stephanus' other explanation, from the release of the Nemean lion, is perhaps more likely to have been found in Panyassis, who described that labour of Heracles (F1 and 2 Davies *EGF*), than in Antimachus. But since Stephanus, the source for eleven fragments of Antimachus and for four of Panyassis, mentions these poets by name on every occasion,[7] it is safer not to attribute these etymologies to these particular poets.

The grounds for attributing to Antimachus the story of the auspice-taking by the two seers are no more substantial than those for the etymology of the place-name.

Vessey's main argument for his case is that, apart from this episode, Melampus plays no part in Statius' epic, the suggestion being that Statius included him because he had a larger role in one of his sources, Antimachus being 'the obvious choice.'[8] But once again this is really an *argumentum e silentio*, since no other fragment of Antimachus mentions Melampus.

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[5] Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 513-14.

[6] Callim. F56 Pf.(= F267A *SH*). Vessey (*Philol.* 114, 137 n. 130) wonders if the source, Stephanus, did not mean Antimachus, instead of Callimachus. But Stephanus attributes fragments to 'Antimachus' (F27, 60, 141, 182) or 'Antimachus in the *Thebaid*' (F57, if sound) or 'Antimachus in the xth book of the *Thebaid / Lyde / Artemis*' (F3, 4, 12, 28, 85, 98), never to 'Antimachus in the xth book.' Contrast for Callimachus' *Aetia* (in addition to F56 Pf.), F50, 62, 71, 87, 111 Pf.

[7] For Stephanus' fragments of Antimachus see the previous note. The Panyassis fragments are F1, 2, 11, and 18 Davies *EGF* (= 4, 5, 22, and 23 Bernabé).

[8] Vessey, *Philol.* 114, 137.

Antimachus was probably familiar with the Hesiodic *Melampodia* as Vessey suggests, but that scholar's statement that this poem 'is known to have mentioned the war between Eteocles and Polynices' is wildly inaccurate. His reference (Hesiod F178 Kinkel [= F276 M-W], wrongly cited as F17) is to a speech of Tiresias in which the seer tells that Zeus had granted him to live through seven generations. That these ran from the time of Cadmus down to that of Eteocles and Polynices is the comment of the source (Tzetzes *ad Lyc.* 682) in introducing the quotation. There is no mention of the war between the Theban brothers, nor is there any evidence from the *Melampodia* (or from any source other than Statius) of Melampus himself being involved in the expedition against Thebes. Nor is it likely, unless Melampus, like Tiresias, lived through several generations, for according to both Homer (*Od.* 15.223-55) and Hesiod (F136 M-W), Melampus was three generations earlier than Amphiaraus.[9]

Vessey nevertheless claims that the episode of the auspice-taking by Amphiaraus and Melampus has 'every sign of antiquity' and misleadingly states that 'Wyss has quoted archaeological evidence indicating that it was included in the 'Cyclic Thebaid,' and so almost certainly in Antimachus.' Wyss' evidence does nothing of the kind nor does that scholar claim that it does. The vase in question, a Corinthian *krater ca.* 570-60, shows only the departure of Amphiaraus after the unfavourable auspices.[10] There is no evidence for the involvement of Melampus in the episode, whether in the Cyclic *Thebaid* or in Antimachus. Vessey's contention that 'the 'Barth scholium' may - by accident - have hit upon the truth' must remain unsupported.

[205] (149 dub. Wyss)

AP 9.321 (45-50 Page *FGE* [Cambridge 1981], 15) Ἀντιμάχου (sine nomine Pl[B]). εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ὁπλοφοροῦσαν.

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[9] The genealogies differ from each other, as does that of Pausanias (6.17.16), who also presents a three-generation span. See West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 79-81; *cf.* Huxley, *GEP*, 55.

[10] Wyss' reference is to A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlungen im Antiquarium* (Berlin 1885) No.1655. The vase is now missing; *cf.* I. Krauskopf, 'Amphiaraos' *LIMC* I.1.694 no. 7 (I.2 plate 555); K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (München 1964) 74-5, Taf. 67a; F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*[3] (Marburg 1973) 476 C1.

τίπτε μόθων ἄτλητος Ἐνυαλίοιο λέλογχας,
  Κύπρι; τίς ὁ ψεύστας στυγνὰ καθᾶψε μάταν
ἔντεα; σοὶ γὰρ Ἔρωτες ἐφίμεροι ἅ τε κατ' εὐνάν
  τέρψις καὶ κροτάλων θηλυμανεῖς ὄτοβοι·
δούρατα δ' αἱματόεντα· κάθες Τριτωνίδι δίᾳ
  ταῦτα, σὺ δ' εὐχαίταν εἰς Ὑμέναιον ἴθι.

Commentary

This epigram addressed to the armed Aphrodite is ascribed to an Antimachus in the margin of the Palatine codex, but the poet of Colophon is nowhere attested as a writer of epigrams. No facet of the style or language points to our poet.[11] Indeed Page remarks that the elaborate style is characteristic of the period from Leonidas to Antipater of Sidon (and beyond), while the subject, the Spartan armed Aphrodite, is commonplace.[12]

Page also comments that the name is not an easy corruption of any other familiar in the genre.[13] As he states elsewhere, the most likely explanation of the ascription (as of others to Menander and Pisander) is that this author is a homonym of the more famous poet.[14]

[206] (154 dub. Wyss; Callimachus F650 Pf.)

[Herodian.] *Philetaer.* 30 (44 Dain [Paris 1954]) : 'ἐννεάμυκλος ὄνος' παρὰ †Ἀντιμάχου (-ῳ Pierson revera Καλλιμάχῳ Dain)· ἐπὶ ὄνου μύκλαι δὲ λέγονται αἱ ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσι τῶν ὄνων περιγραφαί. Schol. Lycophr. 771 (2.244.27 Scheer) (inde *Etym. Gen.* B *s.v.* μύκλος = *Etym. Magn.* 594.18): μύκλοις γυναικόκλωψιν] μύκλος καλεῖται ἡ ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ τῶν ὄνων ὑποδίπλωσις. μύκλους δὲ εἶπεν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μνηστῆρας διὰ τὸ ἀδηφάγον καὶ κατωφερές, ὡς καὶ Καλλίμαχος.

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[11] Page, *FGE*, 15; Wyss (XXVII-XXIX) also argues strongly against the attribution. It is notable that the words τοῦ Κολοφωνίου are not added to the ascription, yet some modern editors, e.g. Paton (Loeb), the Budé edition, and Beckby list the poet (without any comment) as the Colophonian.

[12] E.g. Leonidas, *AP* 9.320 (=XXIV Gow-Page, *Hell. Ep.*); *APl* 171 (= CIII *Hell. Ep.*); Antipater of Thessalonica, *APl* 176 (= LXXXVIII Gow-Page, *Garland*); Philip *APl* 177 (= LXXII *Garland*); also Julianus, *APl* 173; anon. *APl* 174.

[13] Page, *FGE*, 15. Suggestions include Καλλιμάχου (Stoll, 111), Ἀντιπάτρου, and Ἀλκαίου.

[14] Page, *FGE*, 127.

ἔστιν μοι Μάγνης ἐννεάμυκλος ὄνος.

Cf. Hesychius (II.104 Latte): ἐννεάμυκλος· ἰσχυρός. ἐνναέτης.

Commentary

I must agree with Wyss, Pfeiffer, and Dain, who follow the attribution of Schol. Lyc. and the *Etymologica* in assigning this pentameter to Callimachus. 'Philetaerus', in citing Antimachus, may simply have confused the names.[15]

[207] (155 dub. Wyss; Callimachus F481 Pf.)

Choerobosc. in Theod. 1.268.34 Hilgard: καὶ ὁ Καλλίμαχος (ita V Ἀντίμαχος NC) δὲ γινώσκει τὴν διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίσιν ἐν οἷς φησίν·

οἱ δὲ τὸν αἰνοτάλαντα κατέστεψαν

αἰνοτ- V λινοτ- NC -στεψαν V -στυγον NC

Commentary

This fragment too is properly referred to Callimachus by both Wyss and Pfeiffer. Both follow the authority of Hilgard, the editor of Choeroboscus, in preferring Καλλίμαχος (cod. V) over Ἀντίμαχος (cod. NC). The unreliability of the latter codex can clearly be seen in its corrupt version of the fragment itself.

[208] (159 dub. Wyss)

P. Berol. 12605 ed. A. Humpers, *Rev. Phil.* 45 (1922) 90-2; primus ed. Wilamowitz cf. F68) (ostr. saec. iii a.C.) [Pack[2] 2131]:

εἴσατο] ἐφάνη· Ὁ[μήρου ἐῢ κλῇισ' ἀραρυῖα.
αν π]τερὰ {ἠιωροῦντο}
τόσσ' ἄρα τοῦ ἑκάτερθ]εν ἐς εἴσατο δέ σφιν δε[ξιὸς] ἀ[ΐξας ὑπὲρ ἄστεος

omnia suppl. Humpers 1 στ]εφάνη Wilam. 2 has litteras suprascriptas cognovit Humpers. i.e. in 3 lege ἔσαν πτερά· εἴσατο { } verbum ostrac. scriptoris putat Matthews 3 ἐνεσείσατο Wilam. δε[ῖμα vel δε[ινόν Wilam.

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[15] *Cf.* F207 (Callim. F481 Pf.) and the reverse in F65 (Callim. F807 *Dub.* Pf.); Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I 153 with n. 30.

Commentary

The same ostracon on which F68 is preserved has been thought to contain another epic fragment. The first editor, Wilamowitz, read the text as follows:[16]

]εφάνηο[
]πτερα ἠιωροῦντο[
]ἐνεσείσατο δέ σφιν/δε [. . .] α . [

He suggested ἐφάνη or στ]εφάνη in l.1 (v.1) and δεῖμα or δεινόν in l.3 (beginning v.4). He states that the use of the middle voice instead of the active of ἐνσείω suggests a later writer. Powell, however, comparing the apparent use of a plural verb after the neuter plural πτερά with the similar use in F164, thinks that Antimachus may be the author.[17] Wyss simply records these opinions without discussion, but appears to favour Wilamowitz.

These attempts however to see an epic fragment here are wrong-headed. The truth was discerned long ago by Humpers.[18] What we really have is a gloss on a passage of Homer, εὖ κληῖσ' ἀραρυῖα, /τόσσ' ἄρα τοῦ ἑκάτερθεν ἔσαν πτερά· εἴσατο δέ σφιν/δεξιὸς ἀίξας ὑπὲρ ἄστεος (*Il.* 24.318-20). The first line of the supposed fragment is actually a comment on εἴσατο: εἴσατο]· ἐφάνη·Ὁ[μήρου·.[19]

The commentator then proceeds to quote the relevant passage at length (as he also does with *Od.* 390-1 and Antim. F68 on the same ostracon). Note how the words εἴσατο δέ σφιν δεξιὸς ἀίξας fit perfectly with the existing letters and the *lacunae* in l. 3 of the fragment, δε[ξιὸ]ς ἀί[ξας. Since πτερά should precede εἴσατο, it becomes apparent that l.2 is actually a suprascript, not a full line. Somehow or other the scribe omitted the letters ανπτερα and then fitted them in above.

This solution was detected by Humpers, but he was not able to explain ἠιωροῦντο. I would suggest that, following πτερά as it does, it is the scribe's own explanation for the phrase τόσσ' ἄρα τοῦ ἑκάτερθεν ἔσαν πτερά, meaning 'they (the wings) were raised', 'they were spread'.[20] The passage is thus revealed to be a *fragmentum falsum.*

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[16] *Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad.* (1918), 739-40.
[17] *CR* 33 (1919), 91: *Coll. Alex.*, 250.
[18] A. Humpers, *Rev. Phil.* 45 (1922), 90-2.
[19] *Cf.* Schol. bT *Il.* 24.319b: εἴσατο· ἐφάνη.
[20] *Cf.* χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμῳ (Asius F13 Davies *EGF*), of the long hair of the Samians being lifted by the breeze.

[209] (160 dub. Wyss)

Wyss enumerates among his *dubia* Hermesianax F7.41-46 Powell (Athen. 13.598a = T11) on the grounds that the poet appears to have drawn the place names mentioned there from Antimachus' *Lyde.* While it is probable that Antimachus did refer in his poem to the river Pactolus (v.42, *cf.* F93) and the city of Colophon (v.45), the other likely place names in the lines (vv.43-44) are too corrupt to be identified. The uncertainties are such that it is surely preferable to treat the passage merely as a *testimonium.*

[210] ([163] Wyss)

Anecd. Oxon. 3.230.29 Cramer (Herodian. 1.61.4 Lentz), Choerobosc. in Theod. 1.158.6 Hilgard: πῶς κλίνεται τὸ μύκης;... καὶ πόσα σημαίνει;... καὶ τοὺς ἀμανίτας τοὺς περὶ τὰ δένδρα γινομένους, ὡς παρὰ † Ἀντιμάχῳ (ita *Anecd. Ox.*: † Ἀριστοφάνει Choerobosc.)· 'φάγε δ' † (ita *Anecd. Ox.*; om. Choerobosc.) ὀπτὰ μύκητας πριν[ν]ίνους'

Cf. Athen. 2.60 c-d (1.142 Kaibel): Ἀντιφάνης (F227 Kock) '... ταχὺ δὴ λαβὼν ὄπτα μύκητας πρινίνους τουσδὶ δύο'.

Commentary

Meineke rightly saw that φάγε δ' in *Anecd. Ox.* is a corrupt correction (instead of -φάνει) for the preceding syllables -μάχῳ, i.e. the reference is to the fragment of Antiphanes quoted by Athenaeus.[21]

[211] ([164] Wyss)

Natalis Comes, *Mythologia* 6.7 (ed. Francof. 1581, 579): *Dionysius Milesius* (cf. *FGrHist* 32 F1-6; 9; 10; 12; 14) *scripsit illam (Medeam) aureum vellus ad navem attulisse, atque una cum Argonautis ultionem patris devitantem aufugisse. Antimachus libro tertio Argonauticorum Iasonem cum Medea in nemus Martis consecratum clam contendisse inquit ad aureum vel-*

[21] Meineke, *F. Com. Gr.* 3.133; *cf.* Dübner, 51.

lus capiendum. Mox cum frater Absyrtus illam insequeretur, fertur illum comprehensum iuxta Absyrtides insulas necasse, ut ait Strabo libro septimo (7.5.5).

Commentary

It is clear that Antimachus has been named instead of Apollonius (*cf.* 4.92-211). But the catalogue of authors in Nat. Com. reads as follows: *Antimachus Argittus* (ed. 1581, *Argivus* ed. 1584) *in Argonauticis, in Centauromachia.* This is indicative of how little credence can be given to his evidence.

[212] ([165] Wyss)

Natalis Comes *Mythologia* 7.4 (ed. Francof. 1581,722): *quamvis Centaurorum nonnulli . . . vim Herculis senserunt . . . At Antimachus in Centauromachia illos ab Hercule pulsos e Thessalia in insulas Sirenum confugisse scripsit, ubi cantibus illarum delectati omnes in apertam perniciem fuerunt attracti. Deinde ubi Nessus et alii Centauri sepulti fuissent, ex iis vulneribus non procul a Calydone, in colle, qui Taphossus* (sic) *fuit noncupatus, gravissimus odor ad montis radicem suffundebatur, ac tabo simile quiddam manabat, ut ait Strabo libro IX* (4.8).

Commentary

Dübner (51) has seen that all this material has been taken from Strabo and from Schol. Lyc. 670 (2.222 Scheer), where there is no trace of Antimachus.

[213] ([166] Wyss)

[L. Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius] *De orthographia* 10 § 43 Osann (1826): *Battus. . . fuit . . . Polymnesti filius, qui Cyrenem condidit; unde Cyrenenses poetae dicuntur Battiadae Herodio et Proculo et Proclo Pindari enarratoribus * * * Callimachus * * * Strabo item; sed et C. Proculus Callimachum* (ita cod. *Antimachum* Osann) *secutus in opere quod de Lyde et ipse habet centum et quadraginta elegorum libris; unde 'latus Callimachus'* (ita cod. *Antim.* Osann) *C. Melisso in libris iocorum dicitur* . . .

Id. *ibid.* 4 § 4: *Rhoeo . . . C. Proculus in sua Lyde et Sextus Gracchus in libro amorum historiam elegantissime exornarunt.*

Commentary

Madvig was the first to demonstrate that Osann had been taken in by the forgery of Caelius Rhodiginus of Ferrara (early sixteenth century).[22] Not long afterwards Merkel showed that the names Proculus and Melissus had been purloined from Ovid (*Ex Ponto* 4.16; 30sq.).[23]

[214] ([167] Wyss)

Hesych. (III.131 Schmidt): μυσικαρφί . . . ὄνομα γάρ ἐστι Μυσίκαρφος, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης (ita cod. Ἀντιφάνης Stoll) ὁ κωμικός. ὥς τινες δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίμαχον (ἀρχιμάχον cod., Ἀρχίλοχον? Kaibel, Ἀντίμαχον Stoll).

Phot. *Lex.* (I.433 Naber): Μυσικάρφης· ὄνομα Μυσικάρφους (ita cod. Μυσικάρφης, -ους· ὄνομα κύριον Naber), οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Κρησίν (F8 Kassel-Austin). Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ ἐπ' ὀνόματός τινα ἀηδῶς ἐπιγελῶντα (ita Naber: ἐπιγλῶτταν cod.). οἱ δὲ ἀνέγνωσαν μυσικαρφί (-κάρφει cod.) ὡς ἀκονιτί· τὸ μεμυκότως καὶ ξηρῶς, μὴ ἐκ φανεροῦ γελᾶν. Κρατῖνος Ὥραις (F293 Kassel-Austin *PCG*).

Commentary

Stoll's rash conjectures (109), whereby some authorities attribute the word Μυσίκαρφος (or more likely -ης) to Antiphanes while other authorities assign it to Antimachus, are based on his belief that such confusion could easily arise from the similarity of ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικός to ἀντίμαχος ὁ κολοφώνιος. His conjectures should be rejected (*cf.* Wyss, 74).

The correct word form is likely to be the adverb μυσικαρφ(ε)ί, misread as a dative to produce a nominative μυσικάρφης.[24] It would

[22] J. Madvig, *Opusc. Acad.* (Hauniae 1834), 1sqq.

[23] R. Merkel, *Prolusio ad Ibin* cap. 3 in *P. Ovidii Nasonis Libri Quinque et Ibis* (Berol. 1837), 383sqq.; *cf.* O. Crusius, *Philol.* 47 (1889), 434. Nevertheless A. Couat continued to cite Apuleius, *De orthog.*, as a reputable source (*Alexandrian Poetry* [London 1931, repr. Chicago 1991], 70).

[24] *Cf.* Kassel-Austin, *PCG* IV.266.

appear to have been applied by the comic poet Apollophanes to a certain unknown Archimachus.[25]

[215] ([168] Wyss)

Ludwich attributed to the *Lyde* of Antimachus five verses of Callimachus quoted by Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* 5.3.3, 676F-677B), which we now know as *Aetia* III F59.5-9 Pf. (= F103 Schn.).[26] He did so because of the spondaic ἀποτιμήσουσιν (v.8), on the grounds that nowhere in his elegiac verses did Callimachus include a spondaic hexameter. We now know that this argument is baseless, *cf.* F1.31 Pf., with Pfeiffer's commentary, in which he gathers further examples from the *Aetia*.[27]

[216] ([169] Wyss)

Hygin. *Astron.* 2.34 (72 Bunte) *Orion: hunc Hesiodus* (cf. F148a M-W) *Neptuni filium dicit ex Euryale Minois filia natum; concessum autem ei, ut supra fluctus curreret, ut in terra . . . Aristomachus autem dicit quendam Hyriea fuisse Thebis – Pindarus autem in insula Chio . . .* (sequitur fabula de Orione rogatu Hyriei ex deorum urina nato).

Aristomachus cod. ita etiam Schol. in German. *Arat.* 331 (93.13 Breysig) Antimachus Schroeder ad Pind. F73a, p.407 Aristonicus Voss

Commentary

Wyss (74) admits to puzzlement as to why Schroeder used Antimachus' mention of Teumessus (F2-3) and Aegaeon (F14) to support his conjecture that Antimachus' name be read here. Presumably Schroeder was simply thinking of stories with a Theban connection and an author who included such. Bunte (3) believes the author in question here to be an Aristomachus of Athens.

[25] Only one Athenian of the name is attested by Davies (*Athen. Prop. Fam.* N°. 2515, from [Dem.] xliii.37; *cf.* N°. 2921 XIII, 86-7). If a contemporary of Polemon (N°. 11889; *cf.* N°. 2921 V, IX, X), he belongs to the latter half of the 5th C.

[26] A. Ludwich, *De hexam. poet. Gr. spondiac.* (1866), 19.

[27] *Cf.* Wyss, 74; Krevans, *Hellen. Groning.* I, 153.

[217] ([170] Wyss)

Wyss (74-5) rightly rejects Lesky's tentative suggestion that the riddle of the Sphinx recorded by Athen. 10.456b (2.491 Kaibel = *AP* 14.64) from Asclepiades of Tragilus (*FGrHist* 12 F7a) be traced back to Antimachus' *Thebaid*.[28] As he says, it does not follow from Antimachus' mention of Teumessus (F2-3) that he also included the story of the Teumessian fox and all that happened to Oedipus. Nothing in the vocabulary or metrics suggests Antimachus. Wyss sees that Lesky's second suggestion is more likely, namely that Asclepiades, the writer of Τραγῳδούμενα, drew his material from some tragedy.

[218] ([171] Wyss)

Stoll (15) suggested on the basis of Plut. *Lys.* 18 (= T2) that Antimachus wrote a work in praise of Lysander, which he destroyed when he lost the competition. Unfortunately this idea found its way into literary histories.[29] As Wilamowitz has shown, there are no grounds for thinking that the poem in question was an encomium of Lysander.[30]

[219] ([172] Wyss)

The suggestion of Gruppe that Antimachus composed the *Nosti* is based on very poor evidence a) Schol. recent. Bϕ Hor. *AP* 136 (= T26^{C}), where the expedition against Thebes has been confused with that to Troy, and b) Eustathius *Od.* 1796.52 (II.117 Stallbaum)(= *Nosti* F1 Dub. Davies = F16 Falsum Bernabé): ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας Κολοφώνιος.[31]

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[28] A. Lesky, *Mitteilgn. d. Vereins Klass. Philologen in Wien* 5 (1928), 7f. = *Gesamm. Schriften* (Bern 1966), 322f. The author is Asclepiades of Tragilus, not (as Wyss writes) of Myrlea (*cf. FGrHist* 12T1 = Steph. Byz. s.v. Τράγιλος).

[29] *Cf.* Schmidt-Stählin, *GLG*^{7} I.2.542-43n1; I.4.472.

[30] *Hellen. Dichtg.* 1.103 n.4.

[31] Gruppe, *Burs.Jahresb.* 22 (1894) 81, 97sq.

[220]

Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 638 (I.313-14 Schwartz) (= Orac. 374 Parke-Wormell): Κάδμος ἔμολε τάνδε γᾶν: Κάδμος ζητῶν τὴν ἀδελφὴν Εὐρώπην μαντεῖον ἔλαβε περὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ σημαῖνον, ἀλλ' ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντα ἕπεσθαι βοῒ καὶ οὗ ἂν αὐτόματος πέσῃ κτίζειν πόλιν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς τοῦ Πυθίου θεοῦ οὕτως·

φράζεο δὴ τὸν μῦθον, Ἀγήνορος ἔκγονε Κάδμε·
ἠοῦς ἐγρόμενος προλιπὼν ἴθι Πυθὼ δῖαν
ἠθάδ' ἔχων ἐσθῆτα καὶ αἰγανέην μετὰ χερσὶ
τὴν διά τε Φλεγυῶν καὶ Φωκίδος, ἔστ' ἂν ἵχηαι
βουκόλον ἠδὲ βόας κηριτρεφέος Πελάγοντος.
ἔνθα δὲ προσπελάσας συλλάμβανε βοῦν ἐρίμυκον
τὴν ἥ κεν νώτοισιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔκησι
λευκὸν σῆμ' ἑκάτερθε περίτροχον ἠύτε μήνης·
τήνδε συ ἡγεμόνα σχὲ περιτρίπτοιο κελεύθου.
σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ' ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε λήσει·
ἔνθα κέ τοι πρώτιστα βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο
ἵζηται κλίνῃ τε πέδῳ γόνυ ποιήεντι,
καὶ τότε τὴν μὲν †ἔπειτα μελαμφύλλῳ χθονὶ ῥέζειν
ἁγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς· Γαίῃ δ' ὅταν ἱερὰ ῥέξῃς,
ὄχθῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ κτίζειν πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν
δεινὸν Ἐνυαλίου πέμψας φύλακ' Ἄϊδος εἴσω.
καὶ σύ γ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάκλυτος ἔσσεαι αὖθις
ἀθανάτων λεχέων ἀντήσας, ὄλβιε Κάδμε.

Commentary

Fontenrose has suggested that this eighteen-hexameter oracular response may come from Antimachus' *Thebaid*.[32] He gives no reason other than that 'they look like lines from an epic poem'. The verses are in fact full of Homeric and Hesiodic language. Indeed v. 10 has been taken *in toto* from *Il.* 23.326 (= *Od.* 11.126), while v. 8 is nearly identical to *Il.* 23.455. The use of such phrases as βοῦν ἐρίμυκον (v.6), βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο (v.11), and πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν (v.15) adds to the impression that this oracular response is a mere pastiche of epic language rather than the product of a major epic poet like Antimachus. But the choice of such rare epic words as κηριτρεφέος (v.5), elsewhere only at Hes. *Op.* 418, and ὀνομάκλυτος (v.17), only at *Il.* 22.51; *Hy. Herm.* 59, together with the *hapax* περ-

[32] J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley/LosAngeles/London 1978), 360.

ιτρίπτοιο (v.9), suggests that Antimachean authorship is not an impossibility. The case may be supported by metrical considerations such as spondaic verses at vv.2, 11, and 12, spondaic fourth feet at vv. 9, 13, and 18, and the fact that eleven lines out of the eighteen (61.1%) have a strong caesura. Pausanias, however, in telling the story in very similar terms, including the cow with the white mark in the shape of the full moon on both of its flanks, attributes the tale to the Thebans (9.12.1).

[221]

A papyrus fragment from a schoolbook recording a simile involving a fisherman (*P. Freib.* 12 ed. W. Aly, *Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung* [Heidelberg 1914], 9, saec. ii-i a.C. [Pack[2] 1577]), attributed to Antimachus or Choerilus by Reitzenstein and to Rhianus by Aly (*cf.* Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 251), is usually claimed for the Samian (F22* Colace = °21 Bernabé); *cf.* Huxley, *GRBS* 10 (1969), 25-6.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Comment. in Antim. (*PRIMI* I.17 ed. A. Vogliano; vid. Wyss, 76 sqq.) pap. saec.ii p.C. [Pack[2] 89]

col. I (margo dexter superior):

] ι. δ. [
]α. ιθε γαι--[
]. οφέρων[
]σιν ὑπο[
]γὰρ συνε--[
]ιλω δὲ
]καιρον[
]εται. [
]ς ἀλλα[
]. τερον[
? πα]ρ' ἀσπίδα
] . ο εὔδιος[
] . ρασ. ε[
]ρ[. . .]
] . [

7 καιρον cf. Καιρόν Adrasti equum in Antimachi F31.3

col. II:

]θεων ε[..............]τους ἐ[πε]ισάγουσιν.÷**σεμνὴν Δικταίαν,**
κοὐ]ροτρόφ[ον Εἰλείθυιαν Ο]ὖπιν τ' ὀβριμ[ό]τοξον·(F99)ὁμηρικῶς κεχώρ<ι>κε.
Ὅμηρος γ[ὰρ τὴν μὲ]ν Εἰλείθυιαν Ἥρας, τὴν [δ]ὲ Ἄρτεμιν Λητοῦς.
...] **χρυσείη[ισι κορ]υμβίσιν ἐσφήκωντο**·(F100) [κ]ορυμβὶς τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐπιθέ-
μενον. ἐ[σφ]ήκωντο δὲ ἐδέδεντο [κα]ὶ ἐσφιγγμένοι ἦσαν.
πελάνειά τε δέχθαι ἄνασσαν·(F101) τὰς ἱκετηρί[ας]· ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάζειν, καὶ ἱεροπ[ε-
λάτης. ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ πέμματα καὶ τὰς ἀ[π]αρχάς. ἐστὶν δὲ πέλανος
πᾶν τὸ πεπηγός, οἷον λιβ[α]νωτός. ÷**ν[η]λείταις**·(F102) ἀναμαρτήτοις. καὶ [Ὅ-
μη[ρ]ος· 'αἵ τέ σ' ἀτιμάζουσ[ι] καὶ αἳ νηλ[εί]τιέ[ς εἰσι]ν'.÷**μ[...]ν** <–> **τρισκαίδ[ε-**
<κ>άτην τέκνων καὶ ἶν λελο[χ]υῖα· (F103) πιν.[?]. ἡμέ[ρ]α[.]· τὴν δὲ ἶν ἐν τῶι X̄ [κα-
τ' Ἀριστοφάνη ἔ[στι]ν εὑρεῖν. Ἡσίοδος δ[ὲ ἐν τ]ῶι ε' ῗν δ' ὑτῷ θανάτοι[ο'.
ὕδ[ατι] τῶι, τό ῥά οἱ Φυσαδειόθ[εν ἧ<ε>ν. τ]ῶι γὰρ κα[ὶ π]ροτερειπ [ ] **Ἀχαιΐδα ως** [?] **φι[**
ζε[...]λωοιο λύθρων δὲ αλυ[.....]·(F104) οὐκ ἀ[πὸ] τῆς Φυσ[αδ]είας φησὶν ὁ Καλλ[ί-
μα]χος τὰς λεχοῦς λ[ούεσθ]αι, ἀλλ' [ἀπ]ὸ τῆς Αὐτομάτης· 'Αὐτομά-
της.] εὐναὲς ἐπώνυ[μον, ἀλ]λ' ἀπὸ σ[εῖ]ο λούονται λοχίην οἰκέτιν[
.....]ης'. καὶ Ἀγίας [καὶ Δερκύλο]ς ἐν τ[οῖ]ς Ἀργολικοῖς φα⟦ι⟧σιν οὕτως· 'ὑδ[ρεύ-

ονται ἐ]κ μὲν τοῦ Ἱ[ππείου παρ]θένο[ι αἵ[καλοῦνται Ἡρεσίδες καὶ φ[έροντι τὰ] λοετρὰ τ[ᾶι Ἥραι τᾶι] Ἀκρεί[αι], ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αὐτοματείου φέρουσαι ὑ]δρεύονται π[αρθένοι αἳ] καλοῦ[ν]ται Λοχεύτριαι, ἐπεί κε τις τ[ῶν γυναικῶν] λοχεύητ[αι τῶν δμ]ωΐδω[ν]. ἰδία<ι> δ' ἀπὸ τᾶς λοχείας φέρον[τι ....] λοετρά'. κ[αὶ ταῦτα ἐκ] τῶν Ἀ[γί]ου καὶ Δερκύλου παρέκειτο, [ἀφ' ὧ[ν ἐφαί]νετο ὁ Κα[λλίμαχος] ἅπαντ[α ε]ἰληφώς. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ πάτος ἐκεῖθ<έν> ἐσ[τ]ιν· 'ἁγνὸν [ὑφαινέ]μεναι τῆ[ισ]ι μέμηλε πάτος'. ἰδίως δὲ τὸ λ[ύθρ]ον ἔ[θ]ηκε ἐπ[ὶ] τ[οῦ λύματ]ος μόν[ον]. ἔστιν δ' ὅτε σημαίνει τὸν μ[ετὰ] κόνεως [ἱδ]ρῶτ[α· Ὅμηρός] γέ τοι δ[ια]στέλλων· 'αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ[ι πε]παλα[γμ]ένος'. [÷]σ[....]ιν **δμω[ῇ]ισ' ἐνδέξεται**·(F105) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπ[ιτ]άξη<ι>. Μίμνερμ[ος] δ' [ἐν] τῇ Σμυρην[η][[ι]]ίδι· 'ὡς οἱ πὰρ βασιλῆος, ἐπε[ί ῥ' ἐ[ν]εδέξατο μῦθο[ν], ἤ[ϊξ]αν κοίλη[σ' ἀ]σπίσι φραξάμενοι'. καὶ Ἑκατ[αῖος ὁ Μειλήσι[ό]ς φησιν [οὕ]τως· 'εἶνα[ι δ]ὲ τὸν ὄφιν δοκέω οὐ μέγα[ν ο[ὔ]τως ο[ὔτε]πελ[ώρ]ιον, ἀλ[λ]ὰ δειν[ό]τερον τῶν ἄλλων ὀφίων, καὶ τού[τ]ου [ἕ]νε[κεν] τὸν Ε[ὐ]ρυσθέα [ἐ]νδέξασθαι ὡς ἀμήχανον ἐ[όντα'. καὶ Ἡ[σ]ίοδος· 'ἐ[ν δ]' ἄρα κούραις δ[έξ]ατο'. ÷**γυμνῆι ἀνὰ σφετέρ[ηι κεφ]αλῆι**·(F106) τῆι ἀκρηδέμ[νω]ι. ÷ **ὄφρ' ὑπὸ μ[ὲν] Λαθρίαι θύσηι λόχια τριθάλεια]ι**·(F107) τῆι λεγομένηι Προθυρα[ί]αι. ἵνα [θύ]ση<ι> τὰ λόχια καὶ τριθά[λ]ι[α ἢ τὰ πολυθαλῆ λοχεύ[μ]ατα, τὰ [ἐ]πὶ τῆι [λο]χείαι πολυθαλῆ δῶρα. οἱ δ[ὲ γράφουσι τῆι [λ]οχ[ε]ίαι καὶ [τ]ῆι τρι[θ]αλείαι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς. ÷ **ἔνδοθ[ι γ[ω]ρυτοῖο τιθα[ι]βώσσοισα κά[λυ]ψε**·(F108) τιθεῖσα καὶ ἀποθησαυρίζ[ουσα. ὁμοίως [καὶ] Ὅμηρος· 'ἔνθα [δ'] ἔ[π]ειτα τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι'. τὸ[ν δὲ γωρυτὸν [ἀντὶ τῆς] φ[α]ρέτρ[ας] τίθησι. δῆλος δ' ἐν ἄλλοις· **μετὰ το[ῖσι δὲ Λη[τόος υἱός], σ[κ]αιῆι τ[ό]ξ[ο]ν ἔχων, ἑτέρηφι δὲ γωρυτοῖο [δέσμ' ἀπο]αινύμ[ενος**.(F109) (δέσμ]α δ[ὲ φ]αρ[έ]τρας ἤτοι τὸν δεσμὸν ἢ τὸ πῶ[μα). .[...]**αδειγ[.....]ι ψυχη[...]σι[.]τι ἔθεντο**·(F110) ἀντὶ κτίσματα τῆ[ς ψυχῆς· ÷ **ὄ[φρα κε π]οιπνύτρ[ο]ισι θ[ε]ῇ σφετέροισι χαρείη**·(F111) τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν[.].[[τουσ]] [...]μασιν. ÷ **ἀσήτορος**· τοῦ ἀνιωμένου τὸ ἤ[το]ρ. ÷ **Ἀΐδ[ος ἐκπρο]λιπο[ῦσα θ]οὸν δόμον** (F112)· θ[ο]ὸν τὸν μέλανα ἢ ἀπ' ἐκδοχῆ<ς> ἐ[κ τοῦ Κ̄ 'θ]οὴ[ν διὰ ν]ύκτα μέλαιναν'. οἱ δὲ δέχονται διότι μὴ τὸν ἥλιο[ν ..]ω[.......συ]μβα[ί]νει. ÷ **δὴ τότ' Ἐρ[[ε]]ινὺς ἦλθεν ἀσήτορος **** Ἀΐδος ἐκπ[ρολιποῦσα θοὸν δόμ]ον **** χάλκεοι Ἀράων θάλαμοι**·(F112) Ἀρὰς εἶπε τὰς Ἐρει[νύας. ÷ ....]ρα (?)**ὑψικραν[ά]εσσα** (F113)· [λ]αμπρὰ καὶ τραχεῖα. ὑφ' ἓν δὲ ὑψικραν[άεσσα ÷ ....]**ης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ**·(F114) ὑποτίθεται ἐν Ἅιδου καθάπερ καὶ Πανύασσ[ις

λέγων περὶ τ]οῦ Σισ[ύ]φου ἐν Ἅιδου [ὄ]ντος φησίν· 'ὥς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα κατασ[τέ-
γασε Στυγὸς] ὕδωρ'. **ἐν δὲ τῷ γ´ τῆς [Θ]ηβαΐδος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν Νώνακ[ριν
ὑποτίθησι]ν** (F16). καὶ Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὑδάτων γράφει οὕτως· 'ὅσα δὲ δη[
.... τ]οιούτ[ω]ν πλείους αἱ φύσ[ε]ις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶ[ν οὐ] πότιμα τυγχά[νει
τὰ δὲ π]αντὶ ζώ[ιω]ι π[ό]τιμα μὲν [πλὴ]ν [........]ον[.].[..].[
Σ]τυγὸ[ς..]. γα ἔχει τουτ[
]διατι[..]. α. δηλοι[
]ρα.... [..]πο. τοννη[

Suppl. Vogliano nisi alius nominatur
1 ὁ] Θέων ? Vogl. 2 [Εἰλείθυιαν] Wyss Ο]ὖπιν Morel, Deichgräber κεχώρικε Lobel, Maas 4 ἠδὲ]χρυσ. coni. Vogl. 9 'In litteris μ[...]ν quae in extremo hexametro fuisse statuit, aut nomen proprium aut vocabulum pro nomine proprio positum latere ci. V; idem post μ[...] monosyllabum longum omissum esse ob spatium vacuum suspicatur' Wyss τρισκαιδ[ε]κάτην Vogl. –ματην pap. 10 λελο[χ]υῖα Maas πιν pap. τὴν coni. Vogl. 11 ἔσ[τι]ν εὑρεῖν huc traiecit Vogl.: post ἐν τ]ῶι ε´ legitur in pap. θανάτοι[ο leg. Vogl. θανάτου[J. Schwartz, *Ps.-Hesiod.* 164.3 12 ὕδ]ατι] Maas Φυσαδειόθ[εν Lobel, Maas ἦ<ε>ν Wyss ἤιει Maas τ]ῶι γὰρ κα[ὶ π]ρότερ' εἶπ[ον Vogl. πρότεραι π[Wyss Π[αν]αχαιΐδα von der Mühll Ἀχαιΐδα γωσ[] φιζε Vogl. Ἀχαιΐδα ως[?]. φι[]ζε Wyss πως? Matthews π[ρότερ' εἴπ[ερ] Ἀχαιΐδ' ἄγ<ο>ς <προσ>[έ]φιζε [λεκ]χώ<ι>οιο λύθρων δέ <τ'> ἀλυ[σκ(ε)] Snell προτερ' εἴ π[οτ'] Ἀχαιΐδα [ἐ]φίζ(ο)[ι λεκ]χωίοιο Latte δέ <τ'> ἀλυ[σκέμεναι (κηλῖδα θέλοιεν)] Latte 14 λ[ούεσθ]αι Lobel λ[οῦσθ]αι Maas 15 σ[εῖ]ο Maas 15s. – ⏑ ῥο]ῆς vel – προχο]ῆς Latte 17 Ἰ[ππείου Lobel Ἡ[ραίου Vogl. 19 κέ 'suspectum, expectavimus κά' Latte 20 γυναικῶν] Wyss, nequaquam longius, ut Vogl. existimavit δούλων] Maas λοχεύητ[αι Maas τῶν δμ]ωΐδων Maas, Lobel ἰδία<ι> Wyss ἴδια Vogl. ἰδία pap. 21s. ἀφ'] ὧ[ν ἐφαί]νετο Maas 23]ἐκεῖθ<έν> ἐσ[τ]ιν ('non fuit ἦν, quod coni. M(aas)') Vogl. 24 λύματ]ος vel αἵματ]ος Vogl. 27 ἐπε[ί ῥ' vel τ' Maas 30 πελ[ώρ]ιον Morel, Buchwald, Jacoby, 'non fuit ὑ]πέ[ρβ]ιον' Vogl. 32 σφετέρ[ηι Maas 33 κεφ[αλῆι Maas, Lobel ἀκρηδέμ[νω]ι Maas 33s. τριθά[λεια]ι ita pap. τριθά[λεια]⟦ι⟧ accus. restit. Vogl. 40 Λη[τόος υἱός] Maas τ[ό]ξ[ο]ν Maas 42 ὡ[ς παρ[αδείγ[ματα τῆ]ι ψυχῆ[ι dubitanter Matthews ἀν]τὶ ἔθεντο Wyss ἀν]τί' Vogl. ἀντὶ κτίσματα τῆ[ς ψυ]χῆς Maas ἀντικτίσματα τα[ρα]χῆς Vogl. Wyss ἀντικνίσματα Castiglioni 43 ὄ[φρα κε (vel τε) Vogl. Morel π]οιπνύτρ[ο]ισι Maas 44 θεραπεύ]μασιν vel διακονή]μασιν Morel προσκυνή]μασιν Vogl. 44s. verba Antimachi citant *Epimer. Hom.* ap. *Anecd. Oxon.* 1.201.7 Cramer; θοόν δόμον citat *Glossar. Hom. P. Oxy.* 2517 V8 45 ἀπ' ἐκδοχῆ<ς> ἐ[κ τοῦ Κ̄ Carrara ἐ[ν τῶι Morel 47 <Οἰδιπόδαο> Maas 48 <ἔνθα μιν ἔσχον> Maas (εἶχον Vogl.) 50 ὠγυγί]ης Matthews ὠγενί]ης Cazzaniga Στύξ· τὸ δὲ τ]ῆς Στ. ὕδ. ὑποτίθεται (ut nomen tantum Stygis Antimachi sit) Maas 51 λέγων Stoessl 51s. κατασ[τέγασε Maas 52 Νώνακ[ριν Maas 53s. δὴ Castiglioni δῆ[λα τῶν ὑδάτων τ]οιούτ[ω]ν Vogl. δη[κτικά von der Mühll 55 πλὴ]ν Morel 56 τὰ Σ]τυγὸ[ς ὕδα]τα Körte τοῦτ[ο Körte

Loci auctorum aliorum: 3 cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.270 9 Hom. *Od.* 16.317; 19.498; cf. 22.418 11 Hes. F245 M-W 13-16 Callim. F65 Pf. (novum) 16 Hagias et Dercyl. *FGrHist* 305 F4 (novum) 22-3 Callim, F66.3 Pf. 25-6 Hom. *Il.* 6.268; *Od.* 22.402; 23.48 27 Mimnerm. F13

Allen = 13a West (novum) 28-32 Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F27b (addenda) (novum) 32 Hes. F242 M-W (novum) 38 Hom. *Od.* 13.106 46 Hom. *Il.* 10-394 50-2 Panyass. F26 Davies = 15 Bernabé (novum) 53sqq. Theophr. F213A Fortenbaugh (novum)

APPENDIX B

The Context and Renumbering of Fragments 19-24

The group of six fragments (F19-24 Wyss) preserved by Athenaeus (11.468a-b; 475 c-e; 482f.) has now been augmented by *P. Berol.* 21127.[1] While the papyrus adds little in the way of new text, it does indicate that F19 preceded F24 and F23 in that order.[2] It also shows that little weight can be placed on the sequence of the fragments as presented by Athenaeus and on his use of such wording as κἀν τοῖς ἑξῆς (468) or ἀλλαχοῦ (475). In fact it is clear that Athenaeus had not read Antimachus at first hand, but took his examples from the alphabetically-arranged lexicon of Pamphilus (δέπαστρον; κελέβη; κύπελλον).[3]

Several considerations, however, may enable us to suggest how the other three fragments (20-22 Wyss) may be fitted into the sequence of fragments 19, 24, 23. Firstly, while all the fragments are attributed to *Thebaid* Bk. 5 and are thus likely to belong to a single banquet description, there seems to have been at least two stages to this banquet, because there are two distinct distributions of cups (F20 and F22).

The first distribution occurs after the mixing of water and honey in a silver *krater* (F20). This is surely the same *krater* mentioned in F19, where instructions are given in direct speech that servants should bring a silver bowl and gold cups. It is clear from the papyrus that F24 followed quite closely upon F19, and because of its reference to the taking of a container of honey, it is likely to have preceded the mixing of the water and honey, the distribution of cups and the pouring for libation described in F20.

F22 tells of another distribution of cups, which may well be for the drinking of the honey and wine mixture which is implied by F21,

[1] In this discussion I retain Wyss' enumeration prior to presenting my new ordering of these fragments.

[2] See H. Maehler, in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Napoli 1984), 289-296.

[3] *Cf.* Maehler, 293-4.

which mentions the offering to the gods of a skin full of wine and a container of honey. Since the papyrus appears to refer to wine after the mention of gold cups and a container of honey, this fragment (F23) may belong to this same context, i.e. in the order F21, F23, F22.

Thus the entire group of fragments may be renumbered as follows: 19, 20(=24 Wyss), 21(=20 Wyss), 22(=21 Wyss), 23, and 24(=22Wyss). The remaining fragments from the Berlin papyrus (following F23), which cannot be conclusively proven to belong to Antimachus, are listed under F23A.

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I. Wyss – Matthews

W	M	W	M	W	M
1-15	1-15	72	85	106	77
16	182	73	87	107-112	143-148
17-19	17-19	74	129	113	65
20-21	21-22	75	98	114-128	149-163
22	24	76	133	129-135	165-171
23	23	77-79	88-90	136-137	173-174
24	20	80	130	138-143	176-181
25-28	25-28	81-82	134-135	144-147	184-187
29	[204]	83	95	148	175
30-33	29-32	84-85	136-137	173	16
34+35	33	86-87	61-62	174-189	99-114
36	50	88	172	190	188
37-43	34-40	89	138	*191	93
44	51	90-91	63-64	*192	197 dub.
45	41	92	139	**Dubia**	
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53	131	94	74	150	195 dub.
54-55	59-60	95	140	151	189 dub.
56-60	67-71	96	79	152	196 dub.
61	183	97	112	153	190 dub.
62-63	72-73	98	96	154-155	[206-207]
64-65	75-76	99-100	82-83	156-157	191-192 dub.
66	86	101	97	158	164
67	78	102	92	159	[208]
68-69	80-81	103	141	160	[209]
70	84	104	128	161-162	193-194dub.
71	132	105	142	**Eicienda**	
				[163-172]	[210-219]

*Wyss' enumeration, as extended by West, *IEG*[2]

II. *SH* – Matthews

SH	M	*SH*	M	*SH*	M
52-53	41	76	77	953-954	199 dub.
54-61	42-49	77	66	1048	203 dub.
62-64	115-117	78	94	1060	197 dub.
65	112	79	93		
66-75	118-127	912	198 dub.		

III. G-P - Matthews

G-P	M	G-P	M	G-P	M
1	85	10-11	67-68	19	74
2	78	12	70	20	130
3	84	13	183	21	140
4	69	14	73	22	79
5-6	71-72	15	132	23	82-83
7-8	75-76	16-17	86-87	24-25	92-93
9	80-81	18	91	26	197 dub.

IV. Matthews - Wyss - *SH* - G-P

M	W	*SH*	G-P
1-15	1-15		
16	173		
17-19	17-19		
20	24		
21	20		
22	21		
23	23		
23A			
24	22		
25-28	25-28		
29-32	30-33		
33	34+35		
34-40	37-43		
41	45	52-53	
42-49		54-61	
50	36		
51	44		
52-58	46-52		
59-60	54-55		
61-62	86-87		
63-64	90-91		
65	113		
66		77	
67-68	56-57		10-11
69	58		4
70	59		12
71	60		5
72	62		6
73	63		14
74	94		19
75-76	64-65		7-8
77	106	76	
78	67		2
79	96		22
80-81	68-69		9
82-83	99-100		23

M	W	*SH*	G-P
84	70		3
85	72		1
86	66		16
87	73		17
88-90	77-79		
91	93		18
92	102		24
93	*191	79	25
94		78	
95	83		
96	98		
97	101		
98	75		
99-111	174-186		
112	187(+97)	65	
113-114	188-189		
115-117		62-64	
118-127		66-75	
128	104		
129	74		
130	80		20
131	53		
132	71		15
133	76		
134-135	81-82		
136-137	84-85		
138	89		
139	92		
140	95		21
141	103		
142	105		
143-148	107-112		
149-163	114-128		
164	158		
165-171	129-135		
172	88		
173-174	136-137		
175	148		
176-181	138-143		
182	16		
183	61		13
184-187	144-147		
188	190		
Dubia			
189	151 dub.		
190	153 dub.		
191-192	156-157 dub.		
193-194	161-162 dub.		
195	150 dub.		
196	152 dub.		

M	W	*SH*	G-P
197	*192	1060 Adesp.	26
198		912 Adesp.	
199		953-954 Adesp.	
200-202			
203		1048 Adesp.	
Eicienda			
[204]	29		
[205]	149 dub.		
[206-207]	154-155 dub.		
[208]	159 dub.		
[209]	160 dub.		
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Each number refers to a fragment (and line).
^{c} indicates a conjectured form.
* the word appears first or only Antimachus.
† indicates a corrupt form.
(ἀναδίδωμι) Curved brackets indicate lexical forms not found in the fragments.
<Ἀγήνωρ> Pointed brackets indicate names of figures or places known to have been mentioned by Antimachus, but not actually read in the surviving vocabulary.

....

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